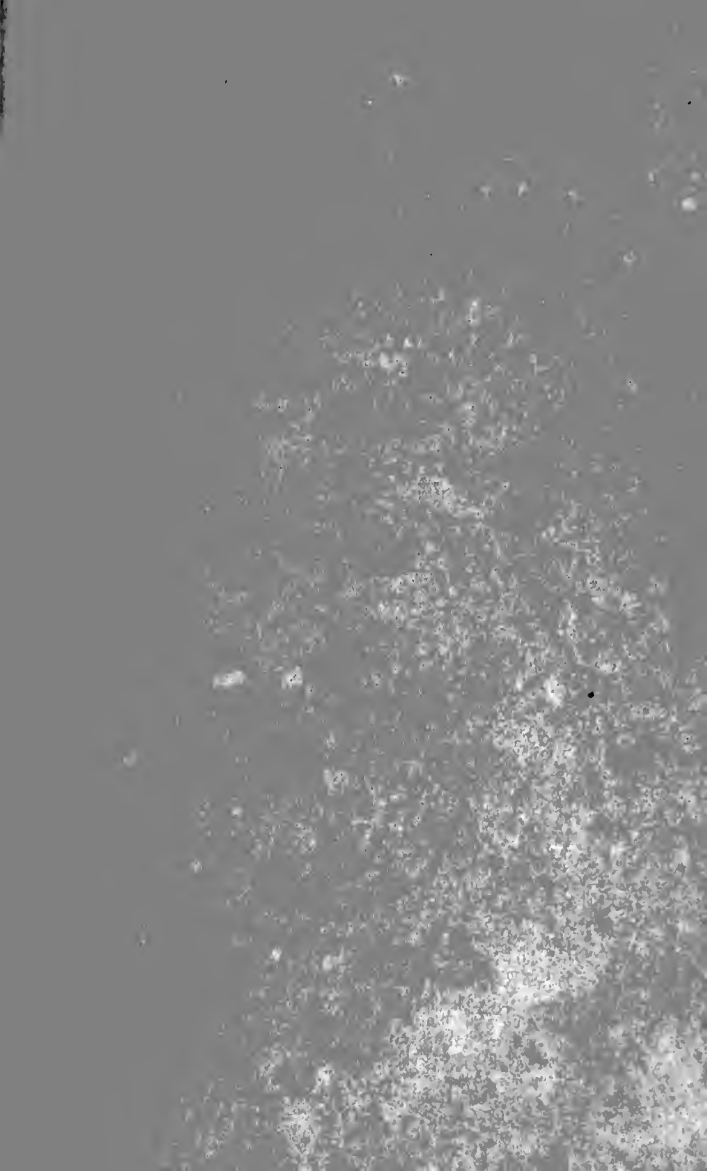


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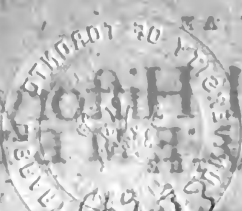
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C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. VI.

From the Accession of Queen Elizabeth to the
Union of the Two Crowns, Page 1

C H A P. VII.

From the Accession of James, to the Death of
Charles I. 44

C H A P. VIII.

From the Death of Charles I. to the Restora-
tion, 135

C H A P. IX.

From the Restoration to the Revolution, 180

C H A P. X.

From the Revolution to the Accession of the Fa-
mily of Hanover, 265

C H A P. XI.

From the Accession of the House of Hanover to
the Peace of Paris, in 1762, 321

THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D.

C H A P. VI.

*From the Accession of Queen Elizabeth to the Union
of the Two Crowns.*

E L I Z A B E T H.

NEVER was the accession of any sovereign accompanied with more sincere demonstrations of joy than that of Elizabeth. Even the Catholics rejoiced at an event, which, though it was likely to overturn the whole religious system, that had been re-established in the preceding reign, yet promised greater security to the civil liberties of the nation. Elizabeth had discovered great prudence in her conduct during the reign of her sister; she had been educated in the school of adversity, and had made the proper use of her retirement; improving her understanding, and cultivating those qualities, which enabled her to sway the sceptre with so much glory to herself, and such advantage to her people. Elizabeth was at Hatfield when she heard of her sister's death; and hastening up to London, was received by the multitude with universal acclamations. On her entrance into the Tower, she could not refrain from remarking on the difference of her present, and her former fortune, A.D. 1556.

VOL. II. B when

*Philip sends
over to the
queen pro-
posals of
marriage;*

when she was sent thither as a prisoner, and whence she had so narrowly escaped. She had scarcely been proclaimed queen, when Philip, who still hoped, by means of Elizabeth, to obtain over England that dominion of which he had failed in espousing Mary, immediately dispatched orders from the Low Countries to the duke of Feria, his ambassador at London, to make her proposals of marriage; and he offered to procure from Rome a dispensation for that purpose. Whatever might be her resolution against such an alliance, she returned him a very obliging, though evasive answer; and he retained such hopes of success, that he sent a messenger to Rome, with orders to solicit the dispensation.

*which she
declines.*

*Re-esta-
blishment of
the Pro-
testant re-
ligion.*

The queen, not to alarm the partizans of the Catholic religion, had retained eleven of her sister's counsellors; but in order to balance their authority, she added eight, who were known to be inclined to the Protestant communion. These were the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, sir Thomas Parry, sir Edward Rogers, sir Ambrose Cave, sir Francis Knolles, sir Nicholas Bacon, whom she created lord-keeper, and sir William Cecil, secretary of state. With these counsellors, particularly Cecil, she frequently deliberated concerning the expediency of the means of restoring the Protestant religion. By his advice, she immediately recalled all exiles, and gave liberty to all prisoners who were confined on account of religion. She next published a proclamation, by which she forbade all preaching without a special licence. She also suspended the laws so far as to have a great part of the service to be read in English; and forbade the host to be any more elevated in her presence. A parliament soon after sanctioned these acts of prerogative; and in one session the form of religion was established as it has ever since remained in the nation.

A.D. 1559.

*A parlia-
ment.*

*Peace with
France.*

Of nine thousand four hundred beneficed clergymen, which was the number of those in the kingdom, only fourteen bishops, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, and about eighty of the parochial clergy, chose to quit their preferments rather than give up their religion.

While the queen and parliament were employed in settling the national religion, the negotiations for a peace were still conducted between France, Spain, and England; and Elizabeth, though equally prudent, was not equally successful in this transaction. It was at last agreed, that

Henry should restore Calais at the expiration of eight years; that, in case of failure, he should pay five hundred thousand crowns, and the queen's title to Calais still remain; that he should find the security of seven or eight foreign merchants, not natives of France; for the payment of this sum; that he should deliver five hostages until that security were provided; that if Elizabeth broke the peace with France or Scotland during the interval, she should forfeit all title to Calais; but if Henry made war on Elizabeth, he should be obliged immediately to restore that fortress^b. It was evident that these stipulations were but a colourable pretence for abandoning Calais; but all men excused the queen on account of the necessity of her affairs; and they even extolled her prudence, in submitting without farther struggle, to that necessity.

But though peace was concluded between France and England, there soon appeared a ground of quarrel, of the most serious nature, and which was afterwards attended with the most important consequences. As Elizabeth had been declared illegitimate by Henry VIII. Francis, who had espoused Mary, queen of Scots, began to assume the title of king of England, in right of his wife; and the latter seemed so far from declining this empty appellation, that she assumed the arms of that kingdom. Elizabeth thence concluded, that the king of France intended, on the first opportunity, to dispute her legitimacy, and her title to the crown. She therefore conceived a violent jealousy against the queen of Scots; and was determined, as far as possible, to incapacitate Henry from the execution of his project. The sudden death of that monarch, who was killed in a tournament at Paris, while celebrating the espousals of his sister with the duke of Savoy, altered not her views. Being informed that his successor, Francis II. continued to assume, without reserve, the title of king of England, she began to consider him and his queen as her mortal enemies; and the present situation of affairs in Scotland afforded her a favourable opportunity, both of revenging the injury, and providing for her own safety.

Disguist between the queen and Mary queen of Scots.

The reformation was at this time making great progress in Scotland, where the animosity of the opposite parties rose to such a height as to threaten a civil war. In this divided state of the kingdom, Elizabeth by giving encouragement to the reformers, gained over their affections from

Affairs in Scotland.

^b Forbes, p. 68. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 505.

their native queen, who, being a Catholic, was inclined to favour those of her own persuasion. The reformers, therefore, to a man, considered Elizabeth as their patroness and defender, and Mary as their persecutor and enemy. Mary, from the natural gaiety of her temper, and from the education which she had received at the court of France, was averse to the gloomy severity which her reformed subjects affected, and which they considered as an essential ingredient in religion. She could not behold, without a mixture of ridicule and hatred, the austere disposition and manners of the reformed clergy, who now bore sway among the people; while they, on the other hand, were moved with abhorrence at the gaiety and levities, however innocent, which she had imported from France. This mutual aversion became daily more violent; and to break out into open opposition, the clergy only waited for a favourable opportunity; which the queen's indiscretion but too soon afforded them.

After two years had been spent in altercation and reproach, between Mary and her subjects, the council at last came to a resolution, that she should look out for some alliance, by which she might be protected against the insolence and misguided zeal of her puritanical instructors. After some deliberation, the person fixed upon was lord Darnley, son to the earl of Lenox. He was Mary's cousin-german, by the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIII. and daughter of the earl of Angus, by Margaret, queen of Scotland. He had been born and educated in England, where the earl of Lenox had constantly resided, after he had been banished by the prevailing power of the house of Hamilton. Darnley was now in his twentieth year, and of a very comely person. Elizabeth was secretly no way averse to this marriage, as it freed her from the dread of a foreign alliance; but when informed that it was actually concluded, she pretended to testify the utmost displeasure. She seized the whole of the earl of Lenox's English estate, and threw the countess and her second son into the Tower. This duplicity of conduct was not uncommon with Elizabeth; and on the present occasion, it served as a pretext for refusing Mary's title to the succession of England, which that princess had frequently urged, but in vain.

Mary, unmoved either by the complaints or menaces of Elizabeth, resolved to indulge her own inclinations; and accordingly the marriage was forwarded with all expedition.

pedition (A). While she had been dazzled by the youth, beauty, and exterior accomplishments of her new lover, she had entirely overlooked the qualities of his mind, which no wise corresponded with those of his person. With a violence of temper, he was variable in his resolutions; and though insolent, was credulous and easily governed by flatterers. Thinking no favours equal to his merit, he was destitute of gratitude; and being addicted to low pleasures, was equally incapable of the sentiments of love and tenderness^c. The queen of Scots, in the first effusions of her fondness, had taken a pleasure in exalting him beyond measure: she had granted him the title of king; she had joined his name with her own in all public acts; but having leisure afterwards to remark his weakness and vices, she began to convert her admiration into disgust; and Darnley, enraged at her increasing coldness, pointed his vengeance against every one whom he deemed the cause of this change in her measures and behaviour.

A.D. 1565.

July 28.
The queen
of Scots
marries
lord Darn-
ley.

There was then in the court one David Rizzio, the son of a musician at Turin, and himself of that profession. He had come into Scotland in the train of an ambassador, whom the duke of Savoy sent thither to congratulate Mary, some time after her first arrival. As he understood music to perfection, and sung a good bass, he was introduced into the queen's concert; where she was so pleased with his performance, that she engaged him to complete her band of music, and retained him in her service after the departure of his master. Her secretary for French dispatches having, some time after, incurred her displeasure, she promoted Rizzio to that office, by which he had frequent opportunities of approaching her person, and insinuating himself into her favour. He made so good use of the access which fortune had procured him, that he was soon regarded as the chief confidant and even minister of the queen. He was consulted on all occasions; no favours could be obtained but by his intercession; and all suitors were obliged to gain Rizzio by presents and flattery. It was easy for Darnley's friends to persuade him that Rizzio was the author of the queen's indifference towards him, and even to excite in his mind jealousies of a

Murder of
Rizzio.

^c Keith, p. 287. 329.

(A) Her first husband, Francis II. king of France, died December 4, 1560, in the seventeenth year of his age.

yet more dangerous nature. The favourite was of a disagreeable figure, but not past his youth; and though the opinion of his criminal correspondence with Mary might seem entirely unreasonable, a suspicious husband could find no other means of accounting for that lavish and imprudent kindness with which she honoured him. The austerity of the ecclesiastics, who could not admit even innocent freedoms, contributed to disseminate this injurious opinion of the queen; and as Rizzio was universally believed to be a pensionary of the pope, and to be deeply engaged in all schemes against the Protestants, any story to his and Mary's disadvantage received implicit credit among the zealots of that communion.

Other causes likewise contributed to inflame the animosity of individuals against this obnoxious favourite. He was the declared enemy of those lords who had been banished for opposing the queen's marriage; and by promoting the persecution against them, he had exposed himself to the resentment of their numerous friends and retainers. A scheme was also thought to be in agitation for revoking some exorbitant grants made during the queen's minority; and even the nobles, who had seized the ecclesiastical benefices, began to think themselves insecure in the possession of them^d. The earl of Morton, chancellor, was farther affected by a public rumour, that Mary intended to dismiss him her service, and to confer his place upon Rizzio, a mean and upstart foreigner, ignorant of the laws and language of the country^e. Morton, therefore, employed all his art to inflame the discontent and jealousy of Darnley; and both of them, in concert with George Douglas, natural brother to the countess of Lenox, and the lords Ruthven and Lindesey, with the concurrence of the earl of Lenox^f, Henry's father, formed the resolution of assassinating the poor favourite; and it was determined, that, as a punishment for the queen's indiscretions, the murder should be committed in her presence. Mary was at this time in the sixth month of her pregnancy, and was then supping in private, at table with the countess of Argyle, her natural sister, Rizzio, and some others of her servants. Darnley entered the room by a private passage, and stood at the back of Mary's chair. Lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and other conspirators, all armed, rushed in after him, and by their fierce looks excited the apprehensions of the queen, who demanded of

A.D. 1566.

5th Mar.

^d Keith, p. 326. Melvil, p. 64.

^e Buchanan, lib. xvii.

cap. 60. Crawford, p. 6. Spotswood, p. 104. Knox, p. 393.

Jebb, vol. i. p. 456.

^f Crawford, p. 7.

them the reason of this rude intrusion. They told her, that they intended no violence against her person; but meant only to bring that villain, pointing to Rizzio, to his deserved punishment. Rizzio ran immediately behind the queen, and taking hold of her robes, implored her protection; while she interposed between him and the assassins, and endeavoured, by her cries and intreaties, to divert them from their purpose. The impatient conspirators, regardless of her efforts, rushed upon their prey; and Douglas, snatching a dagger from Darnley's side, plunged it into Rizzio's bosom, who, screaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary by the other conspirators and dragged into an antichamber, where he was dispatched with fifty-six wounds ^z. The unhappy princess, informed of his fate, immediately dried her tears, and said, she would weep no more, for she would now think of revenge. The insult, indeed, upon her person and honour, and the danger to which her life was exposed, on account of her pregnancy, were injuries so atrocious that they scarcely left room for pardon.

The assassins, apprehensive of Mary's resentment, detained her prisoner in the palace; and the king dismissed all who seemed willing to attempt her rescue, by telling them, that nothing had been done without his orders, and that he would be careful of the queen's safety. Murray and the banished lords appeared two days after; and Mary, whose anger was now engrossed by injuries more recent and violent, was willingly reconciled to them; and she even received her brother with tenderness and affection. They obtained an acquittal from parliament, and were reinstated in their honours and fortunes. The accomplices also in Rizzio's murder applied to her for a pardon; but she artfully delayed compliance, and persuaded them, that so long as she was detained in custody, and was surrounded by guards, any deed, which she should sign, would have no validity. Meanwhile she had, by her caresses and natural allurements, gained every compliance from her husband, who soon gave up all his accomplices to her resentment, and retired with her to Dunbar. Many of her subjects here offered her their services; and Mary, having collected an army which the conspirators were unable to resist, advanced to Edinburgh, and obliged them to fly into England, where they lived in great poverty and distress. They made application, however, to the earl of Bothwell, a new favourite of Mary's; and that noble-

^z Melvil, p. 64. Keith, p. 330, 331. Crawford, p. 9.

man, desirous of strengthening his party by the accession of their interest, was able to pacify her resentment; and he soon after procured them liberty to return home ^b.

A.D. 1566.

19th June.
Mary is delivered of a son.

The vengeance of the queen was implacable only against her husband, whose person was before disagreeable to her; and having persuaded him to give up his accomplices, she treated him with merited disdain and indignation ^f, and encouraged her courtiers in their neglect of him. He was, however, permitted to have apartments in the castle of Edinburgh, which Mary had chosen for the place of her delivery, and where she soon after brought forth a son.

The parliament is solicitous for having the succession declared in favour of the queen of Scots,

The birth of a son gave additional zeal to Mary's partizans in England ^k; and even men of the most opposite parties began to cry aloud for some settlement of the succession. These humours broke out with great vehemence in a new session of parliament. The house of peers, which had hitherto declined touching on this delicate point, here took the lead; and the house of commons soon after imitated the zeal of the lords. The courtiers endeavoured to elude the debate, by declaring, they had heard the queen positively affirm, that, for the good of her people, she was determined to marry. Few members, however, gave credit to this intelligence; it was considered merely as an artifice, by which she endeavoured to retract that positive declaration, which she had made in the beginning of her reign, that she meant to live and die a virgin. But though Elizabeth was able to elude, for the present, the applications of parliament, the friends of the queen of Scots multiplied daily in England; and beside the Catholics, many of whom kept a treasonable correspondence with her, and were ready to rise at her command ^l, the court itself of Elizabeth was full of her avowed partizans. The duke of Norfolk, the earls of Leicester, Pembroke, Bedford, Northumberland, sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and most of the considerable men in England, except Cecil, seemed convinced of the necessity of declaring her the successor. Mary's behaviour also, so moderate towards the Protestants, and so gracious towards all men, had procured her universal respect ^m; and the public was willing to ascribe any imprudencies, into which she had fallen, to her youth and inexperience.

who has a strong party in England.

^b Melvil, p. 75, 76. Keith, p. 334. Knox, p. 398. ⁱ Melvil, p. 66, 67. ^k Camden, p. 397. ^l Haynes, p. 416, 418. ^m Melvil, p. 53, 61, 74.

But these flattering prospects were blasted by the subsequent incidents; where her egregious indiscretions, not to say atrocious crimes, threw her from a state of prosperity and involved her in ruin.

The earl of Bothwell, now Mary's favourite, was of a considerable family in Scotland; and though not distinguished by any talents, civil or military, yet he made some figure in the dissensions of the state, and was an opposer of the Reformation. He was a man of profligate manners, had involved his fortune in great incumbrances, and even reduced himself to beggary by his profusion.ⁿ This nobleman, notwithstanding, had ingratiated himself so far with the queen, that all her measures were entirely directed by his advice and authority. Reports were even spread of more particular intimacies; which gave such uneasiness to Darnley, that he left the court, and retired to Glasgow. An illness of an extraordinary nature, with which he was seized on his arrival at that place, was universally ascribed by her enemies to a dose of poison, which, it was pretended, she had administered to him. Shortly after, all those who wished well to her character, or repose to their country, were extremely pleased, and even surprised, to hear that her tenderness for her husband was revived; and that she had taken a journey to visit him, during his sickness. Darnley was so far allured by her behaviour on this occasion, that he resolved to part with her no more; and he soon after attended her to Edinburgh, which was thought to be a place more favourable to his declining health. The queen lived in the palace of Holyrood-house; but as the situation of that palace was low, and the concourse of persons about court necessarily attended with noise, which might disturb her husband in his present infirm state, she fitted up an apartment for him in a solitary house at some distance, called the Kirk of Field. Mary there gave him marks of kindness and attachment; she conversed cordially with him, and she lay some nights in a room under him. On the 9th of February, she told him that she would pass that night in the palace, because the marriage of one of her servants was to be there celebrated in her presence. About two o'clock in the morning, the whole town was alarmed at hearing a great noise; the house in which Darnley lay was blown up with gun-powder. His dead body was found at some distance in a neighbouring field, without any marks of

*Murder of
Darnley.*

ⁿ Keith, p. 240.

violence or confusion. No doubt could be entertained but Darnley was murdered; and the general suspicion fell upon Bothwel as the author of the crime^o. But as his favour with Mary, and his power was great, no one ventured to declare openly his sentiments. Voices, however, were heard in the streets, during the night, proclaiming Bothwel, and even Mary herself, to be the murderers; and bills, to the same purpose, were secretly affixed on the walls. Mary, more solicitous to punish others than defend herself, offered rewards for the discovery of those who had spread such reports; but no rewards were offered for the discovery of the murderers. One indiscretion succeeded another: Bothwel, though accused of being stained with her husband's blood, had the confidence, while Mary was on her way to Stirling, on a visit to her son, to seize her at the head of a body of eight hundred horse, and to carry her to Dunbar, where he forced her to yield to his purposes. While she was at this place, some of the nobility sent her a private message, in which they told her, that, if she really lay under any constraint, they would use all their force to rescue her. Her answer was, that she had indeed been carried to Dunbar by violence, but ever since her arrival, had been so well treated, that she willingly remained with Bothwel^p. It was generally thought by the people, that he who was supposed to kill the queen's husband, and to have offered violence to her person, could expect no mercy; but they were astonished upon finding, instead of disgrace, that Bothwell was taken into more than former favour; and to crown all, that he was married to the queen, having divorced his own wife to procure this union.

Mary marries the earl of Bothwel

This alliance, apparently so criminal, led the people to pay very little deference to Mary's authority. The protestant teachers, whose influence was every where considerable, had long borne great animosity towards her, and they now loudly exclaimed against her conduct. The principal nobility met at Sterling, and formed an association for protecting the young prince, and punishing his father's murderers. The first that took up arms was lord Hume; who leading a body of eight hundred horse, suddenly environed the queen and Bothwel, in the castle of Borthwick. They found means, however, to make their escape; and Bothwel, at the head of a few forces, meeting the associators within about six miles of Edinburgh,

^o Melvil, p. 78. Cabala, p. 136.

^p Spotswood, p. 202.

was obliged to capitulate; while Mary was conducted by the prevailing party into that capital, amidst the insults and reproaches of the populace. She was thence sent a prisoner to the castle of Lochleven, situate in a lake of that name. The mistress of the house was mother to the earl of Murray; and as she pretended to have been lawfully married to the late king of Scots, she naturally bore an animosity to Mary, and treated her with the utmost harshness. Bothwell, during the conference, fled unattended to Dunbar; where fitting out a few small ships, he subsisted among the Orkneys for some time by piracy. Being pursued thither, and his domestics taken, who made a full discovery of his crimes, himself escaped to Denmark, where he was thrown into prison, lost his senses, and died miserably about ten years afterwards.

A. D. 567.

Mary is imprisoned in the castle of Lochleven.

Bothwell flies to the Orkneys, and thence to Denmark, where he dies.

The fears and jealousies of Elizabeth being now lulled asleep, by the consideration of the ruin and infamy which Mary had incurred, she seemed to be touched with compassion towards the unfortunate queen; for alleviating whose calamities she resolved to employ her authority. She sent sir Nicholas Throgmorton ambassador to Scotland, in order to remonstrate both with Mary and the associated lords; but the latter thought proper to deny him, after several affected delays, all access to Mary. But though he could not confer with her, he procured her the best terms from the rebellious lords that he could; which were, that she should resign the crown in favour of her son, who was as yet a minor; that she should appoint the earl of Murray, who had from the beginning testified a hatred to lord Darnley, as regent of the kingdom; and as he was then in France, that she should appoint a council until his arrival. When the instruments were brought to Mary to sign, she burst into a flood of tears, at the thought of resigning all power; but she afterwards subscribed them, even without inspection⁹. In consequence of this forced resignation, the young prince was proclaimed king, by the name of James VI. The queen had now no hopes but from the kindness of the earl of Murray; but even in this she was disappointed; the earl, upon his return, instead of affording her consolation, loaded her with reproaches, which reduced her almost to despair.

Elizabeth endeavours to mediate a peace between the queen of Scots, and the associated lords.]

Mary is obliged to resign the crown to her son.

A. D. 1563.

Mary, by her charms and promises, had engaged a young gentleman, whose name was George Douglas, to

⁹ Melvil, p. 85. Spotswood, p. 218, Anderson, vol. iii. p. 19. assist

The queen of Scots escapes from her imprisonment, and is joined by six thousand men.

assist her in escaping from her confinement. He accordingly conveyed her in disguise into a small boat, and himself towed her ashore. The news of her enlargement being spread abroad, the loyalty of the people seemed to revive. As Bothwell was no longer associated in her cause, many of the nobility, who expected to succeed him in favour, signed a bond of association for her defence; and in a few days she saw herself at the head of six thousand men.

15th May. Battle of Langside.

The earl of Murray, now regent, was not slow in assembling his forces; and though his army was inferior to that of the queen of Scots, he ventured to take the field against her. At Langside, near Glasgow, was fought a battle, entirely decisive in his favour. The action was followed by a total dispersion of the queen's party: the unhappy princess fled southwards with great precipitation, and came, with a few attendants, to the borders of England, where she hoped for protection, and even for assistance, from Elizabeth.

The queen flies to England.

With these hopes she embarked on board a fishing boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Wirkington in Cumberland, whence she immediately dispatched a messenger to London, craving protection, and desiring liberty to visit the queen. Elizabeth deliberated for some time upon the proper method of proceeding, and resolved at last to act in a friendly yet cautious manner. She immediately sent orders to lady Scrope, sister to the duke of Norfolk, a lady who lived in that neighbourhood, to attend on the queen of Scots; and soon after dispatched lord Scrope, and sir Francis Knolles, to pay her all possible respect. Notwithstanding these marks of distinction, the queen refused to admit Mary into her presence, until she should clear herself of her husband's murder, of which she was so strongly accused^c. So unexpected a check threw Mary into tears; and her present embarrassment extorted from her a declaration, that she would willingly justify herself to her sister from all imputations, and would submit her cause to the arbitration of so good a friend^d.

She sends a messenger to Elizabeth, who orders her to be respectfully attended, but refuses to see her until she clears herself of Darnley's murder.

Elizabeth immediately dispatched a messenger to the regent of Scotland; requiring him both to desist from farther prosecution of his queen's party, and to send some persons to London, to justify his conduct with regard to her. This imperious message was probably received by

^c Anderson, vol. iv. p. 54. 66. 82, 83. 86.
20. 55. 87.

^d Ibid. p.

Murray with secret indignation ; but as his domestic enemies were numerous and powerful, and England was the sole ally, which he could expect among foreign nations, he resolved rather to digest the affront than provoke Elizabeth by a refusal. He therefore replied, that he would himself take a journey to England, attended by other commissioners ; and would willingly submit the determination of his cause to Elizabeth^c.

The queen of Scots, after much reluctance, was at last obliged to admit her ancient rival as umpire in her cause, and the accusation was readily undertaken by Murray, the regent, who had already manifested the most violent prejudice against Mary. This extraordinary conference, which deliberated on the conduct of a foreign queen, was opened at York ; and was managed by three commissioners appointed by Elizabeth, nine by the queen of Scots, and five by the regent, in which number himself was included. From York, the conferences were in a little time adjourned to Hampton-Court, where the commissioners of all the parties attended. Among the proofs produced of Mary's guilt, were many letters and sonnets, said to be written in her own hand to Bothwel, in which she discovers her knowledge of Darnley's intended murder, and her contrivance to marry Bothwel, by pretending a forced compliance. These papers, it must be acknowledged, are not free from the suspicion of forgery, though the arguments for their authenticity seem to prevail. However this be, the evidence of Mary's guilt appearing stronger, it was thought proper to desire that her advocates should give answers to them ; but they, contrary to expectation, refused ; alleging, that as Mary was a sovereign princess, she could not be subject to any tribunal ; not considering that the avowed design of this conference was not punishment, but reconciliation ; that it was not to try Mary in order to inflict penalties, but to evince whether she were worthy of Elizabeth's friendship and protection. Mary, instead of attempting to justify her conduct, laboured to obtain an interview with Elizabeth ; but as she still persisted in a resolution to make no defence, this demand was finally refused her. The unfortunate queen, however, persevered in soliciting Elizabeth's protection ; requesting, that either she should be assisted in her endeavours to recover her authority, or that liberty should be given her of retiring into France,

*Conferences
relative to
the queen
of Scots.*

^c Anderson, vol. iv. p. 13—16.

Mary is confined in Tutbury-castle.

where she might use her efforts to obtain the friendship of other princes. But Elizabeth, sensible of the danger which attended either of these proposals, was secretly resolved to detain her in captivity; and she was accordingly sent to Tutbury-castle, in the county of Stafford, where she was put under the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury. There the captive queen was amused with hopes of one day coming into favour; and that, unless her own obstinacy prevented, an accommodation might at last take place.

The regent of Scotland is assassinated. Mary's partizans make an irruption into the borders. Elizabeth sends an army to chastise them.

Those hopes of accommodation, however, were in the sequel entirely frustrated. The factions in Scotland tended not a little to alarm the jealousy of Elizabeth, and increase the rigours of Mary's confinement. The regent of Scotland, who had long been her inveterate enemy, happening, in revenge of a private injury, to be assassinated by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton, upon his death the kingdom relapsed into its former anarchy. Mary's party once more assembled, and made themselves masters of Edinburgh. They even proceeded to the borders of England, where they committed some disorders, which drew the attention of Elizabeth. She quickly sent thither an army, commanded by the earl of Suffex, who, entering Scotland, principally chastised all the partizans of the captive queen, under a pretence that they had offended his mistress by harbouring English rebels.

The earl of Lenox is appointed regent of Scotland.

But the policy of Elizabeth terminated not with this enterprize. While she maintained the most friendly correspondence with Mary, and the warmest protestations of sincerity passed between them, she was far from either assisting her cause, or yet from rendering it desperate. It was her interest to keep the factions in Scotland still alive; for which purpose she weakened, by tedious negotiations, the queen's party, which had now promised to prevail, and procured the earl of Lenox to be appointed regent, in the room of Murray who was slain.

A.D. 1569.

Duke of Norfolk's conspiracy.

While Mary's party in Scotland was thus depressed by the arts of Elizabeth, an attempt, which was concerted near the place of her captivity, proved also unsuccessful. The duke of Norfolk was the only peer in England who enjoyed the highest title of nobility; and the qualities of his mind corresponded to the eminence of his station. Beneficent, affable, and generous, he had acquired the affections of the people; and yet, from his prudence and moderation, he had never alarmed the jealousy of the sovereign. He was at this time a widower, and being of a suit-

a suitable age to espouse the queen of Scots, her attractions, as well as his own interests, made him desirous of the match. The obtaining Elizabeth's consent to their nuptials, was considered as an indispensable circumstance; but though this nobleman made almost all the nobility of England acquainted with his intended alliance, he never had the prudence, or the courage, to open his designs to Elizabeth. On the contrary, in order to suppress the surmises which were currently reported, he spoke to the queen contemptuously of Mary; affirmed that his estates in England were of more value than all the revenues of Scotland; and declared, that when he amused himself in his own tennis-court at Norwich, he was a greater prince than the sovereign of that kingdom. This duplicity only served to inflame Elizabeth's suspicions; and Norfolk, perceiving a coldness in the queen's behaviour, retired from the court in disgust. Repenting, however, of this measure soon after, he resolved to return; but, on the way, was stopt by a messenger from the queen, and committed to the Tower, under the custody of sir Henry Nevil^e. Lesley, bishop of Ross, the queen of Scots' ambassador, was examined and confronted with Norfolk before the council^b. The earl of Pembroke was confined to his own house; and Arundel, Lumley, and Throgmorton, all of whom had favoured Norfolk's design, were taken into custody. The queen of Scots was removed to Coventry, where all access to her, during some time, was strictly prohibited; and viscount Hereford was joined to the earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon, in the office of guarding her.

Norfolk is committed to the Tower.

The queen of Scots is removed to Coventry.

The partizans of the duke of Norfolk, however, were too much attached to his interest not to make an effort for his release. The earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland had prepared measures for an insurrection; had communicated their design to Mary and her minister; had entered into a correspondence with the duke of Alva, governor of the Low Countries, and had obtained his promise of men and ammunition. But those intrigues could not long escape the vigilance of Elizabeth's ministers. Orders were immediately sent to Westmoreland and Northumberland to appear at court, and answer for their conduct. But those noblemen having already proceeded so far in their criminal designs, that they dared not trust themselves in her hands, found

^a Camden, p. 421. Haynes, p. 540.

^b Lesley, p. 80.

*Insurrec-
tions in the
North.*

it necessary to begin their revolt before matters were entirely prepared for its opening. They accordingly published a manifesto, in which they alleged, that no injury was intended against the queen; but that their sole aim was to re-establish the religion of their ancestors, to remove all evil counsellors from about the queen's person, and to restore the duke of Norfolk to his liberty and the queen's favour^l. Their force amounted to four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse; and they expected to be joined by all the Catholics in England^k. But in this expectation, they soon found themselves greatly deceived: the queen's prudent conduct had acquired her the general good-will of the people; inso-much that the Catholics in most counties expressed an affection for her service^l. Even the duke of Norfolk, for whose sake the revolt had been undertaken, used every method that his situation would permit, to assist the queen in reducing the insurgents. A body of seven thousand men, under the command of the earl of Suffex, marched against the rebels, whom they found already advanced to the bishoprick of Durham, and in possession of that district. The insurgents immediately retired before the royal army to Hexham; where hearing that the earl of Warwick and lord Clinton were advancing against them with a greater force, they found no other resource than to disperse themselves, without striking a blow. Northumberland fled to Scotland, and was confined by the regent in the castle of Lochlevin: Westmoreland, after attempting to excite the Scots to revolt, betook himself to Flanders, where he met with protection. This rebellion was soon followed by another, led on by lord Dacres, but with as little success. Great severity was exercised against such as had taken part in these rash enterprizes; and no less than eight hundred persons are said to have suffered by the hands of the executioner^m. But the queen was so much pleased with Norfolk's behaviour, that she released him from the Tower; allowed him to live, though under some shew of confinement, in his own house, and only exacted from him a promise not to proceed any farther in his negotiations with the queen of Scotsⁿ.

Norfolk, however, had not been released above a year, when new projects were set on foot by the enemies of the

*The earl of
Suffex
marches
with an
army
against the
rebels,
who soon
disperse.*

*Norfolk is
released
from the
Tower.*

^l Cabala, p. 169. Strype, vol. i. p. 547. ^k Stowe, p. 663.
^l Calaba, p. 170. Digges, p. 4. ^m Lesley, p. 32. ⁿ Ibid.
p. 98. Cumden, p. 419. Haynes, p. 597.

queen and the reformed religion, secretly fomented by Rodolphi, an instrument of the court of Rome, and the bishop of Ross, Mary's minister in England. It was concerted by them, that Norfolk should renew his designs upon Mary. A promise of marriage was therefore renewed between the parties; the duke engaged to enter into all her interests; and as his ambitious views gradually overcame his prudence, he consented to enterprizes which soon after terminated in his ruin. It was agreed, that the duke of Alva should transport into England a body of six thousand foot, and four thousand horse; that the duke of Norfolk should join them with all his adherents; and that they should afterwards march directly to London, and oblige the queen to submit to whatever terms the conspirators should please to impose upon her. This scheme was so secretly laid, that it had hitherto entirely eluded the vigilance of Elizabeth; and that of secretary Cecil, who now bore the title of lord Burleigh; and it was at last discovered, merely by accident. The duke having sent a sum of money to lord Herries, one of Mary's partizans in Scotland, did not think proper to acquaint the bearer with the real value of the remittance; and the messenger finding, by the weight of the bag, that it contained a larger sum than the duke mentioned to him, began to mistrust some plot, and brought the money, with the duke's letter, to the secretary of state.

A.D. 1572.

Norfolk enters into a new conspiracy,

which is discovered by accident

By the artifices of that great statesman, the duke's servants were brought to make a full confession of their master's guilt; and the bishop of Ross, soon after, finding the whole discovered, did not scruple to confirm their testimony. The duke was instantly committed to the Tower, and ordered to prepare for his trial. A jury of twenty-five peers unanimously passed sentence upon him, and the queen, four months after, reluctantly signed the warrant for his execution. He died with calmness and constancy; and though he cleared himself of any disloyal intentions against the queen's authority, he acknowledged the justice of the sentence by which he suffered. A few months after, the duke of Northumberland, being delivered up by the regent, underwent a similar trial, and was also brought to the scaffold. All these ineffectual efforts in favour of the queen of Scots, seemed only the more to dissipate all hopes of her deliverance from confinement; and she

The duke of Norfolk is committed to the Tower.

A.D. 1572.

12th Jan. His trial, and execution.

Northumberland is also tried and executed.

* Lesley, p. 155. State Trials, vol. i. p. 26, 27. P Camden, p. 440. Strype, vol. ii. App. p. 23.

henceforth continued for several years a precarious dependent on the suspicions of Elizabeth, who only waited until some new efforts of Mary's adherents should give a plausible pretext for having recourse to extremities, which political, and not merciful motives so long suspended.

Having thus far attended the queen of Scotland, we now return to some transactions, prior in point of time, but of less consideration.

Hostilities between England and Spain. The Spaniards invade Ireland, but are cut off by the earl of Ormond. Sir Francis Drake attacks the Spaniards in South America, and sails round the world.

There had for some time subsisted disgusts between the court of England and that of Spain; occasioned, probably, by Elizabeth's having rejected the suit of Philip. This breach was widened on both sides by petty hostilities. The Spaniards, on their part, had sent into Ireland a body of seven hundred of their nation, with some Italians, who built there a fort; but were soon after cut off to a man, by the earl of Ormond. On the other hand the English, under the conduct of sir Francis Drake, attacked the Spaniards in their settlements in South America. This was the first Englishman that sailed round the globe; and the queen was so much pleased with his valour and success, that she accepted a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the ship which had atchieved so memorable a voyage.

While hostilities were daily multiplying between Spain and England, Elizabeth began to look out for an alliance that might support her against so dangerous an adversary. The duke of Anjou had long made pretensions to the queen, and though he was younger by twenty-five years, he took the resolution to prefer his suit in person, and paid her a private visit at Greenwich. It appears, that though his figure was not advantageous, his address was pleasing. The queen ordered her ministers to fix the terms of the contract; and a day was appointed for the solemnization of their nuptials. But as the time approached, Elizabeth became irresolute and melancholy; she could not be induced to change her condition, and therefore the duke of Anjou was dismissed.

Elizabeth thus depriving herself of a foreign ally, looked for assistance from her own subjects; among whom, however, she had many enemies. Several conspiracies were formed against her life; many of which were imputed to the intrigues of the queen of Scots. Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland, brother to him beheaded some years before, and Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, son to the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, fell under suspicion, and the latter was, by order of the council,

council, confined to his own house. Francis Throgmorton, a private gentleman, was committed to custody, on account of a letter which he had written to the queen of Scots; and shortly after confessing his guilt, he was condemned and executed. Soon after William Parry, a Catholic gentleman, who had on a former occasion received the queen's pardon, was found engaged in a desperate conspiracy to assassinate his sovereign and benefactor. He had consulted upon the justice and expediency of this criminal purpose, with the pope's nuncio and legate, who extremely applauded his design, and exhorted him to persevere in his resolution. He therefore associated himself with one Nevil, who entered zealously into the project; and it was determined to shoot the queen while she was taking the air on horseback. But while they were watching an opportunity for the execution of their purpose, the earl of Westmoreland happened to die in exile; and as Nevil was next heir to the family, he began to entertain hopes, that by doing the queen some acceptable service, he might recover the estate and honours which had been forfeited by the rebellion of the last earl. He therefore discovered the whole conspiracy to the ministers; and Parry, being thrown into prison, confessed the guilt both to them and to the jury who tried him. He was shortly after condemned and executed.

A conspiracy is formed by the Catholics to shoot Elizabeth, but is discovered.

These attempts, which were entirely set on foot by the Catholic party, served to increase the severity of the laws against all of that communion. Popish priests were banished the kingdom, those who harboured or relieved them were declared guilty of felony, and many were executed in consequence of this severe edict. Nor was the queen of Scots herself without some share of the punishment. She was removed from under the care of the earl of Shrewsbury, who had always been indulgent to his prisoner, particularly with regard to air and exercise; and she was committed to the custody of sir Amias Paulett, and sir Drue Drury, men of honour, but inflexible and rigid in the observance of orders.

Great severity against the Catholics.

The queen of Scots is put under the care of more severe keepers.

These conspiracies had the effect of preparing the way for Mary's ruin, whose greatest misfortunes proceeded at least as much from the imprudent zeal of her friends as from the malignity of her enemies. Elizabeth's ministers had long been waiting for some opportunity of accusing the captive queen of treasonable practices; and their anxious expectations were now gratified. One John Ballard, a popish priest, who had been bred in the English sem-

*Babington's
conspiracy.*

minary at Rheims, came over to England in the disguise of a soldier, under the assumed name of captain Fortescue, with the execrable design of compassing the death of a sovereign, whom he considered as the enemy of his religion. The first person to whom he addressed himself was Anthony Babington, of Dethick, in the county of Derby, a young gentleman of good family, and possessed of a very plentiful fortune. Babington had been long remarkable for his zeal in the catholic cause, and in particular for his attachment to the captive queen. He therefore entered readily into the plot, and procured also the concurrence of some other associates. These were Barnwell, a gentleman of a considerable family in Ireland; Charnock, a gentleman of Lancashire; Abington, whose father had been cofferer to the household; and John Savage, a man of desperate fortune, who had served in the Low Countries, and came into England under a vow to destroy the queen. He indeed did not seem to desire any associate in the enterprize; and challenging the execution of it entirely to himself, refused for some time to permit any to share with him in what he esteemed his greatest glory. The next step was to apprize Mary of the conspiracy formed in her favour; and this they effected by conveying their letters to her through a chink in the wall of her apartment, by means of a brewer who served the family with ale. In these, Babington informed her of a design laid for a foreign invasion, the plan of an insurrection at home, the scheme for her delivery, and the conspiracy for assassinating the usurper by six noble gentlemen, as he termed them; all of them his friends; who, from the zeal which they bore the catholic cause, and her majesty's service, would undertake the accomplishment of the purpose. To these, it was said, Mary replied, that she approved highly of the design; that the gentlemen might expect from her all the rewards which it should ever be in her power to confer; and that the death of Elizabeth was a necessary circumstance, previous to any attempts, either for her own deliverance or an insurrection⁹. These letters, with others to Mendoza, Charles Paget, the archbishop of Glasgow, and sir Francis Inglesfield, were carried by Giffard to secretary Walsingham; were decyphered by the art of Philips, his clerk; and copies taken of them. In order to obtain a full insight into the plot, Walsingham employed another artifice.

*Mary ap-
proves of
the con-
spiracy.*

⁹ State Trials, vol. i. p. 135. Camden, p. 515.

He subjoined to a letter of Mary's a postscript in the same cypher; in which Babington was desired to inform her of the names of the conspirators.

Meanwhile Babington, anxious to hasten the foreign succours, resolved to dispatch Ballard into France; and he procured for him a passport under a feigned name. In order to remove from himself all suspicion, he applied to Walsingham, pretended great zeal for the queen's service, and professed his intentions of employing the confidence which he had gained among the Catholics, to the detection of their conspiracies. Walsingham commended his loyal purposes, and promising his assistance in the execution of them, maintained with him a close correspondence. A warrant, meanwhile, was issued for seizing Ballard; and this incident, joined to the consciousness of guilt, threw the conspirators into great apprehensions. They all took to flight, and lay concealed in different places, but were soon discovered and thrown into prison. In their examinations they contradicted each other, and the leaders were obliged to make a full confession of the truth. Fourteen were condemned and executed; of whom seven acknowledged the crime on their trial; the rest were convicted by evidence.

The conspiracy is discovered, and the conspirators executed.

The execution of these wretched men served only to pave the way for one of greater importance, in which a captive queen was to submit to the unjust decisions of those who had no other right, but that of power, to condemn her. Though all England was acquainted with the detection of Babington's conspiracy, every avenue to the unfortunate Mary was so strictly guarded, that she remained in utter ignorance of the whole matter. But her astonishment was equal to her anguish, when sir Thomas Gorges, by Elizabeth's order, came to inform her of the fate of her unhappy confederates. The time he chose for giving her this intelligence, was when she was mounted on horseback to go a-hunting; after which she was not permitted to return to her former place of abode, but was conducted from one gentleman's house to another, until she was lodged in Fotheringay castle, in the county of Northampton, which was fixed upon as the last scene of her trial and sufferings. Her two secretaries, Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle, a native of Scotland, were immediately arrested. All her papers were seized, and sent up to the council. Above sixty different keys to cyphers were discovered.

The queen of Scots is made acquainted with the discovery of the plot.

and is conducted to Fotheringay castle.

The English council was divided in opinion about the measures to be taken against the queen of Scots. Some

*Trial of
the queen
of Scots.*

members proposed, that as her health was very infirm, her life might be shortened by close confinement. To avoid any imputation of violence or cruelty, Leicester advised that she should be dispatched by poison; and he sent a divine to convince Walsingham of the lawfulness of that action; but the majority insisted on her being put to death by legal process. It was therefore resolved, to try Mary, not by the common statute of treasons, but by an act which had passed the former year, with a view to this very event; and the queen, according to that act, appointed a commission, consisting of forty noblemen and privy-counsellors, and empowered them to examine and pass sentence on Mary, whom she denominated the late queen of Scots, and heir to James V. of Scotland. The commissioners came to Fotheringay castle, and delivered her a letter from Elizabeth, commanding her to submit to a trial for her late conspiracy. Mary perused the letter with great composure; and as she had long foreseen the danger that hung over her, received the intelligence without emotion or astonishment. She said, however, that she wondered the queen of England should command her as a subject, who was an independent sovereign, and a queen like herself. She would never, she said, stoop to any condescension which would derogate either from her own dignity or that of her son. The laws of England, she observed, were unknown to her; she was destitute of counsel; nor could she conceive who were to be her peers, as she had but one equal in the kingdom. She added, that though she had lived in England many years, she had lived in captivity, and not having received the protection of the laws, she could not, merely by her involuntary residence in the country, be supposed to have subjected herself to their jurisdiction. When the commissioners pressed her to submit to the queen's pleasure, otherwise they would proceed against her as contumacious, she declared, she would rather suffer a thousand deaths than own herself a subject to any sovereign on earth. That, however, she was ready to vindicate herself in a full and free parliament; but could not view these commissioners in any other light than as men appointed to justify, by some colour of legal proceeding, her condemnation and execution. She exhorted them to consult their own conscience and character in trying an innocent person; and to remember that these transactions would come under the revival of a theatre more extensive than the kingdom of England. At length the vice-chamberlain, Hatton, re-
pre-

presenting that she injured her reputation by avoiding a trial, in which her innocence might be proved to the satisfaction of all the world, overcame her objections. She therefore agreed to plead, upon condition that they would admit her protest, of disallowing all legal subjection; and this being entered upon record, they proceeded to trial.

The lawyers of the crown then opened the charge against the captive queen. They proved, by intercepted letters, that she had allowed cardinal Allen and others to treat her as queen of England; and that she had kept a correspondence with lord Paget and Charles Paget, in view of engaging the Spaniards to invade the kingdom. Mary seemed not anxious to clear herself from either of these imputations. She only said, that she could not hinder others from using what style they pleased in writing to her; and that she might lawfully try every expedient for the recovery of her liberty.

An intercepted letter from her to Mendoza was next produced, in which she promised to transfer to Philip her right to the kingdom of England, if her son should refuse to be converted to the catholic faith; an event, she said, of which there could be no expectation while he remained in the hands of his Scottish subjects^b. This part of the charge also she took no pains to deny, or rather she seemed to acknowledge it.

The only part of the charge which Mary positively denied, was her concurrence in the design of assassinating Elizabeth. This charge was supported by Babington's confession; by the copies taken of their correspondence, in which her approbation of the queen's murder was expressly declared; and by the evidence of her own two secretaries, Nau and Curle, who swore that she received Babington's letters, and that they, by her orders, had answered them. This evidence was farther confirmed by the testimony of Ballard and Savage, to whom Babington had shown those letters, declaring them to have come from the captive queen. To these charges Mary made a sensible and resolute defence. She insisted that Babington's confession was extorted from his fears of the torture; and with this, it is certain, he was threatened. She alleged, that the letters were forgeries, and she desired her secretaries to persist in their evidence if brought into her presence. But this demand, however equitable, was not

^b State Trials, vol. i. p. 138.

then supported by law in trials of high-treason, and was often refused even in other trials, where the crown was prosecutor. The clause, contained in an act of the thirteenth of the queen, was a novelty; that the species of treason there enumerated must be proved by two witnesses, confronted with the prisoner: but Mary was not tried upon that act; and the ministers and crown-lawyers of this reign were always sure to refuse every indulgence beyond what the strict letter of the law, and the settled practice of the courts of justice, required of them.

During the course of the trial, as a letter between Mary and Babington was reading, mention was made in it of the earl of Arundel and his brothers. On hearing their names she burst into a flood of tears, and exclaimed, "Alas! what has the noble house of the Howards suffered for my sake!" She affirmed, with regard to the same letter, that it was easy to forge the hand-writing and cypher of another; she was afraid that this was too familiar a practice with Walsingham, who, she also heard, had frequently practised both against her life and her son's. Walsingham, who was one of the commissioners, rose up, and protested, that, in his private capacity, he had never acted any thing against the queen of Scots; nor, in his public capacity, had ever tampered in any manner unbecoming his character and office. Mary declared herself satisfied of his innocence, and begged he would give as little credit to the malicious accusations of her enemies, as she now gave to the reports she had heard to his prejudice.

A.D. 1586.

Oct. 25.
Sentence
against
Mary.

The trial being finished, the commissioners adjourned from Fotheringay castle to the Star-chamber, at London, where, after taking the oaths of Mary's two secretaries, who vouched the authenticity of the letters produced, they pronounced sentence of death upon the queen of Scots, and confirmed it by their seals and subscriptions. The same day a declaration was published by the commissioners, implying, that the sentence against her did no wise derogate from the title and honour of James, king of Scotland, son to the attainted queen.

The opportunity was now come which Elizabeth had long desired, for executing vengeance on a competitor, who had first been the object of her envy, and afterwards of her apprehension. But she was restrained from gratifying her resentment by a variety of considerations. She knew the odious colours in which this singular example of vindictive and unauthorized jurisdiction would be viewed,

viewed, not only by the numerous partizans of Mary, both in England and Scotland, but the indelible reproach which herself might incur with all contemporary sovereigns, perhaps with all posterity. The rights of hospitality, the ties of blood, the respect due to majesty, and the sacred claims of the unfortunate, would, in one signal instance, all be irretrievably violated. Elizabeth, therefore, who excelled in dissimulation, pretended the utmost reluctance to admit the execution of the sentence. She intreated the parliament, which met four days after, and did not fail to approve the sentence, that they would find some expedient to save her from the necessity of taking a step so extremely repugnant to her inclination. At the same time, however, she affected to dread another conspiracy to assassinate her within a month. In consequence of this pretended apprehension, the parliament, which had before presented an address to the queen, desiring that the sentence against Mary might speedily be put into execution, renewed, in the most earnest manner, their solicitations, arguments, and intreaties. Elizabeth still affected to continue inflexible; but, at the same time, permitted Mary's sentence to be made public; and lord Buckhurst, and Beale, clerk to the council, were sent to the unhappy queen to apprise her of the sentence, and the impatience of the public for its speedy execution. When this information was communicated to Mary, she received it without any emotion; but declared, that since her death was demanded by the Protestants, she died a martyr to the catholic religion. She said, that as the English had often embued their hands in the blood of their sovereigns, it was nothing strange that they exercised their cruelty towards her^c. Paulet, her keeper, received orders to take down her canopy, and to serve her no longer with the respect due to sovereign princes. He told her, that she was now to be considered as a dead person, and incapable of any dignity^d. With this treatment, however harsh, she seemed to be entirely unaffected. She only replied, that she received her royal character from the hands of the Almighty, and no earthly power could deprive her of it. She wrote her last letter to Elizabeth, not demanding her life, which she now seemed willing to part with, but desiring, that after her enemies should be satiated with her innocent blood, her body might be con-

Elizabeth affects great reluctance to put the sentence into execution.

^c Camden, q. 528.

^d Jebb, vol. ii. p. 293.

The king of France sends over an ambassador to intercede with Elizabeth for Mary's life. James, king of Scotland, makes strong applications in her favour.

signed to her servants, and conveyed to France, to repose in a catholic country, with the sacred relics of her mother.

Meanwhile this extraordinary sentence was spread into all parts of Europe, and great efforts were made by foreign powers with Elizabeth to prevent it from being carried into execution. The king of France was among the foremost that attempted to avert the threatened blow. He sent over Believre, as an extraordinary ambassador, with a professed intention of interceding for the life of Mary. But James of Scotland, her son, was, as in duty obliged, still more pressing in her behalf. He dispatched sir William Keith, a gentleman of his bedchamber, with a letter to Elizabeth, conjuring her to spare the life of his parent, and mixing threats of vengeance in case of a refusal. Soon after, James sent the master of Gray and sir Robert Melvil, to enforce the remonstrances of Keith, and to employ with the queen every expedient of argument and menaces. Elizabeth, however, treated his remonstrances with the utmost indignation; and when the Scottish ambassador begged that the execution might be put off for a week, she answered with great emotion, "No, not for an hour." Thus Elizabeth, when solicited by foreign princes to pardon the queen of Scots, seemed disposed to proceed to extremities against her; but when her ministers urged her to strike the blow, her scruples and reluctance, or rather an affectation of them, always returned.

When Elizabeth thought, that as many importunities had been used, and as much delay interposed, as decency required, she at last determined to carry the sentence into execution. But, in order to alarm the vulgar, rumours were previously dispersed, that the Spanish fleet was arrived in Milford Haven; that the Scots had made an irruption into England; that the duke of Guise was landed in Suffex with a strong army; that the queen of Scots was escaped from prison, and had raised an army; that the northern counties had begun an insurrection; that a new conspiracy was forming to assassinate the queen, and set the city of London on fire; nay, that the queen was actually assassinated. Elizabeth, affecting to be in terror and perplexity, was observed to sit much alone, pensive and silent, and sometimes to mutter half sentences, importing the difficulty and distress to which she was reduced^c. She at last called Davison, a man of parts, but easy to be imposed on, and who had lately, for that very

^c Camden, p. 534.

reason, been made secretary, and she ordered him privately to draw a warrant for the execution of the queen of Scots; which, she afterwards said, she intended to keep by her, in case any attempt should be made for the deliverance of that princess. After signing the warrant, she commanded Davison to carry it to the chancellor, in order to have the great-seal appended to it. Next day she sent Killigrew to Davison, enjoining him to forbear, some time, executing her former orders; and when Davison came and told her, that the warrant had already passed the great-seal, she seemed to be somewhat moved, and blamed him for his precipitation. Davison, being in perplexity, acquainted the council with the whole transaction; and they endeavoured to persuade him to send off Beale with the warrant. If the queen should be displeased, they promised to justify his conduct, and to take on themselves the whole blame of this measure. The secretary, not sufficiently aware of their intention, complied with their advice, and the warrant was dispatched to the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, and some others, ordering them to see the sentence executed on the queen of Scots.

The two earls came to Fotheringay castle, and being introduced to Mary, informed her of their commission, and desired her to prepare for death next morning at eight o'clock. She seemed no wise terrified, though somewhat surpris'd, with the intelligence. She said, with a cheerful countenance, that she did not think the queen, her sister, would have executed the sentence upon a person not subject to the jurisdiction of England. She even abjured her being privy to any conspiracy against Elizabeth, by laying her hand upon a New Testament which happened to lie on the table. She desired that her confessor might be permitted to attend her; a request which, however, those zealots refused. After the earls retired, she ate sparingly at supper, while, with a cheerful countenance, she comforted her attendants, who continued weeping and lamenting their mistress; telling them, they ought not to mourn, but rejoice, at the prospect of her speedy deliverance from a world of misery. Towards the end of supper she called in all her servants, and drank to them. They pledged her in order on their knees, and craved her pardon for any past neglect of their duty. She deigned, in return, to ask their pardon for her offences towards them; and a plentiful effusion of tears attended this last solemn separation.

A. D. 1587.

 Feb. 7.
 Execution
 of the
 queen of
 Scots.

Mary

Mary then perused her will, in which she had provided for her servants by legacies. She ordered the inventory of her goods, cloaths, and jewels to be brought her; and she wrote down the names of those to whom she bequeathed each particular. To some she distributed money with her own hands; and she adapted the recompence to their different degrees of rank and merit. She wrote also letters of recommendation for her servants to the French king, and to her cousin, the duke of Guise, whom she made the chief executor of her testament. At her usual time she went to bed, slept some hours, and then rising, spent the rest of the night in prayer. Towards the morning she dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet, the only one which she had reserved to herself. She told her maids, that she would willingly have left them this dress rather than the plain garb which she wore the day before; but it was necessary for her to appear at the ensuing solemnity in a decent habit. Thomas Andrews, the under-sheriff of the county, then entering the room, he informed her that the hour was come, and that he must attend her to the place of execution. She replied that she was ready; and bidding adieu to her servants, she leaned on two of sir Amias Paulet's guards, because of an infirmity in her limbs; and she followed the sheriff with a serene composed aspect. In passing through a hall adjoining to her chamber, she was met by the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, sir Amias Paulet, sir Drue Drury, and many other gentlemen of distinction. Here she also found sir Andrew Melvil, who flung himself on his knees before her, and wringing his hands, cried aloud, "Ah, madam! unhappy me! what man was ever before the messenger of such heavy tidings as I must carry, when I shall return to my native country, and shall report, that I saw my gracious queen and mistress beheaded in England?" His tears prevented farther speech; and Mary too felt herself moved, more from sympathy than affliction. "Cease, my good servant (said she), cease to lament: thou hast cause rather to rejoice than to mourn; for now shalt thou see the troubles of Mary Stuart receive their long expected termination." After saluting him she turned to the noblemen who attended her, and requested that her servants might be well treated, be allowed to enjoy the presents which she had made them, and be sent safely into their own country. She next requested, that they might be permitted to attend her at her death, in order, she

said,

said, that their eyes might behold, and their hearts bear witness, how patiently their queen and mistress can submit to her execution, and how constantly she perseveres in her attachment to her religion. This desire was opposed by the earl of Kent, who told her, that they would be apt, by their speeches and cries, to disturb both herself and the spectators. But at last the commissioners gave permission for her being attended by four men and two maid-servants. She then passed into another hall, where was erected the scaffold, covered with black. Here the warrant for her execution was read to her; and during this ceremony she was silent, but shewed, in her behaviour an unconcern, as if the business had no wise regarded her. Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, stepped forth, and repeated a long exhortation, which she desired him to forbear, as she was firmly resolved to die in the catholic religion. The room was crowded with spectators, who beheld her with pity and distress, while her beauty, though faded by years and affliction, was still remarkable in this fatal moment. The earl of Kent observing, that in her devotions she made frequent use of the crucifix, could not forbear reproving her, and exhorted her to have Christ in her heart, not in her hand. She replied, with presence of mind, that it was difficult to hold such an object in her hand without feeling her heart touched for the sufferers of him whom it represented.

She now began, with the aid of her two women, to undress for the block; and the executioner also lent his hand to assist them. She smiled, and said, that she was not accustomed to undress herself before so large a company, nor to be served by such valets. Her servants bursting into tears and lamentations, she turned about to them, put her finger upon her lips, as a sign of imposing silence upon them^f; and having given them her blessing, desired them to pray for her. The two executioners kneeling, and asking her pardon, she said she forgave them, and all the authors of her death, as freely as she hoped forgiveness from her Maker, and then once more made a solemn protestation of her innocence. One of her maids, whom she had appointed for that purpose, covered her eyes with a handkerchief; she laid herself down without any sign of fear or trepidation, and, by two strokes of the executioner, her head was severed from her body. He instantly held it up, streaming with blood,

^f Jebb, p. 307. 492.

to the spectators; the dean of Peterborough alone exclaimed, "So perish all queen Elizabeth's enemies!" The earl of Kent alone replied, "Amen;" while the rest of the spectators wept at the affecting spectacle. Thus perished, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and nineteenth of her captivity in England, Mary, queen of Scots, a princess unmatched in beauty, as well as in misfortunes; and who, with the most extraordinary accomplishments, natural and acquired, blended indiscretions, which, aided by youth and inexperience, laid the foundation of her ruin.

*Elizabeth's
affected
sorrow.*

When the queen was informed of Mary's execution, she affected the utmost surprize and indignation. Her countenance changed, her speech faltered, she stood some time fixed, like a statue, in mute astonishment, and afterwards burst into loud lamentations. She put herself in deep mourning, was seen perpetually bathed in tears, and surrounded only by her female attendants. If any of her ministers approached her, she chased them from her, with the most violent expressions of rage and resentment. They had all of them, she said, been guilty of an unpardonable crime, in putting to death her dear sister and kinswoman, contrary to her fixed purpose^g, with which they were sufficiently acquainted. In order to appease the king of Scots, to whom she soon wrote a letter of apology, she committed Davison to prison, and commanded him to be tried in the Star-chamber for his misdemeanour. The secretary was confounded; and being sensible of the danger which must attend his entering into a contest with the queen, he expressed penitence for his error, and submitted patiently to be railed at by those very counsellors at whose instigation he had acted, and who had promised to protect him. He was condemned to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure, and to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds. He remained a long time in custody; and the fine, though it reduced him to beggary, was rigorously levied upon him. All the favour which he could obtain from the queen, was sending him small supplies from time to time, to keep him from perishing in necessity^h. He privately wrote a letter to Walsingham, containing many curious particulars relative to the queen's dissimulationⁱ, which was so gross, that it

*Davison is
tried in the
Star-
chamber.*

^g Camden, p. 536. Strype, vol. iii. Append. p. 145. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 608. ^h Camden, p. 538. ⁱ Ibid. Strype, vol. iii. p. 375, 376. MS in the Advocate's Library, A. 3. 28. p. 17. Biograph. Brit. p. 1625. 1627.

could deceive nobody who was not previously resolved to be blinded.

James, notwithstanding Elizabeth's apology, discovered the highest resentment, and refused to admit into his presence sir Robert Cary, whom the queen had sent as her ambassador. He likewise recalled his ambassadors from England, and seemed to breathe nothing but war and vengeance. The states of Scotland being assembled, concurred with the king in sentiments of indignation, and professed that they were ready to spend their lives and fortunes in revenge of his mother's death, and in defence of his title to the crown of England. Many of the nobility urged him to take arms: lord Sinclair, when the courtiers appeared in deep mourning, presented himself to the king arrayed in complete armour, and said, that this was the proper mourning for the queen. The Catholics exhorted James to make an alliance with the king of Spain, and to lay immediate claim to the crown of England. Elizabeth was sensible of the danger attending so general an indignation of the Scots; and therefore, after allowing James some decent interval to vent his grief and anger, she engaged her emissaries to employ every motive of hope and fear, which might induce him to live in amity with her. Those arguments, joined to the peaceable disposition of James, prevailed over his resentment, and he fell gradually into a good correspondence with the court of England.

The Scots are highly incensed against Elizabeth.

A reconciliation with Scotland.

Elizabeth having thus dissipated all apprehensions of danger from Scotland, turned her attention towards Spain. Hearing that Philip was secretly preparing a great navy to attack her, she sent sir Francis Drake, with a fleet, to intercept his supplies, to pillage his coast, and to destroy his shipping. Drake sailed with four capital ships of the queen's, and twenty-six great and small, with which the London merchants, in hopes of sharing the plunder, had supplied him. Having learned that a Spanish fleet, richly laden, was lying at Cadiz, ready to sail for Lisbon, he bent his course to the former port, and boldly made an attack on the enemy. He obliged six galleys to take shelter under the forts; he burned about a hundred vessels laden with ammunition and naval stores; and he destroyed a great ship belonging to the marquis of Santa Croce. Thence he set sail for Cape St. Vincent, and took by assault the castle situated on that promontory, with three other fortresses. After insulting Lisbon he sailed to the Terceras, with intention of lying in wait for a rich carrack expected in those parts. He

Drake destroys the fleet at Cadiz.

accord-

accordingly met with his prize; and, by this short expedition, the English seamen learned to despise the unwieldy ships of the enemy, the intended hostilities against England were retarded for a twelvemonth, and the queen had leisure to take more secure measures against that formidable invasion ^k.

A.D. 1588.

The invincible armada.

Philip, however, proceeded with unremitting diligence in making preparations to invade England, which, as it supported the insurrection of the Netherlands, seemed a necessary preparative for re-establishing his authority in those provinces. His hostile project being formed, every part of his vast empire resounded with the noise of armaments, and all the activity of the nation was employed in forwarding the design. The marquis of Santa Croce, a sea-officer of great reputation and experience, was destined to command the fleet. In all the ports of Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, artizans were employed in building vessels of uncommon size and force; naval stores were bought at a great expence; armies were levied, and quartered along the maritime parts of Spain; and every thing threatened the most formidable naval enterprize that Europe ever beheld. The duke of Parma was to conduct the land-forces, twenty thousand of whom were on board the fleet, and thirty-four thousand more were assembled in the Netherlands, ready to be transported into England. The most renowned nobility and princes of Italy and Spain were ambitious of sharing in the honour of this great enterprize. Don Amadæus of Savoy, Don John of Medicis, Gonzaga, duke of Sabionetta, and others, hastened to join this great equipment, of the success of which the most sanguine expectations were formed; and the Spaniards, ostentatious of their power, already denominated their navy the *Invincible Armada*.

Preparations in England.

When the news reached England that this mighty fleet was preparing to sail, terror and consternation universally seized the inhabitants. A fleet of not above thirty ships of war, and those very small in comparison, was all that was to oppose it by sea. All the commercial towns of England, however, were required to furnish ships for reinforcing this small navy. The citizens of London, instead of fifteen vessels, which they were commanded to equip, voluntarily fitted out double the number^l. The gentry and nobility equipped forty-three ships at their own

^k Camden, p. 540. Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts* in Churchill's *Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 156. ^l Monson, p. 267.

charge. Lord Howard of Effingham was admiral; and under him served Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, all of them renowned as seamen of courage and capacity. The principal fleet was stationed at Plymouth. A smaller squadron, consisting of forty vessels, English and Flemish, was commanded by lord Seymour, second son of protector Somerset, and lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma.

The land-forces of England, though more numerous than the enemy, were greatly inferior in discipline and experience. An army of twenty thousand men was disposed in different bodies along the south coast; and orders were given them, if they could not prevent the landing of the Spaniards, to retire backwards, to waste the country around, and to wait for reinforcements from the neighbouring counties, before they approached the enemy. A body of twenty-two thousand foot and a thousand horse, was stationed at Tilbury in order to defend the capital. The principal army consisted of thirty-four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, and was commanded by lord Hunston. Those forces were reserved for guarding the queen's person; and were appointed to march whithersoever the enemy should appear. The fate of England, if all the Spanish armies should be able to land, seemed to depend on the issue of a single battle; from which no favourable expectations could be formed, considering the force of fifty thousand veteran Spaniards, commanded by experienced officers, under the duke of Parma, the greatest general of the age.

In the midst of all this danger the queen appeared undismayed, issued her orders with tranquillity, animated her people to a steady resistance; and the more to excite the martial spirit of the nation, appeared on horseback at Tilbury, exhorting the soldiers to their duty, and promising to share with them the same dangers and the same fate. "I myself (cried she) will be your general, and will reward your virtues in the field. Persevere in your obedience to command, display your valour, and we shall soon have a glorious victory over those enemies of my God, my kingdom, and my people." The soldiers testified their attachment to her with acclamations, and only wished for an opportunity of engaging the expected invaders. The Spanish armada was ready in the beginning of May, but its sailing was retarded by the death of the marquis of Santa Croce, the admiral, and that also of the vice-admiral, the duke of Paliano. The command of the

expedition was, therefore, given to the duke of Medina Sidonia, a man entirely unexperienced in sea affairs. This promotion, in some measure, served to frustrate the design, which was also rendered less successful by some other accidents. Upon leaving the port of Lisbon, the armada next day met with a violent tempest, which sunk some of the smallest of their shipping, and obliged the fleet to put back into the harbour. After some time spent in refitting, they put again to sea, where they took a fisherman, who informed them, that the English fleet, hearing of the dispersion of the armada in a storm, had retired into Plymouth, and that most of the seamen were discharged. From this false intelligence, the Spanish admiral, instead of sailing directly to the coast of Flanders, to receive the troops stationed there, as he had been instructed, resolved to steer for Plymouth, and destroy the shipping in that port. Being descried by Fleming, a Scottish pirate, who was roving in those seas, he immediately sailed towards the English fleet, and informed the admiral of their approach. Effingham had just time to get out of port, when he saw the Spanish armada coming full sail towards him, disposed in the form of a crescent, and stretching the distance of seven miles from the extremity of one division to that of the other. The English admiral, however, attacked the armada at a distance, not choosing to engage the enemy more closely, as his fleet was greatly inferior in the number of ships, guns, and weight of metal; nor could he, without manifest disadvantage, pretend to board vessels which were so lofty in their construction. Notwithstanding this inequality, two Spanish galleons were disabled and taken. As the armada advanced up the Channel, the English still followed and infested its rear, until their fleet, continually increasing from different ports, should be in a capacity to engage the Spanish fleet more nearly.

July 19.
The armada arrives in the Channel.

When the armada had reached Calais, and cast anchor before that place, in expectation that the duke of Parma would join them with his forces, the English admiral practised a successful stratagem upon the Spaniards. Taking eight of his smaller ships, and filling them with combustible materials, he sent them, one after another, into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards immediately cut their cables, and took to flight with the greatest disorder and precipitation. The English fell upon them next morning, while in confusion, and took or destroyed about twelve ships, besides doing great damage to others. The

duke of Medina Sidonia, being thus driven to the coast of Zealand, held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that, as their ammunition began to fail, as their ships had received great damage, and the duke of Parma had refused to venture his army under their protection, they should return to Spain by sailing round the Orkneys, as the wind was contrary to his passage through the Channel. They accordingly proceeded northward, and were followed by the English fleet as far as Flamborough-head, where they were terribly shattered by a storm. Seventeen of their ships, having five thousand men on board, were afterwards cast away upon the Western Isles and the coast of Ireland. Of the whole armada there returned to Spain only three and fifty ships, and those all in so miserable a condition, that the enemy was ever after deterred from renewing so dangerous an enterprize.

The armada returns to Spain greatly reduced.

This unsuccessful expedition of the Spaniards served only to excite the English to attempt invasions in their turn; which they accordingly executed in numerous, though transient descents on different parts of the Spanish coast.

Among the English captains who made the most signal figure in those depredations upon Spain, was the young earl of Essex, a nobleman of great bravery, generosity, and genius; but haughty, impetuous, and impatient either of advice or controul. The earl of Leicester, the queen's favourite, had died some time before, and left room for a successor in her affections, to which, though she was now far advanced in life, the personal accomplishments of young Essex soon recommended him. The royal favour, the successes which he had obtained against the Spaniards, joined to his great popularity, increased his confidence, and rendered him still more untractable. In a debate before the queen, between him and Burleigh, about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was so heated in the argument, that he entirely broke through the respect which decency required that he should observe towards his sovereign. He turned his back on the queen in a contemptuous manner, which so provoked her resentment, that she instantly gave him a box on the ear. Instead of recollecting himself, and making the submissions due to her sex and station, he clapped his hand to his sword; and swore he would not bear such usage even from her father. Such however was the queen's partiality for him, that she overlooked this offence, and re-in-

A.D. 1598.

The earl of Essex.

*He is sent
over to
Ireland.*

stated him in his former favour; so that by the death of his rival, lord Burleigh, which happened soon after, he seemed to be confirmed in his power. An insurrection, headed by the earl of Tyrone, at this time broke out in Ireland; and to subdue it was an employment which Essex thought worthy of his ambition. The queen, therefore, who was much prepossessed in favour of Essex's genius, readily agreed to appoint him governor of Ireland, by the title of lord-lieutenant. The more to encourage him in his undertaking, she granted him by his patent more extensive authority than had ever before been conferred on any lieutenant; the power of carrying on or finishing the war as he pleased, of pardoning the rebels, and of filling all the most considerable employments of the kingdom^a. To ensure him of success, she levied an army of sixteen thousand foot and thirteen hundred horse, which she afterwards augmented to twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse.

*Essex's
misconduct
in Ireland.*

Essex, upon entering on his command in Ireland, appointed his friend, the earl of Southampton, general of the horse, in direct opposition to a positive order from the queen, who had been displeas'd with that nobleman for his secretly marrying without her consent. Elizabeth no sooner heard of this instance of his disobedience than she reprimanded him, and ordered him to recall his commission to Southampton; but it was not till after repeated orders from the queen, that Essex could be prevail'd upon to dismiss him. This act of indiscretion was followed by another: instead of attacking the enemy in their grand retreat in Ulster, he led his forces into the province of Munster, where he only exhausted his strength, and afforded the insurgents an opportunity to prepare the better for their defence. The enemies whom Essex had at court, fail'd not to urge this misconduct in the strongest manner; but they had still greater reason to attack his reputation, when it was known, that instead of humbling the rebels, he had only treated with them; and instead of forcing them to submission, had concluded a cessation of hostilities.

*He concludes a
cessation of
hostilities
with the
rebels.*

So unexpected an issue of an enterprize, the greatest and most expensive that Elizabeth had ever undertaken, provok'd her extremely against Essex; and her disgust was much augmented by other circumstances of his conduct. He wrote to the queen and council many letters,

^a Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 366.

full of peevish and impatient expressions, and complaining of his enemies at court. But not content with these remonstrances, he, without any permission demanded or obtained, returned precipitately from Ireland, to make his complaints to the queen in person.

He returns from Ireland, and is disgraced.

At first, Elizabeth was pleased with the arrival of her favourite, whom she longed to see; but the momentary satisfaction of his unexpected appearance being over, she reflected on the impropriety of his conduct, and ordered him to be put into custody. Essex, reduced to this extremity, used every expression of humiliation and sorrow, and tried once more the long unpractised arts of insinuation, which had brought him into favour. The queen, however, continuing inflexible, he resolved to give up every pursuit of ambition; but the vexation of this disappointment, and of the triumph gained by his enemies, preyed upon his haughty spirit, and he fell into a distemper, which seemed to endanger his life. The queen, notwithstanding her apparent severity, was alarmed at his situation. She ordered eight physicians to consult of his case; and being informed that the issue was much to be apprehended, she sent Dr. James to him with some broth; and desired that physician to deliver him a message, that, if she thought such a step consistent with her honour, she would pay him a visit. It was remarked by the bye-standers, who observed her countenance, that, in pronouncing these words, her eyes were suffused with tears^b.

When these symptoms of the queen's returning affection towards Essex were known, they gave a sensible alarm to those courtiers who opposed his interests. Sir Walter Raleigh, in particular, was so affected at this sudden revolution, that he was seized with sickness in his turn; and the queen was obliged to treat him in the same lenient manner, by sending him a favourable message, expressing her desire of his recovery^c.

Essex being now permitted the company of his countess, and having entertained more promising hopes of his future fortunes, was so much restored to his health, as to be thought past danger. A belief being now instilled into Elizabeth, that his distemper had been entirely counterfeited, in order to move her compassion, she relapsed into her former rigour against him. He wrote her a letter, and sent her a rich present on New Year's day, as was

^b Sydney's Letters, vol. ii p. 154r.
Ibid. vol. ii. p. 153.

^c Ibid. p. 139.

usual with the courtiers at that time. She read the letter, but rejected the present^e. After some interval, however, of severity, she allowed him to retire to his own house. Here, though he remained still under custody, he sent her a letter of thanks on the occasion. "This farther degree of goodness," said he, "doth sound in my ears, as if your majesty spake these words, "Die not, Essex; for, though I punish thine offence, and humble thee for thy good, yet will I one day be served again by thee." My prostrate soul makes this answer, "I hope for that blessed day. And in expectation of it, all my afflictions of body and mind are humbly, patiently, and cheerfully borne by me^e."

*Essex is
examined
by the
privy
council.*

What contributed to keep alive the queen's anger against Essex, was the partiality shewn him by the people; who, prepossessed with an extravagant idea of the earl's merit, complained that injustice had been done him by his removal from court, and by his confinement. Elizabeth, in order to justify to the public her conduct with regard to him, had often expressed her intentions of having him tried in the Star-chamber for his offences; but her tenderness for him at last prevailed, and she was content to have him only examined by the privy-council. In answer to the charge, which was exhibited against him with severity by the crown-lawyers, Essex renounced, with great humility and submission, all pretensions to an apology^f; and declared his resolution never, on this or any other occasion, to have any contest with his sovereign, for whom he solemnly professed to entertain the most loyal attachment. He avowed the most sincere repentance for those parts of his conduct, which had given offence to her majesty; declaring, however, that he had been actuated by the best intentions; and that he would willingly submit to any condemnation or sentence which they could pronounce against him. All the privy-counsellors, in giving their judgement, very readily admitted the loyalty of the earl's intentions; and even Cecil, whom he believed his capital enemy, treated him with regard and moderation. His sentence was, to be suspended from executing the office of a counsellor, earl marshal of England, and master of the ordnance, and to continue a prisoner in his own house, until the sentence should be remitted by the queen^g.

^e Birch's Memoirs, p. 444.

^f Sydney Letters, vol. ii. p. 602.

^g Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 454. Camden, p. 626, 627.

It was generally expected, from the queen's partiality towards Essex, and from his own submissive behaviour, that he would soon be reinstated in his former credit^b; especially as he was continued in his office of master of the horse, and was restored to his liberty. Essex again wrote the queen a letter, in which he said that he kissed her majesty's hands, and the rod with which she had corrected him; but that he could never recover his wonted cheerfulness, until she deigned to admit him to her royal presence; and that he had now resolved to make amends for his past errors, to retire into a country solitude, and say with Nebuchadnezzar, "Let my dwelling be with the beasts of the field; let me eat grass as an ox, and be wet with the dew of heaven, till it shall please the queen to restore me to my understanding." This romantic message, which was quite in the manner of those times, seemed peculiarly pleasing to the queen. She replied, that after some time, when convinced of his submission, something might be expected from her lenity; and that, if the furnace of affliction produced so good effects, she should ever after have the better opinion of her chemistryⁱ.

The earl of Essex possessed a monopoly of sweet wines; and as his patent was very near expiring, he patiently expected that the queen would renew it; but Elizabeth being continually surrounded by the earl's enemies, they endeavoured to persuade her that his lofty spirit was not yet sufficiently subdued: she therefore let him know, that he must not expect a renewal of his monopoly, and even added, in a contemptuous style, that an ungovernable beast must be stinted in his provender^k.

The declarations of submission which Essex had made, with the view of mollifying the queen's resentment, were entirely repugnant to his proud and impetuous spirit; and finding that they had proved ineffectual, he determined to gratify, if possible, his revenge, by proceeding to extremities against his enemies. The popularity which he had already acquired he therefore endeavoured to increase by a hospitable manner of life, little suited to his present circumstances. He entered into connexions of friendship with all desperate adventurers, whose attachment might strengthen his interests; and he secretly courted the confidence of the Catholics; but his chief trust lay in the puritans, whom he openly caressed, and whose manners he even studied to adopt. He invited the most popular

^b Windwood, vol. i. p. 254.ⁱ Camden, p. 628,^k Ibid.

preachers of that sect to Essex-house, where prayers and sermons were daily delivered, and where he also requested the attendance of all the zealots in London. This class of men was at that time become very numerous; and as the puritanical preachers frequently inculcated in their sermons the doctrine of resistance to the civil magistrate, they prepared the minds of their hearers for those seditious projects, which Essex was secretly meditating¹.

While Essex thus encouraged the fanatical leaders in corrupting the loyalty of the people, he likewise indulged himself in imprudent liberties of speech. He was even heard to say of the queen, that she was now grown an old woman, and was become as crooked in her mind as in her body^m. These stories, being carried to her by some of the court-ladies, incensed her to a high degree against him. For Elizabeth was ever remarkably jealous on the subject of personal endowments; and though she was now approaching to her seventieth year, her vanity was such, that she discovered particular complacency on being complimented upon her beauty.

Essex had by this time formed a select council of malcontents, who flattered him in his wild projects; and supposing their adherents much more numerous than they really were, took no pains to conceal their intentions. With these associates he deliberated concerning the plan of an insurrection; and, at last, they resolved that sir Christopher Blount, one of his creatures, should, with a choice detachment, possess himself of the palace-gates; that sir John Davies should seize the hall, and sir Charles Davers the guard-chamber, while Essex himself, attended by a body of his partizans, should rush from the Meuse into the queen's presence, entreat her to remove his enemies, to assemble a new parliament, and to correct the abuses of the administrationⁿ.

The queen having some intimation of Essex's designs, he was summoned to attend the council; but he suspecting a discovery, excused himself on pretence of an indisposition; and immediately dispatched messages to his more confidential partizans, requiring their advice and assistance in the present critical situation of his affairs. They delibe-

¹ Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 463. Camden, p. 630. ^m Camden, p. 629. Osburn, p. 397. Sir Walter Raleigh's Prerogative of Parliament, p. 43. ⁿ Camden, p. 630. Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 464. State Trials. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 542.

rated whether they should abandon all their projects, and fly the kingdom; or instantly seize the palace with the force which they could assemble; or throw themselves on the affections of the citizens of London, who were generally known to have a great attachment to the earl. While he and his confederates were in consultation, a person, probably employed by his enemies, came in as a messenger from the citizens, with tenders of friendship and assistance against all his adversaries. The wild project of raising the city was therefore immediately resolved on, but the execution of it was delayed until the day following.

Early the next morning, he was attended by his friends, the earls of Rutland and Southampton, with the lords Sandys and Monteagle, and about three hundred persons of distinction. The doors of Essex-house were immediately locked, to prevent all strangers from entering; and the earl now explained more fully to all the conspirators his design of exciting an insurrection in the city. Meanwhile, sir Walter Raleigh sending a message to sir Ferdinando Gorges, this officer had a conference with him in a boat on the Thames, and there discovered to him all their proceedings. The queen being informed of the whole, instantly dispatched Egerton, lord-keeper, sir William Knollys, the comptroller, Popham, the lord chief-justice, and the earl of Worcester, to Essex-house, to demand the cause of those extraordinary assemblies. They with great difficulty procured admittance through a wicket; but all their servants, except the purse-bearer, were excluded. Undaunted in executing their commission, they charged the earl's retainers, upon their allegiance, to lay down their arms; and were menaced in their turn by the angry multitude. Essex, who now saw that it was too late to retreat, determined to leave them prisoners in his house, and to proceed to the execution of his former project. He sallied forth with about two hundred attendants, armed only with swords; and in his way to the city was joined by the earl of Bedford and lord Cromwell. As he passed through the streets, he cried aloud, "For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life!" hoping to engage the populace to rise; but though he told them, that England was sold to the Infanta, and exhorted them to arm instantly, no one shewed a disposition to join him. He then proceeded to the house of Smith, the sheriff, on whose aid he had great reliance; but on his approach, this officer stole out at the back door, and went directly to the mayor. Essex finding the citizens no wise affected

to his cause, and hearing that he was proclaimed a traitor by the earl of Cumberland and lord Burleigh, began to think of retreating to his own house. But he found his road thither barricaded and guarded by the citizens under the command of sir John Levison. In pushing his way through this obstruction, Henry Tracy, a young gentleman, for whom he bore a great friendship, was killed, with two or three of the Londoners. The earl himself, attended by a few adherents, the rest having privately withdrawn, retired towards the river, and, taking a boat, arrived at Essex-house; where he found that Gorges, whom he had sent before to capitulate with the lord-keeper, and the other counsellors, had set them all at liberty, and gone with them to court. Seeing now no safety but in courage, he appeared determined to defend himself to the last extremity; but afterwards relinquishing this design, and having demanded in vain for hostages, and conditions, from his besiegers, he surrendered at discretion; requesting only civil treatment, and a fair and impartial hearing.

A D. 1601. Essex and Southampton were immediately carried to the archbishop's palace at Lambeth, whence they were next day conveyed to the Tower, and tried by their peers on the 19th day of February following. Their guilt was too evident to admit of any doubt; and sentence of condemnation was pronounced against them. After Essex had passed some days in the solitude of a prison, his mind began to sink under the weight of that religious horror, to which, in all his adversities, he was naturally subject. His spiritual directors persuaded him, that he could never obtain the pardon of Heaven, unless he made a full confession of his disloyalty; and he therefore gave into the council an account of all his criminal designs, as well as of his correspondence with the king of Scots. In this confession, he spared not even his most intimate friends. In particular, he accused sir Harry Nevil of a correspondence with the conspirators; though it appears that this gentleman, a man of merit, had never assented to the proposals made him, and was no farther criminal than in not revealing the earl's treason. For this offence, Nevil was thrown into prison, and underwent a severe persecution. Before the queen signed the fatal warrant, for executing the sentence against Essex, she had discovered great marks of irresolution; and from this circumstance he entertained

strong hopes of a pardon. She had formerly given him a ring, which she desired him to send her in any emergency of this nature; and had given him assurances that it should procure his safety and protection. This ring was actually sent her by the countess of Nottingham, who, being a concealed enemy to the unfortunate earl, never delivered it; while Elizabeth's pride was secretly provoked at his obstinacy in making no applications for pardon. Indeed herself appeared as much an object of compassion as the unfortunate nobleman whom she was induced to condemn. She signed the warrant for his execution, she countermanded it, she again resolved on his death, and again felt a new return of tenderness. At last she gave final consent to his execution; which was private in the Tower, agreeably to Essex's own request; who was only thirty-four years of age when his rashness, imprudence, and violence brought him to this untimely end.

*Execution
of Essex.*

Some of Essex's associates, Cuffee, Davers, Blount, Meric, and Davis, were tried and condemned; and all of these, except Davis, were executed. The queen pardoned the rest, being persuaded that they were culpable only from motives of attachment to their benefactor.

The principal incident, after these transactions, in the reign of Elizabeth, is the suppression of the Irish rebellion. But the queen was now incapable of receiving any satisfaction from this fortunate event: she had fallen into a profound melancholy, which all the advantages of her high fortune, all the glories of her prosperous reign, were unable to remove. She had now found out the falsehood of the countess of Nottingham; who, on her death-bed, sent for the queen, and informed her of the fatal circumstance of the ring, which she had omitted to deliver. The queen burst into a furious passion: she shook the dying countess in her bed, crying out, "That God might pardon her, but she never would." She then broke from her, and resigned herself to the dictates of incurable sorrow. She even refused all sustenance; she continued silent and gloomy; only expressing her affliction by sighs and groans; and she lay for ten days and nights upon the carpet, leaning on cushions which her maids had brought her. Her end was now evidently approaching; and the council, being assembled, sent the keeper, admiral, and secretary, to know her will with regard to her successor. She answered with a faint voice, that as the crown of England had always been held by royal progenitors, it ought not to devolve upon any inferior

A.D. 1603:

*The queen's
sickness,
and death:
March 24.*

ferior character, but upon her immediate heir, the king of Scotland. Being then exhorted by the archbishop of Canterbury to fix her thoughts upon God, she replied, that her thoughts did not in the least wander from him. Her voice soon after left her; she fell into a lethargic slumber, which continued some hours, and she expired gently without a groan, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign.

Though Elizabeth mounted the throne at a time when political factions and religious animosities prevailed in the nation, she had the happiness to maintain her government in a state of tranquillity, which few, if any, of the sovereigns of England had either so long, or so uninterruptedly, enjoyed. In respect to the more amiable qualities of her sex, she cannot be intitled to much applause; neither was she free from its most predominant infirmities; the rivalry of beauty, the jealousy of love, and the desire of admiration: but she possessed vigilance, penetration, vigour, and constancy, in an extraordinary degree. Though endowed with magnanimity, she was often insincere in her conduct; and her temper was imperious, beyond what might be expected in a princess who studied the happiness of her people.

C H A P. VII.

From the Accession of James, to the Death of Charles I.

J A M E S I.

JAMES, the Sixth of Scotland and the First of England, ascended the throne with the general approbation of all orders of the state. He was great grand-son of Margaret, elder daughter of Henry VII. and on the failure of the male line, his hereditary right remained unquestionable. So ardent was the desire of the English to behold their new sovereign, that, in his progress to London, men of all ranks flocked about him from every quarter; but the king, who hated the bustle of a mixed multitude, issued a proclamation, forbidding this resort of people, on the pretence of scarcity of provisions, and other inconveniences, which, he said, would necessarily attend it^b. He was not, however, insensible to the public testimonies

^b Kennet, p. 662.

of affection which appeared in his new subjects; and to this motive may perhaps be ascribed that profusion of titles of honour, which distinguished this period of his reign. During six weeks, after his entrance into England, it is computed that he bestowed knighthood on no less than two hundred and thirty-seven persons. A pasquinade was affixed to St. Paul's, intimating, that instructions would be delivered, for assisting short memories to retain the names of the new nobility.

James distributes honours with great profusion.

Though the Scots shared these honours in a proportion which perhaps excited the envy of the English, it must be owned, in justice to James, that he left almost all the chief offices in the hands of Elizabeth's ministers. Among these, secretary Cecil, created earl of Salisbury, was continued prime-minister and chief-counsellor. Though this crafty minister, during the last reign, had been apparently leagued against the earl of Essex, whose cause was favoured by James, yet he kept a secret correspondence with that monarch, and secured his own interests, without forfeiting the confidence of his party. His former associates, however, lord Grey, lord Cobham, and sir Walter Raleigh, the enemies of Essex, were not so fortunate: they felt immediately the king's displeasure, and were dismissed their employments. These three seemed to be marked out for peculiar indignation; for they were soon after accused of entering into a conspiracy against the king. Neither the proofs nor objects of this plot have been transmitted to posterity. The accused, however, were condemned to die, but had their sentence mitigated by the king: Cobham and Grey were pardoned, after they had laid their heads on the block. Raleigh was reprieved, but remained in confinement many years afterwards, and at last suffered for this offence, which was never proved.

Cecil continues to be prime minister.

Conspiracy of lords Cobham and Grey, and sir Walter Raleigh.

The religious disputes between the church and the puritans induced the king to call a conference at Hampton-Court, on pretence of finding expedients which might reconcile the two parties. This was an employment entirely suitable to the king's taste; affording him an opportunity of dictating, concerning points of faith and discipline, to an assembly of divines, and of receiving their applauses for his superior zeal and learning. The church of England had not yet abandoned the doctrines of grace and predestination; the puritans had not separated themselves from the church, nor openly renounced episcopacy.

A.D. 1634.

Jan. 4. Conference at Hampton Court.

Though the spirit of the parties was considerably different; the only apparent subjects of dispute were concerning the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, the use of the surplice, and the bowing at the name of Jesus. These were the important questions, which were solemnly agitated in the conference at Hampton-Court between some bishops and dignified clergy on one hand, and some leaders of the puritanical-party on the other, in the presence of the king and his ministers. From the beginning of the conference, the king shewed the strongest propensity to the established church, and frequently inculcated the maxim, No bishop, no king. The bishops, in their turn, were very liberal in their praises towards the royal disputant; and the archbishop of Canterbury said, that “undoubtedly his majesty spake by the special assistance of God’s spirit^d.” The two parties agreed to a few alterations in the Liturgy, and separated with mutual satisfaction.

March 19.
A parliament.

The parliament, so long delayed on account of the plague, which had broken out in London, now assembled. The first business in which the commons engaged was of the utmost importance to the preservation of their privileges. The chancellor had hitherto assumed the power of issuing a writ for the election of any member of the house of commons, by his own authority; but that body now maintained, that, though the returns were by form made into chancery, yet the sole right of judging with regard to elections belonged to the house itself^e. James, not satisfied with this innovation, ordered a conference between the house and the judges, whose opinion in this case was opposite to that of the commons. This conference, he said, he commanded as an absolute king; an epithet, which, though it had been used by Elizabeth^f, could not prove very grateful to the people. He added, that all their privileges were derived from his grant, and hoped they would not turn them against him^g. The commons, seeing the consequences of that assumed power, to which their predecessors had, in some instances, blindly submitted, were in some perplexity; but so great was their deference for majesty, that they appointed a committee to confer with the judges before the king and council. The question of law now began to appear in James’s eyes a

^d Kennet, p. 665.
den, in Kennet, p. 375.
1604.

^e Journ. 3d April, 1604.

^f Cam-
^g Journ. 29th March, 5th April,

little more doubtful than he had hitherto imagined it; and in order to extricate himself with some honour, he proposed, that the two members, whose returns had given rise to the dispute, should be set aside, and a writ be issued, by a warrant of the house, for a new election. The commons embraced the expedient; but in such a manner, that, while they showed their regard for the king, they secured for the future the free possession of their seats, and the right, which they claimed, of judging solely in their own elections and returns.

The spirit and judgement of the house of commons appeared, not only in defence of their own privileges, but in their endeavour, though at this time ineffectual, to free trade from those shackles which the highly-exerted prerogative, and even, in this respect, the ill-judged tyranny of Elizabeth, had imposed upon it. James had already, of his own accord, called in and annulled all the numerous patents for monopolies, which had been granted by his predecessor, and which extremely fettered every species of domestic industry. But the exclusive companies still remained; another species of monopoly, by which almost all foreign trade, except that to France, was brought into the hands of a few rapacious engrossers. These companies, arbitrarily erected, had carried their privileges so far, that almost all the commerce of England was centered in London; nay, the whole trade of the capital was confined to about two hundred citizens^h, who could, by combining among themselves, fix whatever price they pleased to the exports and imports of the nation.

While the commons were thus attempting to give liberty to the trading part of the kingdom, they also endeavoured to free the landed property from the burden of wardships, and to remove those remains of the feudal tenures, under which the nation still laboured. The profit which the king reaped both from wards and from respite of homage, was estimated; and it was intended to compound for these prerogatives by a secure and independent revenue. But after some debates in the house, and some conferences with the lords, the affair could not be adjusted. The same fate attended an attempt to free the nation from the burden of purveyance.

In another affair of the utmost consequence, the commons showed a greater spirit of independence than any true judgement of national interest. The union of the two king-

*The king
proposes a
union of
the two
kingdoms.*

doms was zealously urged by the kingⁱ; but the more that he recommended so useful a measure, the more backward was the parliament in concurring with him; while they ascribed his excessive zeal to a partiality in favour of his Scottish subjects. Their complaisance for the king, therefore, carried them no farther than to appoint forty-four commissioners, to deliberate concerning the terms of a union; but without any power of making advances towards the establishment of it^k.

*Aug. 13.
Peace with
Spain.*

This summer, the peace with Spain was finally concluded, and was signed by the Spanish ministers at London^l. Some articles in the treaty, which seemed prejudicial to the Dutch commonwealth, were never executed by the king; and as the Spaniards made no complaints on that head, it appeared, that, by secret agreement, the king had expressly reserved the power of sending assistance to the Hollanders^m.

The Roman Catholics had expected great favour on the accession of James, both as he was the son of Mary, whose life they believed to have been sacrificed to their cause, and as himself, in his early youth, was imagined to have shown some partiality towards them. It is pretended, that he had even entered into positive engagements to tolerate their religion, as soon as he should ascend the English throne. Whether their credulity had interpreted in this sense some obliging expressions of the king's, or that he had employed such an artifice, in order to render them favourable to his title, is uncertainⁿ. But they soon discovered their mistake, and were at once surpris'd and enraged to find James, on all occasions, express his intention of strictly executing the laws enacted against them, and of persevering in all the rigorous measures of Elizabeth. This declaration determin'd them upon desperate measures; and they at length formed the design of destroying the king and both houses of parliament at a blow. The scheme was first propos'd by Catesby, a gentleman of good parts and ancient family; who conceived that a train of gunpowder might be placed under the parliament-house, so as to blow up the king and all the members at once. He opened his intention to Percy, a descendant of the illustrious house of Northumberland, who

ⁱ Journ. 21st April, 1st May, 1604. Parliamentary History, vol. v. p. 91.

^k Journ: 7th June, 1604. Kennet. p. 673.

^l Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 585, &c.

^m Winwood, vol. ii.

p. 27. 330. et alibi.

ⁿ State Trials, vol. ii. p. 201, 202, 203.

Winwood, vol. ii. p. 49.

was charmed with the project, and readily came into it. These two communicated the horrid plot to Thomas Winter, who went over to Flanders in quest of Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, with whose zeal and courage the conspirators were thoroughly acquainted. When they enlisted any new conspirator, the more firmly to bind him to secrecy, they always, with an oath, employed the communion, the most sacred rite of religion^o. None of these devotees ever entertained the least compunction, with regard to the dreadful catastrophe which they projected. Some of them only were startled by the idea, that many Catholics must be present, as spectators or attendants on the king, or as having seats in the house of peers; but Tesmond and Garnet, two Jesuits, superiors of the order, absolved their consciences from every scruple.

These transactions passed in the spring and summer of 1604; when the conspirators also hired a house, in Percy's name, adjoining to that in which the parliament was to assemble. That they might be less interrupted, and give less suspicion to the neighbourhood, they laid in a store of provisions; which being done, they began their labour, and persevered with great assiduity. They soon pierced the wall, though three yards in thickness; when they were alarmed at hearing a noise, which they knew not how to account for. Upon enquiry, they found that it came from the vault below the house of lords; that a magazine of coals had been kept there; and that, as the coals were selling off, the vault would be let to the highest bidder. They, therefore, seized the opportunity of hiring the place; in which they lodged thirty-six barrels of gunpowder, covered with faggots, bought for the purpose. The doors of the cellar were then boldly flung open, and every body admitted, as if it contained nothing dangerous.

Having made these preparations, they proceeded to plan, with great confidence of success, the remaining part of their project: The king, the queen, and prince Henry, were all expected to be present at the opening of parliament. The duke, on account of his tender age, would be absent; and it was resolved, that Percy should seize, or assassinate him. The princess Elizabeth, a child likewise, was kept at lord Harrington's house in Warwickshire: fir

^o State Trials, vol. i. p. 190. 198. 210.

Everard Digby, with some others, was to seize her, and immediately proclaim her queen.

A.D. 1605.

Nov. 5.

*Cunpow-
der conspi-
racy.*

The day now approached, on which the parliament was appointed to assemble. Never was treason more determined, or ruin more apparently inevitable. The dreadful secret, though communicated to above twenty persons, had been religiously kept, during the space of near a year and a half; and when every other motive, that could check their design, had been extinguished in the breast of the conspirators, a remorse of private friendship providentially saved the kingdom.

About ten days before the meeting of parliament, lord Monteagle, a Catholic, son to lord Morley, received the following letter, which had been delivered to his servant by an unknown hand: "My lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore, I will advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of the times. And think not slightly of this advertisement; but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For, though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they will receive a terrible blow, this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm: for the danger is past, as soon as you have burned the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, unto whose holy protection I commend you^p."

Monteagle was astonished on perusing this mysterious letter; and though inclined to think it a foolish attempt to frighten and ridicule him, he judged it safest to carry it to lord Salisbury, secretary of state. Though Salisbury likewise considered it as a matter of no importance, he laid it before the king, who came to town a few days after. None of the counsellors, who were present, could make any thing of it; and the king was the first who penetrated the meaning of this dark epistle. From the serious, earnest style of the letter, he conjectured that it implied something dangerous and important. "A terrible blow," and yet the authors concealed; a danger so sudden, and yet so great; these circumstances, he thought, seemed all

^p K. James's Works, p. 227.

to denote some contrivance by gunpowder; and it was judged adviseable to inspect all the vaults below the houses of parliament. This care belonged to the earl of Suffolk, lord-chamberlain; who purposely delayed the search, until the day before the meeting of parliament. He remarked those great piles of wood and faggots, which lay in the vault under the upper house; and cast his eye upon Fawkes, who stood in a dark corner, and who passed himself for Percy's servant. That daring and determined courage, which so much distinguished this conspirator, even among his desperate associates, was fully painted in his countenance, and struck the lord-chamberlain with strong suspicion^a. The great quantity also of fuel, for the use of one who lived so little in town as Percy, did not pass unnoticed^b; and it was resolved, that a more minute inspection should be made. About midnight, sir Thomas Knevet, a justice of peace, was sent with proper attendants. At the entrance of the vault, he seized a man, dressed in a cloak and boots, with a dark lanthorn in his hand. This person was no other than Guy Fawkes, who had just been making the last preparations for the enterprize next morning, the matches, and every thing proper for setting fire to the train, being found in his pocket. The whole design being now discovered, his audaciousness was increased by despair; the only concern he testified was for the failure of the enterprize. Before the council, he displayed the same firmness, mixed even with scorn and disdain; and refused to discover his accomplices. But his obstinate spirit was at length subdued. Being confined to the Tower for two or three days, and the rack just shown him, his courage, fatigued with so long an effort, at last failed him, and he made a full discovery of all the conspirators^c.

Catesby, Percy, and the other associates, hearing that Fawkes was arrested, fled with all speed to Warwickshire, where sir Everard Digby, relying on the success of the plot, was already in arms, in order to seize the princess Elizabeth. But the country rising on all sides to oppose them, they resolved, to about the number of eighty persons, to make a stand at a house in Warwickshire, and, acting in their own defence, to sell their lives as dear as possible. But even this miserable consolation was denied them. A spark of fire happening to fall among some gunpowder that was laid to dry, it blew up,

^a K. James's Works, p. 229.

^b Ibid.

^c Ibid. p. 231.

and so maimed a number of the conspirators, that the people rushed in upon them. Percy and Catesby were killed by one shot. Digby, Rookwood, Winter, and others, being made prisoners, were tried, confessed their guilt, and, as well as Garnet, died by the hand of the executioner. Notwithstanding the atrociousness of their treason, Garnet was considered by the bigotted Catholics as a martyr^t, and miracles were said to have been wrought by his blood^u.

It is remarkable, that before this audacious attempt, the conspirators had always maintained a fair reputation. Catesby was loved by all his acquaintance; and Digby was as highly esteemed for his integrity as any man in the nation; and had been particularly honoured with the good opinion of queen Elizabeth^x. Their conduct, was alone the fatal effect of religious prejudices, which have sometime the power of extinguishing in the human mind every sentiment of duty and humanity.

The king's moderation, after the extinction of this conspiracy, was as great as his penetration in the prevention of it; and though the general hatred of the people against the Catholics now became outrageous, he wisely rejected all violent measures, which were prompted in the spirit of revenge. The lords Mordaunt and Stourton, however, two Catholics, were fined, the former ten thousand pounds, the latter four thousand, by the Star-chamber, because their absence from parliament had excited some suspicion of their being acquainted with the conspiracy. The earl of Northumberland was fined thirty thousand pounds, and detained several years prisoner in the Tower; because, exclusive of other suspicious circumstances, he had admitted Percy into the number of gentlemen pensioners, without taking the requisite oaths^y. The king, in his speech to parliament, observed, that the guilt of the conspirators ought not to involve the whole body of the Roman Catholics in the same predicament, or be admitted as ground of suspicion, that they all were equally disposed to commit such enormous barbarities. For his part, he added, that the late conspiracy, however atrocious, should never alter, in the least, his plan of government; but as, on one hand, he was determined to punish guilt, so, on the other, he would still support and protect innocence^z.

*Some catholic lords
fined.*

^t Winwood, vol. ii. p. 300.
Ox. vol. ii. p. 254.

^u Ibid.

^x Athen.

^y Camden, in Kennet, p. 692.

^z K. James's Works, p. 503, 504.

This moderation, however laudable, was at that time no way pleasing to the people; among whom the malignant were willing to ascribe his lenity to a secret bias in favour of the popish superstitions.

The first important occurrence, after those transactions, was the death of Henry, prince of Wales, an event which diffused universal grief through the nation. Reports were propagated, as if this prince, a youth of great hopes, had been carried off by poison; but the physicians on opening his body, found no symptoms to confirm such an opinion^a.

A.D. 1612.

 Nov. 6.
*Death of
 prince
 Henry.*

Some time after the death of the prince, was concluded the marriage of the princess Elizabeth, with Frederic, elector palatine; an alliance which proved unhappy to the king, as well as to his son-in-law, both in point of their reputation and fortunes.

A D. 1613.

 Feb. 14.
*Marriage
 of the
 princess
 Elizabeth.*

The persons who make the principal figure in the history of this reign are the royal favourites. About the end of the year 1609, Robert Carre, a youth of twenty years of age, and of a good family in Scotland, had, after passing some time in his travels, arrived in London. All his natural accomplishments consisted in a handsome person; and all his acquired abilities in an easy and graceful demeanor. This youth came into England with letters of recommendation to his countryman lord Hay, who assigned him the office of presenting the king his buckler at a match of tilting. When Carre was advancing to execute his office, he was thrown by his horse, and his leg was broke in the king's presence. James approached him with pity and concern, and ordered him to be lodged in the palace till his cure should be completed. The king, after the tilting, paid him a visit in his chamber, and frequently returned during his confinement. The ignorance and simplicity of the youth confirmed the monarch's affections; and Carre was therefore soon considered as the most rising man at court. He was knighted, created viscount Rochester, honoured with the order of the Garter, made a privy-counsellor, and was at last created earl of Somerset. The riches heaped upon this minion, even while the king's ministers could scarcely find supplies sufficient for the necessary purposes of government, were in proportion to his rapid advancement in confidence and honour. The favourite, however, did not immediately become intoxicated with his prosperous fortune; but, sen-

*Rise of
 Somerset.*

^a Kennet, p. 690. Coke, p. 37. Welwood, p. 272.

sible of his own inexperience, had frequent recourse to the assistance and advice of a friend. The person whom he chiefly consulted was sir Thomas Overbury, a man of great abilities and learning, who endeavoured to instill into him the principles of prudence and discretion; and by following whose counsels, young Carré had the rare felicity of enjoying the highest favour of the prince, without being hated by the people. But that virtue, which remained as yet uncorrupted by the accumulation of riches and honours, proved not equally successful against the suggestions of a criminal passion.

James, on his accession to the throne of England, manifested a particular friendship for the unfortunate families of Howard and Devereux, which had suffered for their attachment to the cause of Mary and to his own. Having restored the heir of the latter to his blood and dignity, and conferred the titles of Suffolk and Northampton on two brothers of the house of Norfolk, he sought the farther pleasure of uniting these families by the marriage of the earl of Essex with lady Frances Howard, daughter of the earl of Suffolk. She was only thirteen, he fourteen years of age; and it was thought proper, until both should attain the age of puberty, that he should go abroad, and pass some time in his travels^b. He returned into England after four years absence, and had the pleasure to find his countess universally admired for her beauty. But when the earl approached her, and claimed the privileges of a husband, she discovered the strongest signs of aversion. A criminal correspondence had commenced between her and Carré, who, by his personal accomplishments and assiduities, had obtained the entire ascendant over her affections. She even resolved to procure a divorce from Essex, and to marry her paramour. When Rochester mentioned to Overbury the design of the countess and himself, that faithful counsellor used every method to dissuade him from such an attempt; and went so far as to threaten, that he would separate himself for ever from him, if he could so far forget his honour and interest as to prosecute the intended marriage^c. This salutary advice proved fatal to Overbury. The countess, being made acquainted with his exhortations, urged her lover to enter into a project for his ruin. In consequence of this plan, the king was persuaded by the favourite to

^b Kennet, p. 686.

^c 252. Franklyn, p. 14.

^c State Trials, vol. i. p. 25. 236.

order Overbury on an embassy into Russia. Meantime, he earnestly dissuaded Overbury from accepting this offer, and took on himself the office of satisfying the king, if he should be any wise displeas'd with the refusal^d. To the king, however, he treacherously aggravated the insolence of Overbury's conduct, and obtained a warrant for committing him to the Tower, which James intended as a slight punishment for his disobedience. The lieutenant of the Tower, who was a creature of Rochester's, had lately been put into the office for this very purpose. He confin'd Overbury so strictly, that no communication of any kind was allowed with him, during near six months which he lived in prison.

April 27.
Overbury
sent to the
Tower.

The lovers now pursued their purpose; and the king, forgetting the dignity of his character, enter'd zealously into the project of procuring the divorce; which even Essex was now willing to forward it by any honourable expedient. After a trial, therefore, seconded by court-influence, the sentence of divorce was pronounced between the earl of Essex and his countess^e; and the king, solicitous lest the lady should lose any rank by her new marriage, bestow'd on his favourite the title of earl of Somerset.

The countess of Somerset, not satisfied with the imprisonment of Overbury, stimulated her husband, as well as her uncle, the earl of Northampton, to the atrocious design of taking him off secretly by poison. Repeated, though ineffectual attempts were made with weak poisons; but at last, they administered one so violent, that it soon put a period to his life^f. His interment was performed with the greatest precipitation; and the full proof of the crime was not brought to light, until some years after. But Somerset, conscious of the murder of his friend, received small consolation from the success of his love, or the utmost indulgence of his sovereign. The graces of his youth gradually disappeared; the gaiety of his manners forsook him; his obliging behaviour was turn'd into moroseness; and the king, whose affections had been engag'd by those superficial accomplishments, began to withdraw his attachment from a man, who no longer contributed to his amusement.

Sept. 25.
Overbury
is poisoned.

An apothecary's apprentice, who had been employ'd in making up the poison, having retired to Flushing, had

^d Franklyn, p. 236, 237, &c. p. 223, 224, &c. Franklyn's Annals, p. 2, 3, &c. net, p. 693. State Trials, vol. i. p. 233, 234, &c.

^e State Trials, vol. i.

^f Kennet,

there divulged the secret; and the affair being thus laid before the king, he gave orders to sir Edward Coke, lord chief-justice, to make the strictest investigation into the affair. This injunction was executed with an industry, which unravelled the whole labyrinth of guilt. The inferior criminals, sir Jervis Elvis, lieutenant of the Tower, Franklin, Weston, and Mrs. Turner, were first tried and condemned: Somerset and his countess were afterwards found guilty; but Northampton's death, a little before, had saved him from a like fate. The king bestowed a pardon on Somerset and the countess, whom, after some year's imprisonment, he restored to their liberty, and conferred on them a pension, with which they retired, and languished out old age in infamy and sorrow. Their guilty loves were turned into the most deadly hatred; and they passed many years together in the same house, without any intercourse with each other^f.

Some accomplices of Overbury's murder are executed.

The earl and countess of Somerset are found guilty, but pardoned.

As soon as Somerset's enemies remarked the coolness of the king towards him, they seized the opportunity of supplanting him by means of a new minion. George Villiers, a youth of one-and-twenty, younger brother of a good family, returned at this time from his travels, and was remarkable both for a handsome person, and elegant manners. At a comedy, he was purposely placed by the courtiers in the view of the king, who was immediately caught with his appearance^g. The king, however, it is said, endeavoured to conceal the partiality which he felt for the handsome stranger; and employed every art of dissimulation to fix him in his service, without seeming to desire it. At last, after the intervention of some intrigues, Villiers was taken into the king's service, and the office of cup-bearer was bestowed upon him. Though the character of this monarch has been treated with some degree of malignity, historians do not insinuate any thing flagitious in those connexions, but impute his attachment rather to a natural weakness of mind.

Villiers is introduced at court.

The whole court was now thrown into parties between the two minions, the elder of whom exerted all his interest to depress the rising favourite. But the discovery of Somerset's guilt in the murder of Overbury, put an end to the rivalry, and exposed him to the ruin and infamy which he so justly merited.

The fall of Somerset was succeeded by the rapid elevation of Buckingham, who, in the course of a few years,

^f Kennet, p. 699.
p. 698.

^g Franklyn, p. 50. Kennet, vol. ii.

was created viscount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of A.D. 1615.
 Buckingham, knight of the Garter, master of the horse, *Rise of*
 chief-justice in Eyre, warden of the Cinque Ports, master *Bucking-*
 of the king's bench-office, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high-admiral of England^b. *ham.*
 His mother obtained the title of countess of Bucking-
 ham; his brother was created viscount Purbeck; and a
 numerous train of needy relations was pushed up into
 credit and authority. This profusion of expence was too
 great for the moderate revenues of James; and to supply
 them, therefore, the cautionary towns must be delivered
 up to the Dutch. In the preceding reign, Elizabeth,
 when she lent the revolted Hollanders large sums of mo-
 ney, required of them a proper deposit, as security for
 payment. The Dutch, in compliance with this demand,
 put into her possession the three important fortresses of
 Flushing, Brill, and Ramekins. But James, in his pre-
 sent exigence, agreed to evacuate these fortresses, upon
 being paid only a third part of the money which was due.

A.D. 1616.

*The cau-
tionary
towns are
delivered
up to the
Dutch.*

The general discontent, occasioned by this measure, was
 soon after increased by an act of severity, which remains
 as the blackest stain upon the memory of this monarch.
 The brave and accomplished sir Walter Raleigh had been
 confined in the Tower almost from the beginning of
 James's reign, for a conspiracy which had never been
 proved against him; and during his imprisonment, he had
 written several performances, which are still held in great
 estimation. His long sufferings and ingenious produc-
 tions had now turned the tide of popular opinion in his
 favour; and they who once detested the enemy of Essex,
 could not now help pitying the long captivity of this phi-
 losophical soldier. Himself still struggled for freedom;
 and perhaps it was with this desire that he spread the re-
 port of his having discovered a gold mine in Guiana, which
 was sufficient to enrich, not only the adventurers who
 should seize it, but to afford immense treasures to the na-
 tion. The king gave little credit to these mighty pro-
 mises; but thinking that Raleigh had already undergone
 sufficient punishment, he released him from the Tower,
 and conferred on him an authority over his fellow-adven-
 turers in the pursuit of his enterprize. James, though
 strongly solicited, still refused to grant him a pardon;
 saying, that he reserved the former sentence as a check
 upon his future behaviour.

A.D. 1618.

*Raleigh is
released
from the
Tower,*^b Franklyn, p. 30. Clarendon, 8vo. edit. vol. i. p. 10.

*and sails
on an en-
terprize to
Guiana.*

Raleigh, having set sail from England, bent his course to Guiana, of part of which he had taken possession, in the name of the English crown, about twenty-three years before; and himself remaining at the mouth of the river Oronooko, with five of the largest ships, he sent up the rest to the town of St. Thomas, under the command of his son, and of captain Keymis, a person entirely devoted to his interests. But instead of a country abounding in gold, as the adventurers were taught to expect, they found the Spaniards had been warned of their approach, and were prepared to receive them in a hostile manner. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men, called out that this was the true mine; meaning the town of St. Thomas, which he was approaching, and that none but fools looked for any other. But just as he was speaking, he received from the Spaniards a shot, of which he immediately expired. Keymis and the others, however, carried on the attack; got possession of the town, which they afterwards reduced to ashes; and found not in it any thing of value.

It was Keymis who pretended that he had seen the mine, and gave the first account of it to Raleigh; but he now began to retract, and though within two hours march of the place, he refused, on the most absurd pretences, to take any effectual step towards finding it. He retired, therefore, to Raleigh, with the melancholy news of his son's death; and then going into his cabin, put an end to his own life in despair.

The adventurers, now concluding that they were deceived by Raleigh, began to load him with reproaches, and told him that he must be carried back to England, to answer to the king for his conduct. In this forlorn situation, it is pretended that he employed many artifices, first to engage the adventurers to attack the Spanish settlements in a time of peace; and failing of that, to make his escape into France. But all these proving unsuccessful, he was delivered into the king's hands, and, with his fellow-adventurers, strictly examined before the privy-council. Count Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador, made heavy complaints against the expedition; and the king declared that Raleigh had express orders to avoid all hostilities against the Spaniards. To satisfy the court of Spain, therefore, the king availed himself of that power which he had reserved in his own hands, and signed the warrant for Raleigh's execution upon his former sentence.

Raleigh

Raleigh, in order to protract his examination, had descended to mean artifices, such as feigning madness, and a variety of diseases; but now finding his fate inevitable, he collected all his courage, and resolved to act his part with resolution. As he felt the edge of the axe, he said, "It is a sharp remedy, but a sure one for all ills." His harangue to the people was calm and eloquent; and, with the utmost indifference, he laid down his head on the block.

Execution of sir Walter Raleigh.

No measure of James's reign gave more general dissatisfaction than the punishment of Raleigh, who was executed upon a sentence universally esteemed unjust, which had been so long suspended, and which seemed to have been tacitly pardoned by conferring on him a new commission. The death of this great man was soon after followed by the disgrace of a yet greater, namely, lord chancellor Bacon, who was accused of receiving bribes in his office; and, pleading guilty, was degraded and fined thirty thousand pounds; but his fine was afterwards remitted by the king.

Disgrace of chancellor Bacon.

There soon appeared obvious reasons for James's complaisance to the court of Spain in the case of Raleigh. This monarch entertained an idea, that in marrying his son, Charles, prince of Wales, any alliance below that of a great sovereign would be unworthy of him. He was, therefore, obliged to seek either in the court of France or Spain, a suitable match, and the latter was proposed to him by Gondemar, the ambassador, who made offer of the second daughter of the Spanish king. To render the temptation irresistible, he gave hopes of an immense fortune, which should attend the princess. The court of Spain, though determined to contract no alliance with a heretic¹, entered into negotiations with James, which they artfully protracted during five years. A delay of this kind was displeasing, not only to the king, who had all along an eye on the great fortune of the princess, but likewise to the prince, who, bred up with ideas of romantic passion, was in love with the infanta, whom he had never seen. During this impatient state of the court, a project entered the head of Villiers, who had now the entire ascendant over the king, that the prince should travel in disguise into Spain, and visit in person the object of his affections, Buckingham, who wanted to ingratiate himself with the prince, offered to be his companion; and

Project of marrying the prince of Wales, to a daughter of the king of Spain.

¹ La Boderie, vol. ii. p. 30.

A D. 1623.
 March 7.
The prince's journey to Spain.

the king, whose duty it was to have checked so wild a scheme, gave his consent to the proposal. The prince and Buckingham, with a few attendants, set out on the expedition, and passed undiscovered through France. They even ventured to a ball at Paris, where Charles saw the princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards espoused, and who was then in the bloom of youth and beauty. On their arrival at Madrid, they were received by the court of Spain with every demonstration of respect; but Buckingham filled the city with intrigues, jealousy, and challenges. To complete the measure of his follies, he fell in love with the duchess of Olivarez, and personally insulted her husband, who was the prime minister. At length, Buckingham, becoming sensible that he had rendered himself odious to the Spaniards, and dreading the influence, which that nation would naturally acquire after the arrival of the infanta, resolved to employ all his credit, in order to prevent the marriage. Having by this time obtained an absolute dominion over the gentle and modest temper of Charles, he so effectually worked on the mind of that prince, that the latter, on quitting Madrid, was firmly determined, notwithstanding all his professions, to break off the treaty with Spain; and the resolution was carried into effect, soon after their arrival in London.

The Spanish match is broke off.

A.D. 1624.
Treaty of marriage between the prince of Wales and princess Henrietta of France.

Though James might have known by experience the unsurmountable antipathy, entertained by his subjects, against all alliance with Catholics, he still persevered in his opinion, that his son would be degraded by receiving into his bed a princess of less than royal extraction. After the rupture, therefore, with Spain, he immediately applied himself to negotiate an alliance with France. This match, the object of which was Henrietta, daughter of the great Henry IV. met with much better success than the former; and, though the fortune promised was much smaller, James consented to the terms which were proposed by the French court. In an article of this treaty of marriage, it was stipulated, that the education of the children, until the age of thirteen, should belong to the mother; a stipulation which eventually proved the ruin of that unfortunate family.

Disputes between the king and the parliament.

While these matrimonial treaties were in agitation, the parliament was gradually retrenching the royal prerogative. The prodigality of James to his favourites had made his necessities so many, that he was often obliged to have recourse to that body for supplies; and the house of commons, by this time become extremely unmanageable,

would

would never grant any subsidy, without obtaining the abolition of some usage, which, however established in the constitution, they condemned as an infringement on public freedom. Those contests between the king and the parliament had been increasing in violence every session; and the very last advanced their pretensions to such a degree that James began to take the alarm; but the effect of those evils, to which the weakness of this monarch had partly given rise, was reserved to fall on his successor.

Those domestic dissensions were attended by others yet more important in Germany, and which produced in the end the most dangerous consequences. The king's eldest daughter had been married to Frederic, the elector palatine, who, revolting against the emperor Ferdinand II. was defeated in a decisive battle, and obliged to take refuge in Holland. His alliance to the English crown, his misfortunes, but particularly the protestant religion, for which he had contended, were strong reasons for the people of England to wish well to his cause; and frequent addresses were, therefore, presented by the commons, urging the king to take a part in the German contest, and to restore the exiled prince to the possession of his hereditary dominions. James at first attempted to ward off the misfortunes of his son-in-law by negotiations; but these proving ineffectual, it was resolved at last to rescue the Palatinate from the emperor by force of arms. War was accordingly declared against Spain and the emperor; six thousand men were sent over into Holland, to assist prince Maurice in his schemes against those powers; the people were every where pleased with this interposition, and were satisfied with any war which was to exterminate the Papists. This army was followed by another, consisting of twelve thousand men, commanded by count Mansfeldt; and to render these succours more effectual, assistance was promised by the court of France. But the English were disappointed in all their views: the troops being embarked at Dover, upon sailing to Calais, they found no orders for their admission. After waiting in vain some time, they were obliged to sail towards Zealand, where no proper measures were yet concerted for their disembarkation. Meanwhile, a pestilential disease infected the troops, so long cooped up in narrow vessels; half the army died on board; the remainder, weakened by sickness, appeared too small a body to march into the Palatinate; and thus ended this ill-planned and fruitless expedition; the only

*Affairs of
Germany.*

*War with
Spain and
the em-
peror.*

only disaster which happened to England, during the pacific reign of James.

A.D. 1625.

March 27.
*Sickness,
and death
of the king.*

Whether this misfortune had any effect upon the constitution of James is uncertain; but he was soon after, in the spring, seized with a tertian ague; and, when encouraged by his courtiers with the common proverb, that it was health for a king, he replied, that the proverb was meant of a young king. After some fits, he found himself extremely weakened, and sent for the prince, whom he exhorted to bear a tender affection for his wife, but to persevere in the protestant religion, and to extend his care to the unhappy family of the Palatine*. He then prepared himself with decency and courage, to meet his end, and expired in the fifty-ninth year of his age, after a reign over England of twenty-two years.

His character.

The character of this prince has been extremely misrepresented both by flattery and calumny. Of learning and capacity, he, doubtless, possessed a great share; but the former was tainted with pedantry, and the latter was better adapted to the conduct of private life, than to the government of kingdoms. He is generally acknowledged to have been endued with many virtues; but these were, for the most part, carried to a degree beyond the standard of purity; in consequence of which his generosity bordered on profusion, his pacific disposition on pusillanimity, his wisdom on cunning, and his friendship on boyish fondness.

He was only once married, to Anne of Denmark, who died on the 3d of March, 1619, in the forty-fifth year of her age. Of six children born to him by the queen, he left only one son, Charles, then in the twenty-fifth year of his age; and one daughter, Elizabeth, twenty-nine years of age, married to the elector Palatine.

C H A R L E S I.

A.D. 1625.

CHARLES had no sooner mounted the throne than he showed an impatience to assemble the great council of the nation; and he, therefore, issued writs for summoning a new parliament on the 7th of May. But the arrival of the princess Henrietta, whom he had espoused by proxy, obliged him to delay, by repeated prorogations,

* Rushworth, vol. i. p. 155.

their meeting, until the 18th of June, when they assembled at Westminster. His speech to the parliament was full of simplicity and cordiality; and, though he laboured under great necessities, he lightly mentioned the occasion which he had for supply¹. He would not even allow the officers of the crown, who had seats in the house, to mention any particular sum which might be expected by him.

June 18.
A parliament
at Westmin-
ster.

The house of commons accordingly took into consideration the business of supply. They knew that all the money granted by the last parliament had been expended on naval and military armaments, and that great anticipations were made on the public revenues, which could with difficulty maintain the dignity of the crown, even under the ordinary charges of government. They were likewise sensible that the present war had been the result of their own importunate applications, and that they had solemnly engaged to support their sovereign in the prosecution of it. Notwithstanding all these urgent circumstances, they thought proper to confer on the king a supply of two subsidies, amounting to a hundred and twelve thousand pounds; a measure which discovers rather a cruel mockery of Charles than any serious design of supporting him. In this conduct, it is probable that different persons were actuated by different motives. Many, there is reason to think, were actuated by spleen and ill-will against the duke of Buckingham, whose great and rapid fortune could not fail to excite public envy. The puritanical party, though disguised, had a great authority over the kingdom; and many of the leaders among the commons had secretly embraced the rigid tenets of that sect. All these were disgusted with the court, both from the principles of freedom essential to their party, and on account of the restraint under which they were held by the established hierarchy. Buckingham, in order to fortify himself against the eventual inconstancy of James, had affected popularity, and entered into the cabals of the Puritans; but being secure of the confidence of Charles, he had since abandoned this party, and was, therefore, the most exposed to their hatred and resentment. The match with France, and the articles in favour of Catholics, which were suspected to be in agitation, were likewise causes of

¹ Rushworth, vol. i. p. 171. Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 346. Franklyn, p. 108.

disgust to this whole party. To all these circumstances we may add, that the house of commons was at this time almost entirely governed by a set of men of uncommon capacity, and of the most extensive views. Animated with a warm regard to liberty, they beheld with regret an unbounded power exercised by the crown, and were resolved to seize the opportunity, which the king's necessities offered them, of reducing the prerogative within more reasonable compass. For this purpose, they determined to grant no supplies to the king, without extorting concessions in favour of civil liberty.

Charles, having been bred up in lofty ideas of monarchical power, which were not only commonly adopted during that age, but apparently sanctioned by the late uniform precedents in favour of prerogative, could not fail to regard those bold attacks on the prescriptive rights of the crown as highly criminal and traitorous. He, therefore, seemed even unwilling to impute such a design to the commons; and though he was obliged to adjourn the parliament on account of the plague, which at that time raged in London, he immediately re-assembled them at Oxford, and made a new attempt to obtain from them some adequate supplies in so urgent a necessity. Here Charles, finding it indispensable to depart from that delicacy which he had formerly maintained, entered into a particular detail, by himself or his ministers, both of the alliances which he had formed, and of the military operations which he had projected^m. He described his necessities to be such, that he had scarcely left sufficient for the daily subsistence of himself and familyⁿ; and he even condescended to use intreaties that they would extend their liberality towards him. The commons, however, remained inflexible. Some members, favourable to the court, having insisted on an addition of two-fifteenths to the former supply, even this pittance was refused^o; though it was known, that a fleet and army were lying at Portsmouth, in great want of pay and provisions; and that Buckingham, the admiral, and the treasurer of the navy, had advanced on their own credit near a hundred thousand pounds for the sea-service^p.

The king, finding that the parliament was resolved to grant him no supply, and made no other return to his so-

^m Dugdale, p. 25, 26.

• Rush. vol. i. p. 190.

ⁿ Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 396.

^p Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 390.

licitations than empty protestations of duty^p, and disagreeable complaints of grievances, took advantage of the plague^q, which began to appear at Oxford, and, on that pretence, immediately dissolved them. By finishing the session with a dissolution, instead of a prorogation, he sufficiently expressed his displeasure at their conduct.

The parliament dissolved.

To supply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles issued privy-seals for borrowing money from his subjects^r. The advantage reaped by this expedient was a small compensation for the disgust which it occasioned. By means, however, of that supply, and by other expedients, he was, though with difficulty, enabled to equip his fleet. It consisted of eighty vessels, great and small; and carried on board an army of ten thousand men, commanded by sir Edward Cecil, lately created viscount Wimbleton. He sailed immediately for Cadiz, and found the bay full of Spanish ships of great value, which he either neglected to attack, or attempted it preposterously. The army was landed, and a fort taken; but the undisciplined soldiers, finding store of wine, could not be restrained from the utmost excesses. Farther stay appearing fruitless, the troops were re-embarked; and the fleet put to sea, with an intention of intercepting the Spanish galleons. But the plague having seized the seamen and soldiers, they were obliged to abandon all hopes of this prize, and return to England.

Naval expedition against Spain.

Charles, having failed of so rich a prize, was again under the necessity of having recourse to parliament. When the king laid before the house his necessities, and asked for supply, they immediately voted him three subsidies and three-fifteenths; and, though they afterwards added one subsidy more, the sum was extremely disproportioned to the greatness of the occasion. This supply, however, was only voted by the commons: the passing of that vote into a law was reserved until the end of the session. A condition was therefore made, in a very undisguised manner, with their sovereign. Under colour of redressing grievances, which, during this short reign, could not be very numerous, they were to proceed in regulating and controuling every part of government which displeased them; and if the king either stopped them in this undertaking, or refused compliance with their demands, he must not expect any supply from the commons.

A.D. 1626.

Second parliament.

^p Franklyn, p. 113. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 190. ^q Journ. 25. ^r Rush. vol. i. p. 192. Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 407.

Charles expressed great dissatisfaction at a treatment which he deemed so harsh and undutiful^s, but his urgent necessities obliged him to submit.

Impeachment of Buckingham.

The duke of Buckingham, formerly obnoxious to the public, became daily more unpopular; and he received this session two violent attacks, one from the earl of Bristol, and another from the house of commons. The house, after having voted, upon some queries of Dr. Turner's, "that common fame was a sufficient ground of accusation by the commons^t," proceeded to frame more regular articles against Buckingham. They accused him of having united many offices in his person; of having bought two of them; of neglecting to guard the seas, in-somuch that many merchant-ships had fallen into the hands of the enemy; of delivering ships to the French king, in order to serve against the Hugonots; of being concerned in the sale of honours and offices; of accepting extensive grants from the crown; of procuring many titles of honour for his kindred; and of administering physic to the late king without acquainting his physicians. All these articles appear, from comparing the accusation and reply, to be either frivolous, or false, or both^u. The only charge which could be regarded as important was, that he had extorted a sum of ten thousand pounds from the East India company, and that he had confiscated some goods belonging to French merchants, on pretence of their being the property of Spanish. The duke's answer to all these particulars is likewise clear and satisfactory; and though his faults were in many respects great, rapacity and avarice were vices which seem to have had no foundation in his character.

While the commons were using every means to wreck their resentment against Buckingham, the king lost no opportunity of convincing them how firmly he was attached to that minister. The earl of Suffolk, chancellor of the university of Cambridge, dying about this time, Buckingham, though under impeachment, was yet, by means of court-interest, chosen in his place. The commons loudly complained of this affront; and, the more to enrage them, the king himself wrote a letter to the university, extolling the duke, and giving them thanks for his election^x. The

^s Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 449. Rush. vol. i. p. 224. ^t Rush. vol. i. p. 217. Whitlocke, p. 5. ^u Rush. vol. i. p. 306, &c. 375, &c. Journ. 25 March, 1626. ^x Rushworth, vol. i. p. 371.

lord-keeper, in the king's name, expressly commanded the house not to meddle with his minister and servant, Buckingham; ordering them, at the same time, to finish, in a few days, the bill which they had begun for the subsidies, and to make some addition to them; otherwise they must not expect to sit any longer^x. Buckingham, in a speech, a few days after, endeavoured to mollify and explain away these harsh commands^y; but they failed not to leave behind them a disagreeable impression. So regardless now was the king of conciliating the commons, that he informed them, if they did not furnish him with supplies, he should be obliged to try "new counsels." But what farther exasperated the commons was, that two of their members, sir Dudley Digges and sir John Elliot, who had been employed as managers of the impeachment against the duke, were thrown into prison^z. The commons immediately declared, that they would proceed no farther in business until they had satisfaction in their privileges. Charles alleged, as the reason of this measure, certain seditious expressions which those members were said to have used in their accusation of the duke; but, upon inquiry, it appeared that no such expressions had been used^a. The members, however, were released. The earl of Arundel, for being guilty of the same offence in the house of lords, was rashly imprisoned, and as tamely dismissed by the king. Thus the two houses having refused to answer the intentions of the court, without previous conditions, the king, rather than give up his favourite, chose to be without the supply, and, therefore, once more dissolved the parliament *Parliament dissolved.*

The "new counsels," which Charles had mentioned to the parliament, were now to be tried, in order to supply his necessities. Instead of making peace with Spain, and thus retrenching his expences, since he could not increase his revenues, he resolved to prosecute the war, and for this purpose to keep up a standing army. Perhaps he also entertained a design of restraining the liberty of his subjects, and governing without parliaments, when he found matters ripe for the execution. But, at present, his forces were new-levied, ill-paid, and worse disciplined; so that the militia of the country, when led out against him, would be far his superiors. In order, therefore, to gain time and money, a commission was openly granted to

^x Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 444.
vol. i, p. 356.

^y Ibid. p. 451.

^z Rusk.

^a Id. ibid. p. 358. 361. Franklyn, p. 120.

The king borrows money of the nobility.

Ship-money.

A general loan; and those who refuse are imprisoned.

compound with the Catholics, and agree for dispensing with the penal laws enacted against them^b. He borrowed a sum of money from the nobility, whose contributions came in but slowly; and from the city he required a loan of a hundred thousand pounds; but the citizens, after many evasions, gave him at last a flat refusal^c. The greatest stretch of his power, however, was in the levying of ship-money. In order to equip a fleet, each of the maritime towns was required, with the assistance of the adjacent counties, to arm so many vessels as were appointed them^d. The city of London was rated at twenty ships. This was the revival of a taxation which had once been imposed by Elizabeth, and which afterwards, being carried to violent lengths, created much discontent in the nation. But the extortions of the ministry did not rest here. A general loan was demanded: those who refused it were summoned before the council; and, upon persisting in a refusal, were put into confinement. Thus, as in every civil war, we find something to blame on both sides: each, though actuated by defensible motives, was guilty of injustice. One contending for the inherent liberties of mankind, the other for the prescriptive privileges of the crown; both driven to the extremes of falsehood, rapine, and injustice; and permitting their actions to degenerate from the motives which first set them in motion.

Hitherto the will of the monarch was reluctantly obeyed; most of those who refused to lend their money were thrown into prison, and patiently submitted to confinement, or applied by petition to the king for their release. Five persons alone undertook, at their own hazard and expence, to defend the public liberties, and to demand their releasement, by the laws of their country^e. The names of these patriots were, sir Thomas Darnel, sir John Corbet, sir Walter Earl, sir John Heveningham, and sir Edward Hamden. No particular cause was assigned of their commitment. The special command of the king and council was pleaded; and it was affirmed, that, by law, this was not sufficient reason for refusing bail or releasement to the prisoners. The question was brought to a solemn trial before the King's Bench; and the whole kingdom was attentive to the issue of so important a cause.

A D. 1627.

Trial for imprisonment.

^b Rushworth, vol. i. p. 413. Whitlocke, p. 7. ^c Rush vol. i. p. 415. Franklyn, p. 206. ^d Rush. vol. i. p. 415. ^e Ibid. p. 453. Franklyn, p. 224. Whitlocke, p. 8.

By the debates on this subject it appeared, that personal liberty had been secured by no less than six different statutes, and even by an article of the Great Charter: that, in turbulent and seditious times, the princes infringed upon those laws; and of this also many examples were produced. The difficulty then was to determine, when such violent measures were expedient; but of that the court pretended to be the supreme judge. As it was legal, therefore, that these five gentlemen should plead the statute, by which they might demand bail, so it was expedient in the court to remand them to prison, without determining on the necessity of taking bail for the present. Sir Randolf Crew, chief-justice, had been displaced, as unfit for the purposes of the court; and sir Nicholas Hyde, esteemed more obsequious, had obtained that office; yet the judges, by his direction, went no farther than to remand the gentlemen to prison, and refuse the bail which was offered^f.

But this was not the only hardship of which the people then thought they had reason to complain. The army, which had made the fruitless expedition to Cadiz, was dispersed throughout the kingdom; and money was levied upon the counties for the payment of their quarters^g. The soldiers were billeted upon private houses, contrary to custom; and those who had refused or delayed the loan were sure to be loaded with a great number of these disorderly guests. Many subjects of low condition, who had shewn themselves refractory to the measures of the government, were pressed into the service, and enlisted in the fleet or army^h. Glanville, an eminent lawyer, had been obliged, during the former interval of parliament, to accept of an office in the navyⁱ.

The king being thus embroiled with his parliament, his people, and some of the most powerful foreign states, it was not without amazement that all men saw him enter into a war with France, a kingdom with which he had but lately formed the most intimate alliance. It was the misfortune of Charles to be implicitly governed by the counsels of Buckingham, who was not only destitute of all the talents of a minister, but was violent in his passions, which he never endeavoured either to restrain or conceal. When Charles married by proxy the princess Henrietta, the duke of Buckingham had been sent to France, in order

*Many
grievances
are felt in
the nation.*

^f Rushworth, vol. i. p. 462.
p. 422.

^g Id. p. 419.

^h Id.

ⁱ Parl. Hist. vol. vii. p. 310.

*War with
France.*

to grace the nuptials, and to conduct the new queen into England. All historians agree, that, on this occasion, he had the boldness to pay his addresses to the queen of France; nor is it questioned that he made an impression on her heart; an honour to which cardinal Richlieu at the same time aspired. The rivalship of these favourites produced an inveterate enmity between them; and, from a private quarrel, they determined to involve their respective sovereigns in the dispute. However this be, war was declared against France; and Charles was taught to hope, that hostilities with that kingdom would be the surest means of producing unanimity at home.

*Expedition
to the isle of
Rhé.*

Accordingly, a fleet of a hundred sail, and an army of seven thousand men, were fitted out for the invasion of France, and both of them entrusted to the command of Buckingham, who was totally unacquainted both with land and sea-service. The fleet appeared before Rochelle, a maritime town in France, which had long enjoyed its privileges independent of the French king; but which had for some years embraced the reformed religion, and was now besieged by a formidable army. This expedition proved as unfortunate as that to the coast of Spain. The duke's measures were so ill concerted, that the inhabitants, though in want of succours, shut their gates, and refused to admit allies, of whose coming they were not previously informed. Instead of attacking the island of Oleron, which was fertile and defenceless, he bent his course to the isle of Rhé, which was garrisoned, and well fortified. While he was there endeavouring to starve out the garrison of St. Martin's Castle, the French landed their forces privately on another part of the island; so that Buckingham was obliged to retreat, but with such precipitation that two-thirds of his army were cut in pieces before he could re-embark. Himself, however, was the last man of the whole army that quitted the shore; but this mark of courage proved no compensation for the extreme imprudence of his conduct.

A. D. 1628.

*Third par-
liament.*

The bad success of this expedition served to render the duke yet more obnoxious, and the king more needy; and, therefore, notwithstanding the unfavourable occasion, they found themselves under the necessity of assembling a new parliament. It was hoped, however, that the commons, having experienced the ill effects of former obstinacy, would now grant some reasonable supplies. The king plainly told them, in his first speech, that they were convoked for that purpose; and that if they should neglect

to contribute what was necessary for the support of the state, he must, in discharge of his conscience, use those other means which God had put into his hands, in order to save that which the folly of some particular persons would otherwise endanger. "Take not this for a threatening," added the king, "for I scorn to threaten any but my equals; but as an admonition from him, who, by nature and duty, has most care of your preservation and prosperity^k." The commons, however, were not intimidated by this declaration of the king, though it was afterwards enforced by the lord-keeper. They boldly inveighed against his late arbitrary measures, forced loans, benevolences, taxes without the consent of parliament, arbitrary imprisonments, billeting soldiers, martial laws; and against all these grievances they insisted that a perpetual remedy should be provided. These sentiments were unanimously embraced by the whole house. Even the court-party pretended not to plead, in defence of the late measures, any thing but the necessity to which the king had been reduced, by the obstinacy of the two former parliaments. A vote, therefore, was passed, without opposition, against arbitrary imprisonments and forced laws^l.

The spirit of liberty having obtained some contentment by this declaration, the reiterated messages of the king, who pressed for supplies, were received with greater temper, and attracted more general regard. Five subsidies were voted him; with which, though inadequate to his wants, he declared himself well satisfied; and even tears of affection started in his eye, when he was informed of this concession.

But the supply, though voted, was not as yet passed into a law; and the commons resolved to employ the interval in providing some barriers to their rights and privileges, so lately violated. They were sensible that their own vote, declaring the illegality of the former measures, had not, of itself, sufficient authority to secure the constitution against future encroachments; and, therefore, they appointed a committee to prepare the model of so important a law. This they resolved to call a *Petition of Right*; as implying, that it contained a confirmation and explanation of the ancient constitution, not any infringement of royal prerogative, or acquisition of new liberties.

*Petition of
Right.*

^k Rushworth, vol. i. p. 477. Franklyn, p. 233. ^l Franklyn, p. 251. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 513. Whitlocke, p. 9.

Charles, however, who was taught to consider this bill as the most violent encroachment on his prerogative, used at first every method to obstruct its progress. When he found that nothing but his assent would satisfy the house, he gave it; but in so ambiguous a manner as left him still in the possession of his former power. At length, however, to avoid their indignation, and still more to screen his favourite Buckingham, he thought proper to give them full satisfaction. He came, therefore, to the house of peers, and pronouncing the usual form of words, "*Soit come il est désiré, Let it be law as is desired,*" gave the Petition of Right all the sanction that was necessary to pass it into a law. The acclamations with which the house resounded, and the universal joy diffused over the nation, sufficiently testified how much this petition was the favourite object of the people^a.

The commons, finding their perseverance crowned with success in this instance, resolved to carry their scrutiny into every part of government which they considered as defective. The leaders in the house of commons at this time were remarkable for zeal and courage, in pursuing whatever they considered as of importance to public freedom. In some particulars, their industry was laudable; in others, it may be liable to censure.

A little before the meeting of this parliament, a commission had been granted to thirty-three of the principal officers of state, empowering them to concert the methods of levying money by impositions, or otherwise. The commons applied for cancelling that commission; which indeed, by the late statute of the Petition of Right, was rendered entirely unnecessary. They objected also to another commission for raising money towards the introduction of a thousand German horse, which they were apprehensive might be employed against the liberties of the people. The commons next resumed their censure of Buckingham's conduct, against whom their resentment was implacable; and they openly asserted, that the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament was a palpable violation of the liberties of the kingdom^b. All these grievances were preparing to be drawn up in a remonstrance to his majesty, when the king, hearing of their intentions, came suddenly to the parliament, and ended the session by a prorogation^c.

Prorogation
June 26.

^a Rushw. vol. i. p. 613.
179, 20 June, 1628.

^b Rushw. vol. i. p. 628. Journ.
^c Journ. 26 June, 1628.

Charles, being thus freed, for some time, from the embarrassment of this assembly, began to look towards foreign wars, where all his efforts were equally unsuccessful as in his domestic government. The earl of Denbigh, brother-in-law to Buckingham, was dispatched to the relief of Rochelle, now closely besieged by land, and threatened with a blockade by sea; but he returned without effecting any thing; and, from declining to attack the enemy's fleet, had incurred the imputation either of cowardice or misconduct. In order to repair this dishonour, the duke went to Portsmouth, where he had prepared a considerable fleet and army, on which all the subsidies given by parliament had been expended. The same mutinous spirit, which prevailed in the house of commons, had diffused itself over the nation; and the commissioners, appointed for making the assessments, had connived at all the frauds, which might diminish the supply, and reduce the crown to yet greater necessities. This national discontent, communicated to a desperate enthusiast, soon broke out in an event which deserves to be mentioned.

One Felton, a man of good family, but of an ardent, melancholic temper, had served under the duke in the station of lieutenant. His captain being killed in the retreat at the isle of Rhé, Felton had applied for the company; but being denied his request, he threw up his commission, and retired in discontent from the army. Stimulated by private revenge, and also by national complaints, of which he considered the duke as the cause, he formed the resolution of assassinating Buckingham. Full of this dark design, he secretly arrived at Portsmouth, at the same time with the duke, and watched for an opportunity of effecting his bloody purpose. Buckingham had been engaged in conversation with one Soubize, and other French gentlemen; and a difference of sentiment having arisen, it was attended with those violent gesticulations with which persons of that nation generally enforce their meaning. The conversation being finished, the duke drew towards the door; and, while he was speaking to one of his colonels, Felton struck him over that officer's shoulder in the breast with his knife. The duke had only time to say, "The villain has killed me," when he fell at the colonel's feet, and instantly expired. No one had seen the blow, nor the person who gave it; but in the confusion, it was generally supposed that the murder had been committed by one of the French gentlemen, who

Buckingham murdered.

appeared

appeared so violent in their motions a little before. In the hurry of revenge, they had instantly been put to death, had they not been saved by some of more temper and judgment, who thought proper to reserve them for a judicial trial. In the mean time, there was found, near the door, a hat, on the inside of which was sewed a paper, containing four or five lines of that remonstrance of the commons, which declared Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom; and under these lines was a short ejaculation, or attempt towards a prayer. It was readily concluded that this hat belonged to the assassin; and while they were employed in conjectures whose it should be, a man without a hat was observed walking before the door, and was heard to exclaim, "I am he." He even gloried in his crime; affirming that the duke was an enemy to his country, and, as such, deserving to suffer. When asked, at whose instigation he had performed that horrid deed? He replied, that they needed not trouble themselves in that inquiry; that his conscience was his only prompter; and that no man whatever could influence him to act against its dictates^e. He suffered with the same degree of constancy to the last; nor were many wanting, who admired not only his fortitude, but the action which he had perpetrated.

When the news of this assassination reached the king, he received it with an undisturbed countenance; which induced the courtiers who were present to conclude, that he was secretly not displeased to be rid of a minister, so generally odious to the nation^f. But Charles's apparent apathy proceeded from the natural composure of his temper; for during his whole life, he retained an affection towards Buckingham's friends, and a prejudice against his enemies. The king now began to perceive that the tide of popularity was entirely turned from him, and that the house of commons only served to increase the general discontent. He felt, therefore, a disgust against parliaments; and he was resolved not to call any more, until he should behold greater indications of a complying disposition in the nation. Having lost his favourite Buckingham, he became more his own minister, and never afterwards reposed so unlimited a confidence in any other. The measures of government, however, continued the same; the same disregard to the petitions of the people, the same de-

^e Clarendon, vol. i. p. 27, 28.

^f Warwick, p. 34.

fire of extending and supporting the prerogative, the same temerity, and the same weakness of condescension.

After the dissolution of the parliament, the first subsequent step of the king, however, was a prudent one. He made peace with the two crowns, against whom he had waged war, which had been entered upon without necessity, and conducted without glory. In the treaty with Spain, no conditions were made in favour of the palatine, except that Spain promised in general to use its good offices for his restoration ^e.

*Dissolution
of the par-
liament.*

A.D. 1629.

*Peace with
France and
Spain.*

Charles now bent his whole attention to the internal policy of the kingdom; a task in which he admitted two associates, but who still acted a subordinate part to himself. These were sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards created earl of Strafford; and Laud, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. Strafford, by his eminent abilities, merited all the confidence which the king reposed in him. His character was stately and austere; more fitted to procure esteem than love. His fidelity to the king was unshaken; but in serving the interests of the crown, he did not consider himself as an agent also for the benefit of the people. As he now employed all his counsels to support the prerogative, which he had formerly endeavoured to diminish, his conduct is liable to the imputation of self-interest and ambition. But his good character in private life compensated for this seeming duplicity.

Strafford.

In all ecclesiastical affairs, and even in many civil, Laud, bishop London, had great influence over the king. He was severe, precise, and industrious. His zeal was unrelenting in the cause of religion; with which he considered the forms, established in the reign of Elizabeth, as essentially connected. In the prosecution of his purposes, he neglected the rules of moderation and prudence; but imagining that all his enemies were also the enemies of loyalty and true piety, he had the satisfaction to think, that every exercise of his resentment was in reality a virtue.

Laud.

Since the times of Elizabeth, a new religious sect had been gaining ground in England; which, from the supposed greater purity of their manners, received the denomination of Puritans. Of all sects, this was the most dangerous to monarchy; the tenets of it being more calculated to support that imagined equality which obtains in a state of nature; and in the countries where their

Puritans.

^e Rushw. vol. ii. p. 75. Whitlocke, p. 14.

opinions had taken place, not only a religious but a political freedom began to be established. Such was the humour of the people, at the time which Laud chose for the introduction of new ceremonies and observances; the resemblance of which to the Romish ritual, was no objection to Laud and his brethren; who bore a much greater kindness to the mother-church, as they called her, than to the sectaries and presbyterians. So openly was this preference asserted, that not only the puritans believed the church of England to be fast relapsing into Romish superstition, but the court of Rome itself entertained hopes of regaining its authority in this island; and, in order to forward Laud's good intentions, an offer was twice made him, in private, of a cardinal's hat, which he declined accepting^f.

A.D. 1630.

Orders were given, and rigorously insisted on, that the communion should be removed from the middle of the church, where it had stood since the Reformation, to the East end; where it should be railed in, and be denominated the Altar. The kneeling at the altar, and the using of copes, an embroidered vestment, in administering the sacrament, were introduced, to the great discontent of the people, who knew them to be practised in popish countries. Some pictures were again admitted into the churches by his command. All such clergymen as neglected to observe every ceremony, were suspended, and deprived of their benefices, by the court of high commission. And, to mortify the puritans farther, orders were issued from the council, forbidding any controversy, either from the pulpit or the press, on the points of dispute between them and their opponents, concerning free-will and predestination.

In return for Charles's indulgence towards the church, Laud and his followers took care to magnify, on every occasion, the regal authority, and to treat with the utmost indignation, all puritanical pretensions to a free and independent constitution. The king's divine, hereditary, and indefeasible right, was the theme of every sermon; and those who attempted to question such doctrines, were considered as making an attack upon religion itself. But while these prelates were so liberal in raising the crown at the expence of public liberty, themselves made no scruple of encroaching on the most incontestible of the royal rights, in order to exalt the hierarchy, All the doctrines

^f Russw. vol. ii. p. 190. Welwood, p. 61.

of the Romish church, which freed the spiritual from subordination to the civil power, were now adopted by the church of England, and an apostolical charter was insisted upon, in preference to a parliamentary.

The king, who did not foresee the dangerous consequences, which might result from these exorbitant pretensions of the church, and who had now taken a resolution of calling no more parliaments, was very well satisfied with those doctrines; as they tended to facilitate his measures of government, and procure those pecuniary supplies which he had no legal means of obtaining. While Laud, therefore, ruled the church, during the long suspension of parliaments, the king and Strafford undertook the management of the temporal interests of the nation. A proclamation was issued, in which Charles declared, "That, whereas, for several ill ends, the calling again of parliament is divulged; though his majesty has shewn, by frequent meetings with his people, his love to the use of parliaments; yet the late abuse having, for the present, driven him unwillingly out of that course, he will account it presumption for any one to prescribe to him any time for the calling of that assembly^a." This was generally construed as a declaration, that, during this reign, no more parliaments were intended to be summoned^b; and every measure of the king's confirmed the suspicion of that design.

A proclamation.

Tonnage and poundage continued to be levied by the royal authority alone. The former additional impositions were exacted; and even new impositions were laid on several kinds of merchandize^c. The custom-house officers received orders from the council to enter any house, warehouse, or cellar; to search any trunk or chest; and to break any bulk whatever, in default of the payment of customs^d. To exercise the militia, and keep them in order, each county, by an edict of the council, was assessed in a certain sum, for maintaining a muster-master, appointed for that service^e. Compositions were openly made with recusants; a commission was granted for compounding with such as were possessed of crown-lands upon defective titles; and, on this pretence, some money was exacted from the people^f. The courts of Star-chamber and high commission exercised their powers, in-

Irregular levies of money.

^a Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 389. Rushw. vol. ii. p. 3. ^b Clarendon, vol. i. p. 4. May, p. 14. ^c Rushw. vol. ii. p. 8. May, p. 16. ^d Rushw. vol. ii. p. 9. ^e Ibid. 10. ^f Rushw. vol. ii. p. 49.

*Severities
of the Star-
chamber
and high
commission.*

dependently of any law, upon some bold innovators in liberty, who only gloried in their sufferings, and contributed to render government odious and contemptible. Sir David Foulis was fined five thousand pounds, merely for dissuading a friend from compounding with the commissioners, who called upon him to take up, under a penalty, the title of knighthood. Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, had written a quarto of a thousand pages, which was entitled *Histriomastix*, or a *Scourge for the Stage*.

A.D. 1633.

In this performance, beside much paltry declamation against the stage, he took occasion to blame the ceremonies and late innovations of the church. For this offence, aggravated by the obstinacy and petulance of his behaviour before the Star-chamber, he was condemned to be degraded from the bar; to stand in the pillory, in two places, Westminster and Cheapside; to lose his ears, one at each place, to pay five thousand pounds to the king, and to be imprisoned during life. This sentence, no less cruel than

A.D. 1637.

unjust, was rigorously executed. Burton, a divine, and Bastwick, a physician, were tried in the Star-chamber for seditious and schismatical libels, and were condemned to the same punishment that had been inflicted on Prynne. Prynne was tried for a new offence; and, besides another fine of five thousand pounds, was condemned to lose what remained of his ears. The answers which these bold demagogues gave into court, were so full of contumacy and invective, that no lawyer could be prevailed with to sign them. The rigors, however, which they underwent, being so unworthy men of their profession, gave general offence; and the patience, or rather alacrity, with which they suffered, increased still farther the indignation of the public^f.

*Emigra-
tion to
America.*

The puritans, restrained in England, shipped themselves off for America, where they laid the foundations of a new government, agreeable to their system of political freedom. But the court, unwilling that the nation should be deprived of its useful members, or dreading the unpopularity of these migrations, issued a proclamation against them. Eight ships, lying in the Thames, and ready to sail, were detained by order of council; and in these were embarked sir Arthur Hazlerig, John Hambden, and Oliver Cromwell, who had resolved for ever to abandon their native country.

^f State Trials, vol. v. p. 80.

Amidst the numerous arbitrary impositions, which occurred during this long intermission of parliaments, one of the most obnoxious was ship-money; which, being a general burden, was universally complained of. This tax had, in former reigns, been levied without the consent of parliament; but then the exigency of the state demanded such a supply. As the necessity at present was not so great, and such a recourse might, therefore, excite murmurs among the people; a question was proposed by the king to the judges, "Whether, in a case of necessity, for the defence of the kingdom, he might not impose this taxation? and whether he were not sole judge of the necessity?" To which the judges replied, with great complaisance, "That in a case of necessity he might impose that taxation; and that he was sole judge of the necessity." Notwithstanding this authority in favour of the king's prerogative, John Hambden, a gentleman of fortune in Buckinghamshire, refused to comply with the tax, and resolved to bring it to a legal determination. He had been rated at twenty shillings, for his estate; and this he refused to pay. The case was argued during twelve days, in the exchequer-chamber, before all the judges of England; and the nation regarded with the utmost anxiety, every circumstance of this celebrated trial. But after the former opinion of the judges on this subject, the event might have been easily foreseen. All the judges, four only excepted, gave sentence in favour of the crown; while Hambden, who lost his cause, was more than sufficiently recompensed by the applauses of the people. Nothing now was heard in every company but murmurs against government, and encomiums on him who had withstood its usurpations. It was now affirmed that tyranny was consolidated into a system, against which the laws of the kingdom were become entirely ineffectual. Parliaments having been so long discontinued, there appeared no prospect of obtaining any constitutional redress of public grievances; and the people impatiently wished for some incident, however calamitous, that might secure them from those oppressions, which they felt, or the greater ills, which they apprehended, from the combination of ecclesiastical tyranny and political injustice. In this universal state of anxiety, or clamour, an accident gave the people of England an opportunity of vindicating their ancient privileges, and even carrying public freedom

*Trial of
Hambden.*

to a degree, which had never been known to their ancestors.

*Discontents
in Scot-
land.*

During the reign of the late king, the Scots had displayed a strong attachment to puritanical principles; and though they continued to allow of bishops, those dignitaries were reduced to poverty, and treated with contempt. James had perceived this decline of episcopacy, and had endeavoured to revive it; but in the midst of those efforts, he died. It was the fate of Charles for ever to aim at projects which were at once impracticable and unnecessary; what his father, therefore, had begun, he resolved to complete. This ill-judged attempt served to alienate the affections of his Scottish subjects, as much as his encroachments on liberty had rendered him unpopular in England.

The king's great aim was to establish discipline upon a regular system of canons, and to introduce a liturgy into public worship. The liturgy, which Charles, from his own authority, endeavoured to impose on Scotland, was copied from that of England: but lest a servile imitation might shock the pride of his ancient kingdom, a few alterations, in order to save appearances, were made in it; and in that shape it was transmitted to the bishops at Edinburgh^b. The flame of sedition immediately blazed in the capital, and passed from city to city, while the puritans formed a Covenant, to support and defend their opinions; and resolved to establish their doctrines, or overturn the state. On the other hand, the court was determined to establish the liturgy of the church of England; and both sides being obstinate in their prejudices, the most violent animosities ensued.

*The Cove-
nant.*

*Commoti-
ons in Scot-
land.*

An order being published for reading the liturgy in the principal church in Edinburgh, the people received it with clamours and imprecations. The court-party, indeed, with great justice, blamed their obstinacy, as the innovations were only trifling; but the people might have retorted with greater force the folly of thus earnestly attempting the establishment of trifles. The seditious disposition, which had hitherto been kept within bounds, was now too furious for restraint, and the insurrection became general over the kingdom.

Charles, however, could not think of desisting from the prosecution of his design; and so prepossessed was he in favour of royal prerogative, that he imagined the very

^b King's Decl. p. 13. May. p. 31.

name of king; when forcibly urged, would induce them to return to their duty. But finding that they had taken arms, and insisted on displacing the bishops, he summoned such of the nobility of England as held lands of the crown, to furnish him with a proper number of forces; to oppose the insurgents. To add to these supplies, he demanded a voluntary contribution from the clergy, as he was, in reality, fighting their cause; and by means of his queen, a number of the catholics was also pressed for their assistance. By these methods, he soon found himself at the head of an undisciplined and reluctant army, amounting to about twenty thousand men, and commanded by generals less disposed to fight than to negotiate. His superiority in numbers, however, gave him a manifest advantage over his rebellious subjects; though these were not slow in marching to give him battle. But Charles, unwilling to come to extremities, instead of fighting his opponents, entered upon a treaty with them. The two parties, having agreed to a suspension of arms, and afterwards concluded a peace, which neither side intended to observe, they mutually consented to disband their forces. This step was a fatal measure to Charles, as he could not levy a new army without great labour and expence; while the Scottish insurgents, who were all volunteers in the service, could be assembled again at pleasure. At length, after much altercation, and many treaties signed and broken, both parties formed the resolution of once more having recourse to arms.

*The king
levies an
army
against the
Scots.*

*A treaty
of peace
between
the king
and Scots.*

The king, with great difficulty, found means to draw together an army; and in order to support the war, he put in practice the former methods of raising money. But all those expedients proving insufficient; their remained no alternative but that of endeavouring to procure a supply from parliament, which had not now been assembled for upwards of eleven years. The many illegal and imprudent steps of the crown; the multiplied disgusts given to the puritanical party, the hardships which several persons had suffered, and their constancy in undergoing punishment, had as much alienated the affections of the king's English as of his Scottish subjects. Instead of supplies, therefore, the king was harrassed with murmurs and complaints. The house of commons entered immediately upon grievances; which they classed under three heads; these with regard to privileges of parliament, to

A.D. 1640.

*Fourth
parliament.*

the propriety of the subject, and to religion^l. The king, seeing so large a field opened, pressed them again for supply; and finding his message ineffectual, he came to the house of peers, and desired their good offices with the commons. The peers were sensible of the king's urgent necessities; and thought, that supply, on this occasion, ought, both in reason and in decency, to go before grievances. They ventured to represent their sense of the matter to the commons; but their interposition gave offence. The commons had always claimed, as their peculiar province, the granting of supplies; and though the peers had here gone no farther than offering advice, the lower house thought proper to vote such behaviour a breach of privilege^k. Charles solicited the house by new messages; and finding, that ship-money gave great alarm, besides informing them, that the money levied had been regularly, with other large sums, expended on equipping the navy; he now went so far as to offer them a total abolition of that obnoxious claim, by any law, which the commons should think proper to present to him. In return, he only asked a supply of twelve subsidies, about six hundred thousand pounds, and that payable in three years; but, at the same time, he let them know, that, considering the situation of his affairs, a delay would be equivalent to a denial^l. The king, though the majority was against him, never had more friends in any house of commons; and the debate was carried on for two days, with great warmth on both sides. The ill humour of the king's opponents was increased by sir Henry Vane, the secretary, who told the commons, without any authority from his master, that nothing less than twelve subsidies would be accepted as a compensation for the abolition of ship-money. This assertion, proceeding from the indiscretion, if we ought not rather to call it the treachery, of Vane, displeased the house, by shewing in the king a stiffness, which, in a claim so ill grounded, was deemed inexcusable^m.

The king was now in great perplexity. Instead of hoping that any supply would be granted him, to carry on war against the Scots, whom the majority of the house regarded as every way their best friends; he expected that they would present him an address for making peace with those

^l Rushw. vol. iii. p. 1147.

^k Clarendon, vol. i. p. 134.

^l Clarendon, vol. i. p. 135. Rushw. vol. iii. p. 1154.

^m Cla-

rendon, vol. i. p. 133.

rebels. And if the house met again, a vote, he was informed, would certainly pass, to blast his revenue of ship-money, and thereby renew all the opposition, which, with so much difficulty, he had surmounted in levying that taxation. In this embarrassment, Charles hastily formed and executed the resolution of dissolving this parliament; a measure, however, of which he soon after repented, and which the subsequent events, more than any satisfactory reason, inclined every one to condemn.

*Dissolution
of the par-
liament.*

Notwithstanding the general discontent, excited by this abrupt dissolution, the king persevered in those counsels, which, from experience, he might have been sensible, were so dangerous and unpopular. Bellasis and sir John Hotham were summoned before the council; and refusing to give any account of their conduct in parliament, were committed to prison. All the petitions and complaints, which had been sent to the committee of religion, were demanded from Crew, chairman of the committee; and on his refusal to deliver them, he was sent to the Tower. The closets and even the pockets of the earl of Warwick and lord Broke, before the expiration of privilege, were searched, in expectation of finding treasonable papers. These acts of authority were interpreted to be invasions on the right of national assembliesⁿ. But the king, after the first provocation which he met with, never sufficiently respected the privileges of parliament; and, by his example, he farther confirmed their resolution, when they should acquire power, to pay like disregard to the prerogatives of the crown.

*Arbitrary
conduct of
the court.*

The king, disappointed of parliamentary subsidies, was obliged to have recourse to other expedients, in order to supply his urgent necessities. Some attempts were made towards forcing a loan from the citizens; but still repelled by the spirit of liberty, which was now become unconquerable^o. A loan of forty thousand pounds was extorted from the Spanish merchants, who had bullion in the Tower, exposed to the attempts of the king. Coat and conduct money for the soldiers was levied on the counties; an ancient practice, but supposed to be abolished by the petition of right. All the pepper was bought from the East India Company upon trust, and sold at a great discount for ready money. A scheme was proposed for coining two or three hundred thousand pounds

*Various
methods of
raising
supply.*

ⁿ Rushw. vol. iii. p. 1176. May, p. 61.
iii. p. 1181.

^o Rushw. vol.

*The Scots
march an
army to
Newcastle.*

of base money : and yet all these methods were insufficient for necessary supplies. The Scots, therefore, sensible of the extremities to which the king was reduced, marched an army of twenty thousand men to the English borders, to lay their grievances before their sovereign, as they were pleased to term their rebellion. One of the most disgusting strokes in the puritanical character of the times, was this gentle language and humble cant, in the midst of treason ; with their flattery to their prince, while they were attempting to dethrone and destroy him.

*The king
raises an
army.*

The king, by the expedients which he had used, was enabled, though with great difficulty, to raise an army of nineteen thousand foot and two thousand horse^p. The earl of Northumberland was appointed general ; the earl of Strafford, who was called over from Ireland, lieutenant-general ; and lord Conway, general of the horse. A small fleet was thought sufficient to serve the purposes of this expedition.

A.D. 1640.

*Aug. 28.
Rout at
Newburn.*

At Newburn upon Tyne, the Scots were opposed by a detachment of four thousand five hundred men under Conway, who seemed resolute to dispute with them the passage of the river. The Scots first entreated them, with great civility, not to stop them in their march to their gracious sovereign ; and then attacked them with great bravery, killed several, and chased the rest from the field. The whole English army was seized with such a panic, that the forces at Newcastle fled immediately to Durham ; where still not thinking themselves safe, they deserted that town, and retreated into Yorkshire.

The Scots took possession of Newcastle ; but, in order to maintain the appearance of an amicable disposition towards England, they preserved exact discipline, and regularly paid for every thing. To the king, who was arrived at York, they also dispatched messengers, redoubling their expressions of loyalty, duty, and submission to his person ; and even making apologies, full of contrition, for their late victory^r.

*Treaty of
Rippon.*

The king being now in a very distressed condition, in order to prevent the advance of the Scots upon him, he agreed to a treaty, named sixteen English noblemen, who met with eleven Scottish commissioners at Rippon. An address arrived from the city of London, petitioning for a parliament. Twelve noblemen presented a petition to

^p Rushw. vol. iii. p. 1279.

^q Clarendon, vol. i. p. 143.

^r Rushw. vol. iii. p. 1255.

the same purpose. But the king contented himself with summoning a great council of the peers at York; a measure, which had formerly been taken in cases of sudden emergency, but which, at present, could serve to little purpose.

By Northumberland's sickness the command of the army had devolved on Strafford. This nobleman, who possessed more vigour of mind than the king or any of the council, advised Charles rather to put all to hazard, than submit to such unworthy terms as were likely to be imposed upon him. His opinion was, that the king should push forward, attack the Scots, and bring the affair to a quick decision. To shew how easy it would be to execute this project, he ordered an assault to be made on some quarters of the Scots, and he gained an advantage over them. No cessation of arms had, as yet, been agreed to, during the treaty of Rippon; yet great clamour prevailed, on account of this act of hostility. And when it was known that the officer, who conducted the attack, was a papist, a violent outcry was raised against the king, for employing that hated sect, in the murder of his protestant subjects^s.

At last, Charles, in despair of being able to stem the torrent, determined to yield to it: and as he foresaw, that the great council of the peers would advise him to call a parliament, he told them, in his first speech, that he had already taken this resolution. He informed them likewise, that the queen, in a letter which she had written to him, had very earnestly recommended that measure. This good prince, who was extremely attached to his consort, and who passionately wished to render her popular in the nation, forgot not, amidst all his distress, the interests of his domestic tenderness^t.

To subsist both armies (for the king, that he might save the northern counties, was obliged to pay his enemies) Charles wrote to the city, desiring a loan of two hundred thousand pounds; and the peers at York, whose authority was now much greater than that of their sovereign, joined in the request^u.

As many difficulties occurred in the negotiation with the Scots, it was proposed to transfer the treaty from Rippon to London; a proposal willingly embraced by the people of that nation, who were sure of treating with advantage in a place, where the king, they foresaw, would

^s Clarendon, vol. j. p. 159.
Rushw. vol. iii. p. 1275.

^t Clarendon, vol. i. p. 154.
^u Rushw. vol. iii. p. 1279.

be, in a manner, a prisoner, in the midst of his implacable enemies, and their determined friends*.

*Meeting of
the long-
parliament.
Nov. 3.*

The causes of disgust, which, for above thirty years, had daily been multiplying in England, were now come to full maturity, and threatened the kingdom with some great revolution or convulsion. In this situation of public affairs, the king assembled that long parliament, which never discontinued sitting until they accomplished his ruin. The house of commons, from its first institution, was never observed to be so numerous, or the assiduity of its members greater. Without any interval, therefore, they entered upon business, and by unanimous consent they immediately struck a blow, which might be regarded as decisive. Instead of granting the demanded subsidies, they impeached the earl of Strafford, the king's first minister, and had him arraigned before the house of peers for high treason. Pym, a tedious, but sensible speaker, who had opened the accusation against him in the house of commons, was sent up to defend it at the bar of the house of peers; and most of the house accompanied their member on so agreeable an errand.

*Impeach-
ment of the
earl of
Strafford.
Nov. 11.*

To bestow the greater solemnity on this important trial, scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall, where both houses sat, one as judges, the other as accusers. Beside the chair of state, a close gallery was prepared for the king and queen, who attended during the whole trial. The articles of impeachment against him amounted to twenty-eight; the substance of which was, that he had attempted to extend the king's authority at home, and had been guilty of several exactions in Ireland. But though four months had been employed by the managers in framing the accusation, yet there appears very little cause of just blame against Strafford, since the unwarrantable exertions of the royal prerogative were made before he came into authority. The members who conducted the impeachment, however, argued with great vehemence, and insisted, that, though each article taken separately did not amount to a proof, yet the whole taken together might be fairly admitted to carry conviction. The earl defended his cause with all the judgment, and presence of mind, that could be expected from innocence and ability. His children were placed beside him, while he was thus defending his life, and the cause of his royal master. After he had, in a long and eloquent speech, delivered without

* Rushw. vol. iii. p. 1279.

premeditation, confuted all the accusations of his enemies; after he had shown, that, during his government in Ireland, he had introduced the arts of peace among the savage part of that people; after he had proved, that, though his measures in England, since his coming over, were harsh, he was unwillingly driven into them from necessity; and after he had clearly refuted the argument upon the accumulated force of his guilt, he thus drew to a conclusion. "But, my lords, I have troubled you too long; longer than I should have done, but for the sake of these dear pledges, which a saint in heaven has left me." Upon this he paused, dropped a tear, looked upon his children, and proceeded. "What I forfeit for myself is a trifle; that my indiscretions should reach my posterity, wounds me to the heart. Pardon my infirmity—something I should have added, but am not able, therefore let it pass. And now, my lords, for myself. I have long been taught that the afflictions of this life are overpaid by that eternal weight of glory which awaits the innocent; and so, my lords, even so, with the utmost tranquillity, I submit myself to your judgment, whether that judgment be life or death: not my will, but thine, O God, be done!" His eloquence and innocence induced those judges to pity, who were the most zealous to condemn him. The king himself went to the house of lords, and spoke for some time in his defence; but the spirit of vengeance was now roused, and his blood alone could give the people satisfaction. He was found guilty by both houses of parliament; and nothing remained but for the king to give his consent to the bill of attainder. In the present commotions, the consent of the king would very easily be dispensed with; and imminent dangers might attend his refusal. Yet still Charles, who loved Strafford tenderly, hesitated, and tried every expedient to put off so dreadful a duty, as that of signing the warrant for his execution. While he continued in this agitation of mind, not knowing how to act, his perplexity was at last removed by an act of heroic bravery in the condemned lord. He received a letter from that unfortunate nobleman, desiring that his life might be made the sacrifice of a mutual reconciliation between the king and his people. This instance of noble generosity was but ill repaid by his master, who complied with his request. He consented to the signing the fatal bill by commission. An interval only of three days was allowed the prisoner, to prepare for his doom. The king, who made a new effort in his behalf, and sent, by the hands of the young prince, a letter ad-

A.D. 1641.

*Execution
of Strafford.*

dressed to the peers, in which he intreated them to confer with the commons about the mitigation of Strafford's sentence, and begged at least for some delay, was denied in both requests ⁷. Strafford was, therefore, beheaded on Tower-hill, behaving with all that composed dignity which was expected from his character. The first parliament after the Restoration reversed the bill of attainder; and even a few weeks after Strafford's execution, this very parliament remitted to his children the more severe consequences of his sentence; as if conscious of the violence with which the prosecution had been conducted.

*Laud im-
peached.*

But the commons did not stop their impeachments here. Laud was marked out as an object of their resentment, as well by their prejudices against his whole order, as by the extreme antipathy which his intemperate zeal had drawn upon him. After a deliberation which scarcely lasted half an hour, an impeachment of high treason was voted against him, and he was committed to custody. Finch, the lord-keeper, was also impeached; but he had the precaution to make his escape, and fly over into Holland; as did sir Francis Wyndebank, the secretary, into France.

*Lord-keep-
er flies; as
does secre-
tary Wynde-
bank.*

The crown being thus deprived of the services of its ministers, the commons next proceeded to attack the few remaining privileges which it possessed. During the late military operations, several powers had been exerted by the lieutenants, and deputy-lieutenants of counties, who were all under the influence of the crown. These were, therefore, voted delinquents; a term now first used to signify transgressors, whose crimes were not as yet ascertained by law. The sheriffs also, who had obeyed the king's mandate in raising ship-money, were voted to be delinquents. All the farmers and officers of the customs, who had been employed during so many years in levying tonnage and poundage, were subjected to the same imputation, and only purchased their safety by paying a hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Every discretionary or arbitrary sentence of the Star-chamber, and High-commission courts, underwent a severe scrutiny; and all those who had any hand in such sentences were voted to be liable to the penalties of law. The judges, who had declared against Hambden in the trial of ship-money, were accused before the lords, and obliged to find security for their appearance. All those monopolies which had lately been granted by the crown, were annihilated by the order

of the commons; who carried their detestation of that grievance so far, as to expel from their house all such members as had been monopolists or projectors.

The whole sovereign power being thus in a manner transferred to the commons, the popular leaders seemed willing for some time to suspend their active vigour; and to consolidate their authority, before they proceeded to any violent exercise of it.

Hitherto the commons were in some measure the patrons of public freedom; and had they proceeded no farther in the reduction of the royal prerogative, they might have been considered as great benefactors to their country. But they were either willing to revenge their former sufferings, or thought that some signal examples were necessary to deter others from acts of arbitrary power; and not sufficiently attentive to prevent the horrors of civil war, they precipitately involved the nation in such calamities as it never before had experienced.

The ferment, begun in the parliament, at length pervaded the whole kingdom. The harangues of the members, now first published and dispersed, kept alive the discontents against the late administration. The pulpits, delivered over to the puritanical preachers, whom the commons arbitrarily placed in all the considerable churches, refounded with faction and fanaticism. The press, freed from all fear or reserve, swarmed with productions, dangerous by their seditious zeal and calumny more than by their eloquence or style.

In this universal uproar against the crown, Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, who had some years before suffered so severely for their licentious abuses, and had been committed to remote prisons, were set at liberty by order of the commons, and made their triumphant entry into the capital. Bastwick had been confined in Scilly, Burton in Jersey, and Prynne in Guernsey; and upon landing at their respective places, they were received by the acclamations of the people, and attended by crowds to London. Boughs were carried in this tumultuous procession; the roads were strowed with flowers; and amidst the exultations of joy, were intermingled the most virulent invectives against those who had so cruelly persecuted such godly persons.

Many grievances had doubtless been felt during the last intermission of parliament; but the very complaints against them became now one of the greatest grievances. So many were offered within doors, and by petitions from without, that the house was divided into above forty committees,

mittes, charged, each of them, with the examination of its respective complaints.

From the reports of the committees, the house daily passed votes, which no less mortified and astonished the court than they enflamed and animated the nation. Ship-money was declared illegal and arbitrary; the sentence against Hambden cancelled; the court of York abolished; compositions for knighthood stigmatized; the enlargement of the forests condemned; patents for monopolies annulled; and every late measure of administration treated with reproach and obloquy. Every discretionary act of council was represented as arbitrary and tyrannical; and the general inference was still inculcated, that a design had been formed to subvert the laws and constitution of the kingdom.

The king, from necessity, remained passive during all these violent operations. The few servants, who continued faithful to him, were seized with astonishment at the rapid progress made by the commons in power and popularity, and were glad, by their inactive and inoffensive behaviour, to compound for impunity. The torrent rising to so dreadful and unexpected a height, despair seized all those, who, from interest or habit, were most attached to monarchy; while the king himself saw with amazement the whole fabric of government overturned.

But in this universal rage for abolishing the former constitution, the parliament fell with great justice on two courts, which had been erected under arbitrary kings, and had seldom been employed but in cases of necessity. These were the High-commission court, and the court of Star-chamber. A bill unanimously passed the house to abolish both; and in them to annihilate the most dangerous prerogatives of the crown.

After those transactions, the parliament seemingly adjourned; but a committee of both houses, a thing altogether unprecedented, was appointed to sit during the recess, with very ample powers, little less than those of the parliament in the plenitude of its authority. Pym was appointed chairman of the lower house; in which farther attempts were made for assuming the executive power, and publishing the ordinances of this committee as statutes enacted by all the branches of the legislature. Meantime, the king went to pay a visit to his subjects in Scotland.

During these commotions, the papists of Ireland fancied they found a convenient opportunity of throwing off the
English

English yoke. There was a gentleman named Roger More, who, though of a narrow fortune, was descended from a very ancient family, and was much celebrated among his countrymen for his valour and capacity. This man first formed the project of expelling the English, and asserting the independence of his native country^z. He secretly went from chieftain to chieftain, and roused up every latent principle of discontent. He maintained a close correspondence with lord Maguire and sir Phelim O'Neale, the most powerful of the old Irish. He represented to all that the occasion was favourable; the English warmly engaged in domestic animosity, were unable to attend to a distant insurrection; and those of that nation, who resided among them, were too feeble to resist.

*Conspiracy
in Ireland.*

By these considerations, More engaged all the heads of the native Irish into the conspiracy. The English of the Pale, as they were called, or the old English planters, being all Catholics, it was hoped, would soon afterwards join the party, which restored their religion to its ancient splendor. The intention was, that sir Phelim O'Neale, and the other conspirators, should all begin an insurrection on one day throughout the provinces, and destroy all the English; while lord Maguire, and Roger More, should surprize the castle of Dublin. The time fixed for this revolt was the approach of winter; that there might be more difficulty in transporting forces from England; and before the commencement of the insurrection, they expected succours and supplies of arms from France. The earl of Leicester, who had been appointed lord lieutenant, was then in London. Sir William Parsons, and sir John Borlace, the two lords justices, were men of slender abilities; and they indulged themselves in the most profound repose, on the very brink of destruction.

The day before the intended seizure of the castle of Dublin, the plot was discovered by one O'Connellly, an Irishman, but a Protestant, to the justices, who fled immediately to the castle, and ordered the protestant inhabitants of the city to prepare for their defence. Maguire was taken, but More escaped; and discoveries continually increasing, the meditated project received fresh confirmation every hour.

But though the citizens of Dublin had just time enough to elude the danger, the Protestants dispersed over the country were taken unprepared. O'Neale and his confe-

*Irish insur-
rection and
massacre.*

^z Nalson, vol. ii. p. 543.

derates had already taken arms in Ulster. The Irish, every where intermingled with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders and priests to begin the destruction of a people whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and prosperity^a. The conspirators commenced their operations with seizing the houses, cattle, and goods of the English. Those, who were alarmed by the commotions in their neighbourhood, instead of deserting their habitations, and assembling for mutual protection, remained at home, in hopes of defending their property; and thus fell separately into the hands of their enemies^b. To rapaciousness succeeded cruelty, the most barbarous that occurs in the annals of human kind. A universal massacre ensued of the English, unprepared for defence, and therefore passively resigned to their inhuman foes. No age, no sex, no condition was spared. In vain did flight save from the first assault: destruction was every where let loose, and met the hunted victims at every turn. In vain was recourse had to relations, to companions, to former friends; all connections were dissolved, and death was dealt by that hand, from which protection was implored and expected. The most wanton cruelties were inflicted on those innocent sufferers. The very avarice of the revolters could not restrain their thirst of blood; and they burned the inhabitants in their own houses, to increase their punishment. Several hundreds were driven upon a bridge; and forced by these barbarians to leap thence into the water, where they were drowned. The weaker sex emulated their more robust companions in the practice of every cruelty^c; and even children were prompted to essay their feeble blows on the carcasses, or defenceless children of the English. Amidst all these enormities, the sacred name of religion resounded on every side; and the bigotted assassins, with joy and exultation, still echoed in the ears of the expiring victims, that these agonies were but the commencement of torments, infinite and eternal^d. The English colonies were totally annihilated in the open country of Ulster; but in the other provinces, the rebels pretended to act with greater humanity. In these the Protestants were driven from their houses, to meet the severity of the weather, without food or raiment. The roads were covered with

^a Temple, p. 39, 40, 79.

^b Idem, p. 42.

^c Tem-

dle, p. 96, 101. Rush. vol. v. p. 415.

^d Temple, p. 94-

107, 108. Rush. vol. v. p. 407.

crowds of naked English, hastening towards Dublin and the other cities, which yet remained in the hands of their countrymen. Many suffered by hunger, and many by the cold, which happened at that time to be particularly severe. By some computations, those who perished by all these cruelties, are supposed to be a hundred and fifty, or two hundred thousand; but by the most moderate account, they are made to amount to forty thousand.

Meanwhile, the English of the Pale, consisting of the old English Catholics, joining with the native Irish, an army was formed, amounting to above twenty thousand men, which threatened a total extermination of the English power in that island.

The king was in Scotland, when he received the first accounts of this rebellion; and he immediately communicated his intelligence to the Scottish parliament. But though he did all in his power to induce his subjects there to lend assistance to the Protestant cause, he found them totally averse to sending any succours into Ireland. Their design was to supply the English parliament with what succours they could spare, and not to obey the injunctions of their sovereign; to whose contrivance they even had the assurance to impute a part of these dreadful massacres. In fact, the Irish rebels did not fail to show a royal patent, authorising their attempts; and, it is said, that sir Phelim O'Neale, having found a royal patent in the house of lord Caulfield, whom he had murdered, he tore off the seal, and affixed it to a commission which he had forged for himself.

The king urges the Scots to send succours into Ireland; but in vain.

The king now found himself obliged to have recourse to the English parliament, on the assistance of which alone he could depend for supply. After communicating to them the intelligence he had received, he informed them, that the insurrection was not, in his opinion, the result of any rash enterprize, but of a formed conspiracy against the crown of England. To their care and wisdom, therefore, he said, he committed the prosecution of the war, which, in a cause so important to national and religious interests, ought to be vigorously pursued. But he found the English parliament in the same humour with the Scotch. They gave him to understand that no money could be spared for the extinction of distant dangers, when the kingdom, as they pretended, was threatened with greater at home; and they likewise even threw out insinuations that himself had fomented this rebellion.

He applies also to the Engl^{ish} parliament; but also in vain.

*Views of
the English
parliament.*

A.D. 1641.

*The remon-
strance.*

*The king
answers
the remon-
strance.*

It was now that the republican spirit began to appear without any disguise in the present parliament, and instead of correcting the abuses of administration, they resolved on the destruction of monarchy. Having seen a republican system of government lately established in Holland, they were desirous of imitating the example; and many productions of the press, sketching out the form, were at that time published. The leaders of the opposition began their operations with the resolution of attacking episcopacy, which was one of the strongest bulwarks of the royal power; but they previously framed a remonstrance; in which they summed up all their former grievances. This memorable instrument consists of many gross falsehoods, intermingled with some evident truths; and malignant insinuations are joined to open invectives. It was not addressed to the king; but was openly declared to be an appeal to the people; among whom it excited, every where, the same violent controversy, which attended it when introduced into the house of commons. As soon as the remonstrance was published, the king dispersed an answer to it. But in this contest, he lay under great disadvantages. Not only the minds of the people were extremely prejudiced against him; the best topics, upon which he could justify, at least apologize for his former conduct, were such as it was not prudent for him at this time to employ. So high was the national partiality towards parliaments, that to blame the past conduct of these assemblies would have been very ill received by the generality of the people; and so loud were the complaints against regal usurpations, that, had the king asserted the prerogative of supplying, by his own authority, the deficiencies in government arising from the obstinacy of the commons, he would have increased the clamours, with which the whole nation already resounded.

*Proceedings
of the com-
mons
against the
hierarchy.*

Every measure pursued by the commons was full of the most inveterate hatred against the hierarchy; an ecclesiastical establishment, which they were determined to subvert. Besides numberless vexations and persecutions, which the clergy underwent from the arbitrary power of the lower house; the peers, while the king was in Scotland, having passed an order for the observance of the laws with regard to public worship, the commons assumed such authority, that, by a vote alone of their house, they suspended those laws, though enacted by the whole legislature. They particularly forbade bowing at the name of Jesus; a practice which gave them the highest scandal,
and

and which was one of the capital objections against the established religion ^f. They complained of the king's filling five vacant sees, and considered it as an insult upon them, that he should support an order, which they intended soon entirely to abolish ^g. They had accused thirteen bishops of high treason, for enacting canons without consent of parliament ^h, though, from the foundation of the monarchy, no other method had ever been practised. They now insisted, that the peers, upon this general accusation, should sequester those bishops from their seats in parliament, and commit them to prison. But the lords refused their concurrence to this law; and to all such as any way tended to the farther limitation of royal authority. The commons murmured at the refusal, mixed menaces with their indignation, and began, for the first time, to insinuate that the business of the state could be carried on without any upper house.

In order to intimidate the lords, the populace was encouraged to insult and threaten them; and some seditious apprentices being seized and committed to prison, the house of commons immediately ordered them to be set free. The multitude, by the instigation also of the commons, crowded about Whitehall, and threw out insolent menaces against the king himself. It was at this time that several reduced officers, and students of the inns of court, offered their services to the king, to repress the rioters; and many frays ensued, not without bloodshed. The rabble by way of reproach, were called Round-heads, from the manner of wearing their hair, and the gentlemen Cavaliers; names which afterwards served to distinguish the partizans of either side, and still more to divide the nation. The peers voted a declaration against those tumults, and sent it to the lower house, the members of which refused their concurrence ⁱ.

Round-heads and Cavaliers.

The tumult still continued and even increased about Westminster and Whitehall; where the cry incessantly resounded against bishops and rotten-hearted lords ^k. The former especially, being distinguishable by their habit, and being the object of violent hatred to all the sectaries, were exposed to the most dangerous insults ^l. The archbishop of York, having been abused by the populace, called a meeting of his brethren, and by his advice, a protestation

^f Rushworth, vol. v. p. 385, 386. Nalson, vol. ii. p. 487.
^g Nalson, vol. ii. p. 511. ^h Rush. vol. v. p. 359. ⁱ Rushworth, part iii. vol. i. p. 710. ^k Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 336.
 Dugdale, p. 78.

Protestation of the bishops.

was drawn and addressed to the king and the house of lords. In this they set forth, that being hindered by the populace from attending in the house of lords, they resolved to go thither no more, until all commotions should be appeased; protesting, in the mean time, against all such laws as should be enacted in their absence. As soon as this protestation was presented to the lords, that house desired a conference with the commons, whom they informed of the event. The opportunity was seized with joy and triumph. An impeachment of high treason was immediately sent up against the bishops, as endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and to invalidate the authority of the legislature^m. They were, on the first demand, sequestered from parliament, and committed to custody, no man in either house daring to speak a word in their vindication.

Their impeachment.

This imprudent step of the bishops was a fatal blow to the royal interest; but it soon felt a greater from the king's own indiscretion; an indiscretion, to which all the ensuing disorders ought immediately to be ascribed. This was the impeachment of lord Kimbolton and the five members.

Charles, now become enraged to find that all his concessions to the commons served only to increase their demands; that the people, who had been returning to a sense of duty towards him, were again roused to sedition and tumults; that the blackest calumnies were propagated against him; and that a method of address was adopted, not only unsuitable towards a monarch, but which no private gentleman could bear without resentment; when he considered all these increasing acts of insolence in the commons, he was apt to ascribe them, in a great measure, to the gentleness of his own behaviour. Being encouraged in these sentiments by the queen and several courtiers, he gave orders to Herbert, his attorney-general, to enter an accusation of high-treason in the house of peers, against lord Kimbolton, one of the most popular men of his party, and against five commoners, sir Arthur Hazlerig, Hollis, Hambden, Pym, and Strode. The articles were, that they had traiterously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, to deprive the king of his regal power, and to impose on his subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical authority; that they had en-

A D 1642.

Accusation of the five members.

^m Whitlocke, p. 51. Rush. vol. v. p. 466. Nalson, vol. ii. p. 799.

deavoured,

deavoured, by many foul aspersions on his majesty and his government, to alienate the affections of his people; that they had attempted to draw his late army to disobedience of his royal commands; that they had invited a foreign army to invade the kingdom; that they had aimed at subverting the rights, and even the existence of parliament; and had actually raised and countenanced tumults against the king.

The precipitancy and imprudence of this measure excited univerfal amazement, which was soon increased by another, still more rash and unsupported. A serjeant at arms, in the king's name, demanded of the house the five members, and was sent back without any positive answer. Messengers were employed to search for them, and arrest them. Their trunks, chambers, and studies, were sealed, and locked. The house voted all these acts of violence to be breaches of privilege, and commanded every one to defend the liberty of the membersⁿ. The king, irritated by all this opposition, resolved to come to the house next day himself, with intention to demand, perhaps seize in their presence, the persons whom he had accused. This resolution being discovered to the countess of Carlisle, she privately sent intelligence to the five members; and they had time to withdraw before the king entered. He was accompanied by his ordinary retinue to the number of above two hundred, armed as usual, some with halberts, and some with swords. The king leaving them at the door, advanced alone through the hall; while all the members rose to receive him. The speaker withdrew from the chair, and the king took possession of it. Having seated himself, and looked round him for some time, he told the house that he was sorry for the occasion that forced him thither; that he was come in person to seize the members, whom he had accused of high treason, seeing they would not deliver them up to his serjeant at arms. Addressing himself to the speaker, he desired to know whether any of them were in the house; but the speaker, falling on his knees, replied, that he had neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in that place, but as the house was pleased to direct him; and he asked pardon for not being able to give any other answer^o. The commons were in the utmost disorder; and, when the king was departing, some members cried out,

The king goes to the house of commons, and demands the five members.

ⁿ Whitlocke, p. 50. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 474, 475.
^o Whitlocke, p. 50. May, book ii. p. 20.

so as he might hear them, "Privilege! privilege!" And the house immediately adjourned until next day^p.

That evening, the accused members, to show the greater apprehension, removed into the city, where the inhabitants were in arms the whole night. Next morning, Charles sent to the mayor, and ordered him to call a common-council immediately. About ten o'clock, himself, attended only by three or four lords, went to Guildhall. He told the common-council, that he was sorry to hear of the apprehensions entertained of him; that he was come to them without any guard, in order to show how much he relied on their affections; and that he had accused certain men of high-treason, against whom he could proceed in a legal way, and therefore presumed that they would not meet with protection in the city. After many other gracious expressions, he told one of the sheriffs, who of the two was thought the least inclined to his service, that he would dine with him. He departed the hall without receiving the applause which he expected. In passing through the streets, he heard the cry, "Privilege of parliament! privilege of parliament!" resounding from all quarters. On his return, one of the populace, more insolent than the rest, drew nigh to his coach, and called out with a loud voice, "To your tents, O Israel!" a watchword among the Jews, when they intended to abandon their princes.

*The king
goes to
Guildhall.*

When the commons met next day, they affected the greatest terror, and passed an unanimous vote, that, the king having violated their privileges, they could not assemble again in the same place, until they should obtain satisfaction, with a guard for their security. They, therefore, adjourned themselves for some days, and appointed a committee to sit in Merchant-taylors Hall in the city, where they artfully kept up the panic, in order to enflame the populace.

Meantime, the king, afraid of exposing himself to any fresh insult from the fury of the multitude, retired to Hampton-Court, overwhelmed with grief, shame, and remorse. There he began to reflect on the rashness of his former proceedings, and repented, but now too late, to make some atonement. He, therefore, wrote to the parliament, informing them, that he desisted from all proceedings against the accused members; and assured them, that, upon all occasions, he would be as careful of their privileges as of his life or his crown; a submission, which,

in his present circumstances, served only to render him contemptible.

The more to excite the people, whose dispositions were already very seditious, the expedient of petitioning was renewed. Beside petitions from several counties, like addresses were presented from apprentices, porters, and beggars. Even the women were seized with the same rage. A brewer's wife, followed by many thousands of her sex, brought a petition to the house; in which the petitioners expressed their terror of the Papists and prelates, and their dread of like massacres, rapes, and outrages, with those which had been committed upon their sex in Ireland. Pym came to the door of the house; and, having told the female zealots, that their petition was thankfully accepted, and was presented in a seasonable time, he begged that their prayers for the success of the commons might follow their petition. Such low arts of popularity were now affected by the democratical leaders.

*Petitions to
the commons.*

In the mean time, not only all petitions, which favoured the church or monarchy, whencesoever they came, were discouraged; but the petitioners were sent for, imprisoned, and prosecuted as delinquents.

The commons had already stripped the king of almost all his privileges; the bishops were fled, the judges were intimidated; it now only remained, that, after securing the church and the law, they should take possession of the sword also. The power of appointing governors, generals, and levying armies, was still a prerogative of the crown. Having, therefore, first magnified their terrors of popery, they proceeded to petition that the Tower might be put into their hands; and that Hull, Portsmouth, and the fleet, should be entrusted to persons of their choosing. These were requests, the complying with which levelled all that remained of the ancient constitution: such, however, was the necessity of the times, that they were in a short time granted by the king. The usurpation of the commons increasing with every indulgence, they at length desired to have a militia, raised and commanded by such officers as they should appoint; under pretext of ensuring them from the Irish Papists.

*Usurpations
of the
commons.*

It was now that Charles ventured to put a stop to his concessions; and that not by a refusal, but a delay. He was at this time at Dover, attending the queen, and the princess of Orange, who had thought it prudent to leave the kingdom. He replied to the petition of the commons, that he had not then leisure to consider a matter of so great

importance; and therefore, would defer an answer until his return. But the commons were well aware, that though this was depriving him even of the shadow of power, yet they had gone too far to recede, and were, therefore, desirous of divesting him of all authority, which, if allowed to retain, he might afterwards employ against themselves. They alleged that the dangers of the nation were such as could admit no farther delay; and unless the king speedily complied with their demands, they should be obliged, both for his safety and that of the kingdom, to dispose of the militia by the authority of both houses, and were resolved to do it accordingly. In their remonstrances to the king, they desired permission to command the army even for a limited time; which so exasperated him, that he exclaimed, "No, not for an hour." This peremptory refusal broke off all treaty; and both sides were now resolved to have recourse to arms.

*The king
arrives at
York.*

Charles, taking with him the prince of Wales, and his younger son, retired to York, where he found the people more loyal, and less infected with the religious frenzy of the times. From all quarters of England, the principal nobility and gentry, either personally, or by messages and letters, expressed their duty towards him; and exhorted him to save himself and them from that ignominious slavery, with which they were threatened. The king, therefore, finding himself supported by a considerable party in the nation, began to speak in a firmer tone, and to retort the accusations of the commons with a vigour which he had not before exerted. Notwithstanding their remonstrances and menaces, he persisted in refusing them the command of the militia; and they proceeded to frame an ordinance, in which, by the authority of the two houses, without the king's consent, they named lieutenants for all the counties, and conferred on them the command of the whole military force, and of all the guards, garrisons, and forts in the kingdom. He issued proclamations against this open usurpation; and, as he professed a resolution strictly to observe the law himself, so he was determined, he said, to oblige every other person to pay it a like obedience. The name of the king was so essential to all laws, that the parliament was afraid, had they totally omitted it, the innovation would be too evident to the people. In all commands, therefore, which they conferred, they bound the persons to obey the orders of his majesty, signified by both houses of parliament. And, inventing a distinction, hitherto unheard of, between the office and the

the person of the king, those very forces, which they employed against him, they levied in his name, and by his authority⁹.

The county of York levied a guard for the king of six hundred men. The two houses, though they had already levied a guard for themselves, had attempted to seize all the military power of the kingdom, all the navy, and had openly employed their authority in every kind of warlike preparations. The armies, which had been every where raised on pretence of the service in Ireland, were henceforth more openly enlisted by the parliament for their own purposes, and the command of them was given to the earl of Essex. In London, no less than four thousand men enlisted in one day^r. And the parliament voted a declaration, which they required every member to subscribe, that they would live or die with their general.

They issued orders for bringing in loans of money and plate, in order to maintain forces which should defend the king and both houses of parliament; for this style they continued to preserve. Within ten days, such quantities of plate were brought to their treasurers, that hardly were there men enow to receive it, or room sufficient to stow it. The women gave up all the plate and ornaments of their houses, and even their silver thimbles and bodkins, in order to support the "good cause" against the malignants^s.

Preparations for civil war.

Above forty peers of the first rank attended the king; whilst the house of lords seldom consisted of more than sixteen members. Almost the half of the lower house absented themselves from counsels, which they deemed so full of danger. The commons sent up an impeachment against nine peers, for deserting their duty in parliament. Their own members also, who should return to them, they voted not to admit, until satisfied concerning the reason of their absence.

Charles made a declaration to the peers who attended him, that he expected from them no obedience to any commands which were not warranted by the laws of the land; and this declaration the peers answered by a protest, in which they declared their resolution to obey no commands but such as were warranted by that authority^t.

⁹ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 526. ^r Vicar's God in the Mount. ^s Whitlocke, p. 58. Dugdale, p. 96. 99. ^t Rush. vol. v. p. 626, 627. May, book ii. p. 86. Warwick, p. 230.

The queen, disposing of the crown-jewels in Holland, had been enabled to purchase a cargo of arms and ammunition; part of which, after escaping many perils, arrived safely to the king. His preparations were not near so forward as those of the parliament. In order to remove all jealousy, he had resolved that their usurpations and illegal pretensions should be manifest to the whole world; and thought, that to recover the confidence of the people, was a point much more essential to his interest than the collecting of any magazines, or armies, which might breed apprehensions of violent or illegal counsels. But the urgent necessity of his situation no longer admitted of delay; and he now prepared for his defence.

Propositions sent by the commons to the king.

That the king might despair of all composition, the parliament sent him the conditions on which they were willing to come to an agreement. Their demands, containing nineteen propositions, amounted to a total abolition of monarchical authority. Their import was, that the privy-council, the principal officers of state, the governors of the king's children, the commanders of the forts, his fleet, and armies, should be all appointed by, and under the controul of parliament; that papists should be punished by their authority; that the church and liturgy should be reformed at their discretion; and that such members as had been displaced, should be restored. To these extravagant proposals the king made reply, "Should I grant these demands, I might be waited on bare-headed, I might have my hand kissed, the title of majesty continued to me, and the king's authority, signified by both houses of parliament, might still be the style of your commands; I might 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 the true and real power, I should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a king." War, on any terms, was esteemed by the king and all his counsellors, preferable to so ignominious a peace. Charles accordingly resolved to support his authority by arms. His towns, he said, were taken from him, his ships, his arms, his money; but there still remained to him a good cause, and the hearts of his loyal subjects, which, with God's blessing, he doubted not, would recover all the rest.

The king's answer.

Never was contest more unequal than seemed at first between the contending parties; the king being entirely destitute of every advantage. His revenue had been seized by parliament; all the sea-port towns, except Newcastle, were in their hands; and thus they were possessed of the customs, which these could supply. The fleet was at their disposal; all magazines of arms and ammunition were seized for their use; and they had the wishes of all the most active members of the nation.

25th Aug.
Commence-
ment of
civil war.

To oppose this, the king had that acknowledged reverence which was paid to royalty. The greater part of the nobility adhered to him. Most of the men of education also, and the ancient gentry, still considered loyalty as a duty, and armed their tenants and servants in his cause. With these followers, the king advanced southward, and erected the royal standard at Nottingham.

The contempt, entertained by the parliament, for the king's party was so great, that it was the chief cause of pushing matters to such extremities against him; and many believed that he never would attempt resistance, but must soon yield to the pretensions, however enormous, of the two houses. Even after his standard was erected, men could not be brought to apprehend the danger of a civil war. The low condition in which he appeared at Nottingham confirmed these hopes. His artillery, which was far from numerous, had been left at York, for want of horses to transport it. Beside the trained bands of the county, raised by sir John Digby, the sheriff, he had not assembled above three hundred infantry. His cavalry, in which consisted his chief strength, exceeded not eight hundred, and were very ill provided with arms. The forces of the parliament lay at Northampton, within a few days march of him; and consisted of above six thousand men, well armed and well appointed.

State of the
king's
forces.

Why the parliamentary general, with an army so much superior, was not ordered to march immediately against the royalists, is difficult to explain. The parliament, it is probable, was of opinion, that the king's adherents, sensible of their feeble condition, and slender resources, would disperse of themselves, and leave their adversaries a victory, so much the more complete, as it would be gained without bloodshed, and even without the appearance of force. Perhaps too, when it became necessary to make the concluding step, and offer bare-faced violence to their sovereign, their scruples and apprehensions, though

not sufficient to overcome their resolutions, were able to retard the execution of them ².

The king sends overtures of treaty to the parliament.

While affairs were in this situation, the king, by the advice of lord Southampton, and with the unanimous concurrence of the counsellors, was prevailed upon, after some reluctance, to make overtures of treaty to the parliament. That nobleman, therefore, with sir John Colepepper and sir William Uvedale, was dispatched to London for the purpose ³. The manner, in which they were received, gave little hopes of success. Southampton was not allowed by the peers to take his seat; but was ordered to deliver his message to the usher, and immediately to depart the city. The commons showed little better disposition towards Colepepper and Uvedale ². Both houses replied, that they could admit of no treaty with the king, until he took down his standard, and recalled his proclamations, in which the parliament supposed themselves to be declared traitors. The king, by a second message, denied any such intention against the two houses; but offered to recall those proclamations, provided the parliament agreed to recall theirs, in which his adherents were declared traitors. They desired him in return, to dismiss his forces, to reside with the parliament, and to give up delinquents to their jurisdiction; that is, to abandon himself and his friends to the mercy of his enemies ². Both parties flattered themselves, that, by these messages and replies, they had gained the ends which they proposed ⁶. The king believed, that the people were made sufficiently sensible of the parliament's insolence and aversion to peace; while they expected by this vigour in their resolutions, to give additional weight to their cause.

Messages between the king and parliament.

All the detachments of the parliamentary army were now ordered to march to Northampton; and the earl of Essex, who had joined them, found the whole amount to fifteen thousand men ^c. The king, though his camp had been gradually reinforced from all quarters, was sensible that he could not cope with so formidable a force; he, therefore, thought it prudent to retire, by slow marches, to Derby, thence to Shrewsbury, in order to countenance the levies, which his friends were making in those parts. At Wellington, a day's march from Shrewsbury, he made

The king marches towards Shrewsbury.

² Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 18.

³ Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 10.

Dugdale, p. 112.

p. 60.

⁴ Rush. vol. v. p. 784.

⁵ Rush. vol. v. p. 786. Dug-

⁶ Whitlocke, p. 59.

^c Whitlocke,

a rendezvous of all his forces, and caused his military orders to be read at the head of every regiment. That he might bind himself by reciprocal ties, he solemnly made the following declaration before his whole army.

“ I do promise, in the presence of almighty God, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain the true reformed Protestant religion, established in the church of England, and, by the grace of God, in the same will live and die. *His declaration.*

“ I desire that the laws may ever be the measure of my government, and that the liberty and property of the subject may be preserved by them with the same care as my own just rights. And if it please God, by his blessing on this army, raised for my necessary defence, to preserve me from the present rebellion; I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of parliament, and to govern, to the utmost of my power, by the known statutes and customs of the kingdom, and particularly to observe inviolably the laws to which I have given my consent this parliament. Meanwhile, if this emergence, and the great necessity to which I am driven, beget any violation of law, I hope it shall be imputed by God and man to the authors of this war; not to me, who have so earnestly laboured to preserve the peace of the kingdom.

“ When I willingly fail in these particulars, I shall expect no aid or relief from man, nor any protection from above. But in this resolution, I hope for the cheerful assistance of all good men, and am confident of the blessing of Heaven^d.”

While the king's army lay at Shrewsbury, and he was employing himself in collecting money, which he received, though in no great quantities, by voluntary contributions, and by the plate of the universities, which was sent him; the news arrived of an action, the first which had happened in these wars, and where his troops were successful.

On the appearance of commotions in England, the princes Rupert and Maurice, sons of the unfortunate palatine, had offered their service to the king; and the former, at this time, commanded a body of horse, which had been sent to Worcester, in order to watch the motions of Essex, who was marching towards that city. No *Encounter at Worcester.*

^d Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 16, 17. Dugdale, p. 104.

fooner had the prince arrived than he saw some cavalry of the enemy approaching the gates. While they were defiling from a lane, and forming themselves, he attacked them, and routed the whole party, which was pursued above a mile. This rencounter, though in itself of small importance, greatly raised the reputation of the royalists, and acquired to prince Rupert the character of promptitude and courage; qualities which he eminently displayed during the whole course of the war.

On the king's leaving Shrewsbury, his army amounted to ten thousand men; and with this force he resolved to give battle to the army of the parliament, which was continually increasing by supplies from London. He therefore directed his march towards the capital, which, he knew, the enemy would not abandon to him.

23d Oct.
Battle of
Edge-Hill.

When the royal army had advanced to the neighbourhood of Banbury, that of the parliament lay at Keinton, in the county of Warwick. Prince Rupert having sent intelligence of the enemy's approach, though the day was far advanced, the king resolved upon the attack; and accordingly Essex drew up his men to receive him. In the beginning of this engagement, sir Faithful Forsetcue, who had levied a troop for the Irish war, but had been obliged to serve in the parliamentary army, deserted to the royalists; which so intimidated the parliamentary forces, that the whole body of cavalry fled. The right wing of their army followed the example; but the victors too eagerly pursuing, Essex's body of reserve wheeled upon the rear of the pursuers, and made great havock among them. After the royalists had a little recovered from their surprize, they made a resolute stand; and both sides for a time stood gazing at each other, without sufficient courage to renew the attack. They lay all night under arms; and next morning found themselves in sight of each other. Neither party shewing yet any inclination to renew the fight, Essex first drew off, and retired to Warwick; and the king returned to his former quarters. Five thousand men are said to have been found dead on the field of battle; and the loss of the two armies, as far as may be judged from the opposite accounts, was nearly equal.

In a short time after this action, the king advanced with his whole army to Reading; and the parliament, alarmed at his approach, while their own forces lay at a distance, voted an address for a treaty. The king's nearer approach to Colnbroke, quickened their advances for peace.

Not-

Northumberland and Pembroke, with three commoners, presented the address of both houses; in which they besought his majesty to appoint some convenient place where he might reside, till committees could attend him with proposals. The king named Windsor, and desired that their garrison might be removed, and his own troops admitted into that castle ^f.

Meanwhile Essex had, by hasty marches, arrived at London. But neither the presence of his army, nor the precarious hopes of a treaty, retarded the king's approaches. At Brentford, Charles attacked two regiments quartered there, beat them from that village, and made about five hundred prisoners. Though no stipulations had been mentioned respecting the forbearance of hostilities, loud complaints were raised against this attack, as if it had been a violation of treaty ^g. Inflamed with resentment, as well as anxious for its own safety, the city marched its trained bands, and joined the army under Essex; which, with this reinforcement, amounted to above twenty-four thousand men, and was much superior to that of the king ^h. After both armies had faced each other for some time, Charles drew off to Reading, and thence to Oxford.

After these transactions the king and parliament sent reciprocally their demands; and a treaty commenced, but without any cessation of hostilities. The demands of the parliament, however, continued to be so unreasonable, that no accommodation could ensue, and the king only wasted that time in negotiation, which he should have employed in vigorous exertions in the field. But the first campaign, upon the whole, wore a favourable aspect for the royal cause. A series of victories, though not important, had been gained: Cornwall was reduced to peace and obedience under the king; a victory was obtained over the parliamentarians at Stratford Hill, in Devonshire; another at Roundaway Down, about two miles from the Devises; and a third at Chalgrave Field. Bristol was besieged and taken; and Gloucester was invested. The battle of Newbury was favourable to the loyalists; and great hopes of success were formed from an army in the North, raised by the marquis of Newcastle.

But in this campaign, the two bravest and greatest men of their respective parties were killed. John Hambden,

^f Whitlocke, p. 62. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 73.

^g Whit-

locke, p. 62. Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 87.

^h Whitlocke, p. 62.

A.D. 1643.

*Negotiation
at Oxford.*

*Victories of
the Royalists in the
West.*

and

*Death of
Hamden
and lord
Falkland.*

and Lucius Cary, lord Falkland. The former had gained, by his inflexible integrity, the esteem even of his enemies; and to that virtue he added affability, eloquence, and penetration. The character of Falkland was yet more eminent. To the severe principles of Hamden he joined a politeness and elegance, but then beginning to be known in England. He had boldly withstood the king's pretensions, while he saw him exercising authority inconsistent with public freedom; but when he perceived the design of the parliament, to overturn the religion and constitution of his country, he changed his side, and steadfastly attached himself to the crown. From the beginning of the civil war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity forsook him. When the two armies were in sight of each other, and preparing for the battle of Newbury, he appeared desirous of terminating his life, since he could not compose the miseries of his country. Still anxious for his country, above every other consideration, he dreaded the too prosperous success of his own party, as much as that of the enemy; and he professed that the public calamities had broken his heart. His usual cry among his friends, after a deep silence, and frequent sighs, was Peace! Peace! On the morning before the battle of Newbury, he said, that he was weary of the times, and should leave them before night. He was shot in the belly by a musquet-ball, in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

*Parliament
at Oxford.*

Charles, in order to make preparations during the winter for the ensuing campaign, and to oppose the designs of the Westminster-parliament, assembled one at Oxford; and this was the first instance, known in England, of two parliaments sitting at the same time. His house of peers was pretty full, his house of commons consisted of about a hundred and forty members. From this substitute of a parliament, he received some supplies; after which it was prorogued, and never after assembled.

Meanwhile, the parliament at Westminster was not inactive. They passed an ordinance, commanding all the inhabitants of London and its neighbourhood to retrench a meal a week, and to pay the value of it for the support of the public cause. But what was much more effectual, they procured the assistance of a strong army from the Scots, who considered themselves as involved in the cause against the king. The parliament also levied an army of fourteen thousand men in the East, under the earl of Manchester; and they had an army of ten thousand men under Essex, with another, of nearly the same force

force, under the command of sir William Waller. These were superior to any force which the king could bring into the field, and were well appointed with ammunition, provisions, and pay.

Hostilities, which even during the winter had never been wholly discontinued, were renewed in the spring with their usual fury. Each county joined that side to which it was attached from motives of conviction, interest, or fear; but some observed a perfect neutrality. Several frequently petitioned for peace; and all the wise and good in the nation were earnest in the cry. In London, the women, to the number of two or three thousand, went in a body to the house of commons, urgently demanding a peace. "Give us those traitors, said they, that are against a peace; give them, that we may tear them in pieces." The guards found some difficulty in quelling this insurrection; and one or two women lost their lives in the fray.

A.D 1644.

The battle of Marston-Moor was the beginning of the king's misfortunes and disgrace. The Scottish and the parliamentary army had joined, and were besieging York; when prince Rupert, reinforced by the marquis of Newcastle, determined to raise the siege. Both sides drew up on Marston-Moor, to the number of fifty thousand; and the victory seemed long undecided between them. Rupert, who commanded the right-wing of the royalists, was opposed to Oliver Cromwellⁱ, who now first came into notice, at the head of a body of troops, whom himself had disciplined. After a sharp combat, the cavalry of the royalists gave way; and such of the infantry as stood next them were likewise put to flight. Cromwell, having pushed his opponent off the field, returned to a second engagement, which was crowned with equal success. The prince's whole train of artillery was taken; and the royalists never after recovered the blow.

*Battle of
Marston-
Moor.*

While the king was unfortunate in the field, he could not prove more successful in negotiation; and therefore, a treaty, which was begun at Uxbridge, terminated, like all the former, in a confirmation of reciprocal animosities. The puritans demanded a total abolition of episcopacy, and church ceremonies; which Charles, both from conviction and interest, was unwilling to permit. He had all along maintained the episcopal jurisdiction, not only because it was favourable to monarchy, but because all

*Treaty of
Uxbridge.*ⁱ Rush. part iii. vol. ii p. 633.

his adherents were passionately devoted to it. He esteemed bishops as essential to the Christian church; and thought himself bound by sacred, as well as by temporal ties, to defend them. The parliament was as obstinately bent upon removing this order; and, to show their resolution, began with the foremost of the number.

*Trial of
Laud.*

Though Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, had been imprisoned in the Tower at the same time with Strafford, he had never yet been brought to any trial. He was accused of high treason; in endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and of other high crimes and misdemeanors. The groundless charge of popery, though belied by his whole life and conduct, was urged against him. In his defence, he spoke several hours, with that courage which seems the result of innocence and integrity. The lords, who were his judges, appeared willing to acquit him; but the commons, his accusers, finding no likelihood of obtaining a judicial sentence, passed an ordinance for his execution, and terrified the lords so much, that at last they consented to the act. Seven peers only voted in this important question; all the rest, either from shame or fear, took care to absent themselves^b. When brought to the scaffold, this venerable prelate, without betraying any sign of terror, but in the usual tone of his exhortations from the pulpit, made a long speech to the multitude, which attended on this occasion. He told them that he had examined his heart; and thanked God that he found there no sins, which deserved the death he was going to suffer. The king, he said, had been traduced by some, as labouring to introduce popery; but he believed him as sound a Protestant as any man in the kingdom; and as for parliaments, that he disliked the conduct of one or two, yet he never once entertained the idea of changing the laws of his country. After he had prayed a few minutes, he laid his head on the block, and it was severed from the body at one blow.

12th July
His execution.

*The liturgy
abolished.*

The death of the primate was followed by a total alteration of the ceremonies of the church. The liturgy was immediately abolished by public act; and the church of England was in all respects brought to a conformity with the puritanical establishment.

*Presbyterians and
Independents.*

This event had no sooner taken place, than the puritans, who had hitherto been united under the general denomination of presbyterians, began to divide into par-

^b Warwick, p. 169.

ties, each professing different views and interests. One part of the house of commons was composed of presbyterians, strictly so called; the other, though less numerous, of independents, a new sect that had been lately introduced, and gained ground surprisngly. The presbyterians were for having the church governed by clergymen elected by the people, and prayers made without premeditation. The independents, on the contrary, excluded all the clergy; maintaining that every man might pray in public, exhort his audience, and explain the Scriptures. Their political system kept pace with their religious. Not content with reducing the king to a first magistrate, which was the aim of the presbyterians, this sect aspired to the abolition, not only of all monarchy, but of all subordination.

This body of men was now growing into consideration. Their apparent sanctity, their natural courage excited by enthusiasm, and their unceasing perseverance, began to work great effects; and though they were out-numbered in the house of commons, they found a majority in the army, composed chiefly of the lowest among the vulgar.

The royalists endeavoured to throw a ridicule on this fanaticism, without being aware of the reason, they had to apprehend its dangerous consequences. The forces of the king were united by much feebler ties; and the licence, which the want of pay had introduced among them, rendered them as formidable to their friends as to their enemies. What greatly increased this unpopularity, the king, finding the parliament of Scotland as well as that of England declaring against him, thought proper to make a truce with the Papists of Ireland, in order to bring over the English forces, which served in that kingdom. With these he also received into his service some of the native Irish, who still retained their fierceness and barbarity. This conduct gave the parliament a plausible opportunity of upbraiding him with an attachment to the Catholics, and gave a colour to the former calumny of his having excited them to rebel. Unfortunately, it was afterwards found, that they rather increased the hatred of his subjects, than added to the strength of his army. They were routed by Fairfax, one of the parliamentary generals; and though they threw down their arms, they were slaughtered without mercy.

These misfortunes were soon after succeeded by another. Charles, who had now retired to Oxford, found himself at the head of a turbulent seditious army, which
from

Self-denying ordinance.

from wanting pay, was scarcely subject to controul; while, on the other hand, the parliamentarians were well supplied and paid, and were held together from principle. The parliament, to give them an example of disinterestedness in their own conduct, passed the Self-denying ordinance, by which the members of both houses were excluded from all civil and military employments, except a few offices which were specified. The former generals were therefore changed; the earls of Essex, Denbigh, and Manchester, gave up their commissions; and Fairfax, now appointed general with Cromwell, who found means to keep both his seat and commission, new-modelled the army. This, which might at first have seemed to weaken their forces, gave them new spirit; and the soldiers, become more confident in their new commanders, were irresistible.

A.D. 1645.

Never was a more singular army assembled than that which now drew the sword in the parliamentary cause. The officers exercised the part of chaplains; and, during the intervals of action, instructed their troops by sermons, prayers, and exhortations. Sudden extasies supplied the place of study and reflection, and while they kindled with raptures, they ascribed their own emotion to a descent of the spirit from heaven. The private soldiers, seized with the same fervour, employed their vacant hours in prayer, in perusing the holy Scriptures, and in ghostly conferences. When marching to the field of battle, the hymn and the ejaculation were mixed with the notes of the trumpet.

*4th June.
Battle of
Naseby.*

The battle which decided the fate of Charles, was fought at Naseby, a village in Yorkshire. The main body of the royalists was commanded by the king: the right wing, by prince Rupert; the left, by sir Marmaduke Langdale. Fairfax, seconded by Skippon, placed himself in the main body of the opposite army: Cromwell, in the right wing; Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law in the left. The charge was begun by prince Rupert, with his usual celerity and success. The left wing of the enemy was broke, and pursued as far as the village; but the prince lost time in attempting to make himself master of their artillery. The king led on his main body, and displayed, in this action, all the conduct of a prudent general, and all the valour of a foldier^m. Fairfax and Skippon encountered him, and well supported that reputation which they

^m Whitlocke, p. 146.

had acquired. The infantry of the parliament was broken and pressed upon by the king; till Fairfax brought up the reserve and renewed the combat. Meanwhile Cromwell, having led on his troops to the attack of Langdale, overbore the force of the royalists. Having pursued this body about a quarter of a mile, and detached some troops to prevent their rallying, he turned back upon the king's infantry, and threw them into the utmost confusion. One regiment alone preserved its order unbroken, though twice desperately assailed by Fairfax; who ordered Doiley, the captain of his guard, to charge it in the front, while himself attacked it in the rear. By this third encounter, the regiment was broken.

Prince Rupert, having left the too late, and therefore fruitless attack on the enemy's artillery, joined the king, whose infantry was now totally discomfited. Charles exhorted this body of cavalry not to despair, and cried aloud to them, "One charge more, and we recover the dayⁿ." But the disadvantages under which they laboured were too great; and they could not be induced to renew the combat. Charles was obliged to quit the field, and leave the victory to the enemy^o, who took all his cannon, baggage, and about five thousand prisoners. The slain, on the side of the parliament exceeded those on the side of the king: they lost a thousand men; he not above eight hundred. Among the spoils taken on this occasion, was the king's cabinet, containing copies of his letters to the queen; which the parliament ordered afterwards to be published^p; a vulgar and illiberal pleasure of ridiculing those tender effusions which were never drawn up for the public eye.

This fatal defeat Charles never after recovered. It put the parliament in possession of almost all the strong cities of the kingdom, Bristol, Bridgewater, Chester, Sherborne, and Bath. Exeter was besieged; and all the king's troops in the western counties being entirely dispersed, Fairfax pressed the place, and it surrendered at discretion. The king's interests seemed now declining in every quarter. The Scottish army, which had taken part with the parliament, having made themselves masters of Carlisle, after an obstinate siege, marched south, and laid siege to Hereford. Another engagement followed between the king and the parliamentarians, in which his forces were put to the rout by colonel Jones, five hundred of his men slain,

ⁿ Rush. vol. vii. p. 44.
657.

^p Ibid. p. 658.

^o Clarendon. vol. iv. p. 656.

*The king
retires to
Oxford.*

and a thousand made prisoners. Charles, thus harrassed on every side, retreated to Oxford, which had retained its fidelity in every vicissitude of his fortunes; and there he resolved on offering new terms to his victorious enemies. He sent them repeated messages to this purpose; but they designed not to make a reply. At last, after reproaching him with the blood spilt during the war, they let him know that they were preparing some bills, to which if he would consent, they would then be able to judge of his pacific inclinations.

Meantime, Fairfax was approaching with a powerful army, and was preparing to lay siege to Oxford, which promised an easy surrender. To be taken captive, and led in triumph by his insolent enemies, was what Charles justly abhorred; and every insult, if not violence, was to be dreaded from a fanatical soldiery, who hated his person, and bore an unfurmountable aversion to regal government. In this desperate extremity he embraced a measure, which, in any other situation, might be deemed extremely imprudent. He resolved to give himself up to the Scottish army, from whom he expected better treatment. That he might the better conceal his design from the people of Oxford, orders were given at every gate of the city, for allowing three persons to pass. In the night, the king, accompanied by one Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, went out at the gate which leads to London. He rode before a portmanteau, and called himself Ashburnham's servant; in which character he passed through Henley, St. Alban's, and came so near to London as Harrow on the Hill. He once entertained thoughts of entering the capital, and throwing himself on the mercy of the parliament; but at last, after passing through many cross roads, he arrived at the Scottish camp before Newark², and discovered himself to lord Leven, commander of the army. The parliament, hearing of his escape from Oxford, issued rigorous orders, and threatened with instant death whoever should harbour or conceal him³.

The Scots, who had before given some general assurances of their fidelity and protection, now affected great surprize on his arrival among them. Though they paid him all the exterior respect due to his dignity, they immediately placed a guard upon him, under colour of protection; and made him in reality a prisoner. They informed the English parliament of the incident; and in

A.D. 1646.

30th Jan.
*The king
quits Ox-
ford in
disguise,
and ar-
rives at the
Scottish
camp at
Newark.*

² Rush. vol. vii. p. 267.

³ Whitlocke, p. 209.

the mean time, prevailed upon the king to give directions for surrendering to it all his garrisons; with which he complied. The Scots, hearing that the parliament laid claim to the entire disposal of the king's person, and that the English army was making some motions towards them; they thought proper to retire northwards, and to fix their camp at Newcastle^r.

In consequence of this measure, the king began to entertain some hopes of protection from the Scots; and he was particularly attentive to the behaviour of their preachers, on whom all depended. But no attention could abate the asperity of those fanatics. They even insulted him from the pulpit; and one of them, after reproaching him to his face, for his misconduct, ordered that psalm to be sung, which begins,

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

The king stood up, and called for that psalm which begins with these words,

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

The audience, for once, showed greater deference to the king than to the minister; and, in compassion to majesty in distress, sung the psalm which the former had called for^s.

The parliament, being informed of the king's captivity, immediately entered into a treaty with the Scots about delivering up their prisoner. The Scots had, from their first entrance into England, been allowed pay by the parliament, in order to prevent their plundering the country. Considerable arrears, however, remained unpaid; and much more was claimed by the Scots than was really due. But finding this a convenient opportunity for insisting on the liquidation of those debts, they resolved not to surrender the king, until their claims were fully satisfied. After many discussions, in which they pretended to great honour, it was at last agreed, that they should deliver up the king, upon the payment of four hundred thousand pounds; one half to be paid instantly, the other in two subsequent payments^t.

A.D. 1647.

*The Scots
deliver up
the king to
the parliament.*

^r Ruth. vol. vii. p. 271. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 23. ^s Whitlocke, p. 234. ^t Ruth. vol. vii. p. 326. Parl. Hist. vol. xv. p. 236.

The infamy of this bargain had such an influence on the Scottish parliament, that they once voted, that the king should be protected, and his liberty insisted on. But the general assembly interposed, and pronounced, that, as he had refused to take the covenant, which was pressed on him, it became not the godly to concern themselves about his fortunes. After this declaration, it behoved the parliament to retract their vote †.

The king being delivered over by the Scots to the English commissioners, was conducted, under a guard, to Holmby, in the county of Northampton. They treated him in confinement with the most obdurate severity; dismissing his usual servants, debarring him from all visits, and cutting off all communication with his friends and family.

The civil war was now at an end; and the parliament enjoyed, uncontroubled, the dominion of the nation. But in proportion as the terror of the king's power diminished, the divisions between the independents and the presbyterians became more apparent. The majority in the house of commons was of the presbyterian sect; of which, likewise, were esteemed all the peers, lord Say alone excepted. The independents, however, at the head of which was Oliver Cromwell, predominated in the army; and the troops of the new model were universally infected with that enthusiastic spirit.

Soon after the retreat of the Scots, the presbyterians, seeing every thing reduced to obedience, began to talk of dismissing a considerable part of the army, and of sending the rest to Ireland. The troops were little inclined to be led over into a country uncivilized, uncultivated, and laid waste by civil commotions. They were yet less inclined to disband, and to renounce that pay which they now proposed to enjoy in ease and tranquillity. And most of the officers, having risen from the dregs of the people, had no other prospect, if deprived of their commission, than that of returning to languish in their native obscurity. Instead, therefore, of preparing to disband, they resolved to petition; and they began by desiring an indemnity raised by the king, for any illegal actions which they might have committed during the war; with satisfaction in arrears, freedom from pressing, and relief of widows and maimed soldiers. The commons, alarmed at these demands, immediately voted that the petition tended

† *Parl. Hist.* vol. xv. p. 243, 244.

to introduce mutiny, to put conditions upon the parliament, and to obstruct the relief of Ireland; and they threatened to proceed against the promoters of it, as enemies to the state, and disturbers of the public peace^z.

This precipitate declaration, impolitic, as well as in some measure unjust, was productive of fatal effects. *Mutiny of the army.* The army complained, that, while they had been the instruments of securing the public freedom, they were deprived of the privileges of Englishmen. They now began to consider themselves as a body distinct from the commonwealth; and, therefore, in opposition to the parliament at Westminster, formed a military parliament, composed of the officers and common soldiers of each regiment. The principal officers formed a council, representing the body of peers; while, as a substitution for the house of commons, the soldiers chose from each troop or company two men, called Agitators of the army^a. Cromwell, who took care to be one of the number, thus contrived an easy method of conducting and promoting underhand the seditious spirit among the military malecontents.

This dangerous assembly having debated for a short time, declared, that they found many grievances to be redressed; and they specified those proceedings of the parliament, which most sensibly affected them. As the commons granted every request, the agitators rose in their demands; and while the former accused the army of mutiny and desertion, the latter retorted with equal vehemence the charge of delinquency, and alleged that the king had been deposed only to make room for parliamentary usurpation.

During these altercations, the unhappy king continued a prisoner at Holmby-castle; and as his countenance might add some authority to that side which should obtain it, Cromwell, who secretly conducted all the measures of the army, though he affected to exclaim against their violence, resolved to seize the king's person. Accordingly a party of five hundred horse appeared at Holmby-castle, under the command of one Joyce, who had once been a taylor; but who, in the present confused state of the nation, was advanced to the rank of cornet. Armed with pistols, he, without any opposition, entered the king's apartment, whom he desired to prepare and go

^z Parl. Hist. vol. xv. p. 344.
Clarendon, vol. v. p. 43.

^a Rusli. vol. vii. p. 485.

A.D. 1647.

3d June.

*The king
seiz'd by
Joyce.*

with him. "Whither?" said the king. "To the army;" replied Joyce. "By what warrant?" asked the king. Joyce pointed to the soldiers, whom he had brought along; tall, handsome, and well accoutred. "Your warrant, replied Charles, is written in fair characters, legible without spelling^c." The king then went into his coach, and was safely conducted to the army, who were hastening to their rendezvous at Triplo-Heath near Cambridge. Next day Cromwell arrived among them, and, after being received with acclamations of joy, was unanimously invested with the supreme command.

*Cromwell
marches
towards
London at
the head of
the army.*

The commons now first perceived a settled design in the army to assert an authority over the parliament; and this alarm they immediately communicated to the city. But it was too late to contend with a body of men, who were prepared, as well as resolved, to effect their purpose. The army, headed by Cromwell, advanced with precipitation, and arrived in a few days at St. Alban's; so that the commons thought it prudent to conciliate, if possible, whom they had not power to overawe. The declaration, by which they had voted the military enemies to the state, was recalled, and erased from their journals. Submission, however, was become vain; in proportion as the parliament was actuated by timidity, the army rose in their demands, until at last they claimed a right of new-modelling the whole government, and settling the nation.

Nothing could be more popular than this hostility, which the army commenced against the parliament. For, as much as that assembly was once the idol of the nation, so much was it now become the object of general hatred and aversion. The self-denying ordinance had no longer been put in execution than till Essex, Manchester, Waller, and the other officers of that party, had resigned their commissions: it was immediately after laid aside by tacit consent; and the members, sharing among them all offices of power and profit, exercised with impunity an oppressive government over the nation. A supply of a hundred thousand pounds a-year could never be obtained by former kings from the jealous humour of parliaments; but this assembly, from the commencement of the war, according to some computations, had levied, in five years, above forty millions^d; yet were loaded with debts and incumbrances, which, during that age, were regarded as

^c Whitlocke, p. 254. Warwick, p. 299.
Walker's Hist. of the Two Juntos, p. 3.

^d Clement

prodigious. Though these computations be probably exaggerated, it is certain that the taxes and impositions were far higher than in any former state of the English government. The disposal of this money was likewise no less the object of general complaint against the parliament. It is affirmed, that they openly took, and divided among their own members, the sum of three hundred thousand pounds ^e. The committees, to whom the management of the different branches of the revenue was entrusted, never brought in their accounts, and had unlimited power of secreting from the public treasure what sums they pleased ^f. These branches were unnecessarily multiplied, in order to render the revenue more intricate; to share the advantages among greater numbers, and to conceal the frauds, of which they were universally suspected ^g.

Embezzlement of the parliament.

But what excited the most general complaint was, the unlimited tyranny of the county-committees. During the war, the discretionary power of these courts was excused, from the plea of necessity; but this reason no longer subsisting, the nation universally murmured at an institution which set no bounds to its authority. These courts could sequester, fine, imprison, and corporally punish, without law or remedy. They even interposed in questions of private property. Under colour of malignancy, they exercised vengeance against their private enemies. To the obnoxious, and sometimes to the innocent, they sold their protection. And instead of one star-chamber, which had been abolished, a great number was anew erected, and invested with more unlimited authority ^h.

Oppression of the county committees.

During so great unpopularity of the parliament, the encroachment of the military on the civil power was likely to give less alarm to the nation. But, lest too precipitate an assumption of authority should appear invidious, Cromwell began by accusing eleven members of the house of commons as guilty of high treason, and enemies to the army, and evil counsellors to the parliament. The members accused were the leaders of the presbyterian party, the very men who had prescribed such rigorous measures to the king. The commons were willing to protect them; but the army insisting on their dismissal, the obnoxious members quitted the house. The army, for the present, seemed satisfied with this mark of submission ⁱ;

*16th June
The army demands the dismissal of eleven members.*

^e Clement Walker's Hist. of Independency, p. 3. 366. ^f Ibid. p. 8. ^g Id. ibid. ^h Ibid. p. 5. ⁱ Rush. vol. ii. p. 593, 594.

but pretending that the parliament intended to levy war upon them, they required that all new levies should be stopped; and the parliament complied with this demand ^h.

The army having thus attained its immediate object, in order to save appearances, removed, at the desire of the parliament, to a distance from London, and fixed their head quarters at Reading, whither they carried with them the king. This prince, though a captive, now found himself in a better situation than at Holmby, and had not only attained a greater degree of freedom, but of consideration with both parties. The parliament, afraid of his forming some accommodation with the army, addressed him in a more respectful style than formerly; and invited him to reside at Richmond, and contribute his assistance towards the settlement of the nation. The chief officers treated him with regard, and spake on all occasions of restoring him to his just powers and prerogatives. In the public declarations of the army, the settlement of his revenue and authority was insisted on ⁱ; and the royalists every where entertained hopes of the restoration of monarchy.

Fairfax is appointed general of the forces.

While Cromwell amused the king with these expectations, he continued his scheme of reducing the parliament to subjection. To gratify the army, the parliament invested Fairfax with the title of general in chief of all the forces in England and Ireland; and entrusted the whole military authority to a person entirely under the influence of Cromwell, who, by this means, enjoyed an opportunity of pursuing his ambitious projects, without the hazard of immediately incurring the suspicion of the parliament.

That no resource might be left to this assembly, it was demanded by the agitators that the militia of London should be changed, the presbyterian commissioners displaced, and the command restored to those who had exercised it during the war. The parliament complied even with this demand, and passed a vote in obedience to the army ^k.

The city of London petitions against an alteration of the militia.
July 20.

While they were thus obliged to gratify the army in every requisition, they hoped to find a more favourable opportunity for recovering their authority and influence; but the impatience of the city lost them all the advantage of their policy. A petition against the alteration of the

^h Rushw. vol. vii. p. 572, 574.

ⁱ Rushw. vol. viii. p. 590.

^k Rushw. vol. vii. p. 629, 632.

militia was carried to Westminster, attended by the apprentices and seditious multitude, who besieged the door of the house of commons; where, by clamour and violence, they extorted a reversal of that vote which had been so lately passed. No sooner was intelligence of this tumult conveyed to Reading, than the army was put in motion, and marched towards London, under the pretence of vindicating the invaded privileges of parliament, and restoring to that assembly its freedom of debate and counsel. In their way, they were drawn up on Hounslow-heath; a formidable body, twenty thousand strong, and determined, without regard to laws or liberty, to procure whatever measures their generals should dictate to them. The speakers of the two houses, Manchester and Lenthal, attended by eight peers, and about sixty commoners, having secretly retired from the city, presented themselves with their maces, and all the ensigns of their dignity; and complaining of the violence put upon them, applied to the army for defence and protection. They were received with shouts and acclamations; respect was paid to them as the parliament of England; and the army, having now the pretext of public authority, advanced to chastise the rebellious citizens, and to re-instate the violated parliaments¹.

The army marches towards London.

The speakers of the two houses meet the army on Hounslow Heath.

Neither Lenthal nor Manchester were esteemed independents; and such a step in them was unexpected. But they probably foresaw, that the army must in the end prevail; and they were willing to secure the favour of that growing authority, which they were unable to oppose.

The same, however, was not the general disposition of the parliament. Freed from their temporizing measures, and obliged to resign, at once, or contend for their liberty and power, they prepared themselves with vigour for defence, and determined to resist the violence of the army. The two houses immediately chose new speakers, lord Hunston, and Henry Pelham: they renewed their former orders for enlisting troops: they appointed Maffey to be commander; they ordered the trained bands to man the lines; and the whole city resounded with military preparations^m. But this apparent resolution abated as the army advanced; and when the formidable force of Cromwell appeared, all was obedience and submission: the gates were opened to the general, who attended the two

The parliament determines to oppose the army.

¹ Rushw. vol. viii. p. 750. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 63. ^m Rushw. vol. vii. p. 646.

*The army
subdues the
parliament.*

speakers, and the rest of the members, peaceably to their habitations. The eleven impeached members being accused as authors of the tumult, were expelled, and most of them retired to the continent. The mayor, sheriff, and three aldermen, were sent to the Tower; several citizens, and officers of militia, were committed to prison; and the lines about the city were levelled to the ground. The command of the Tower was given to Fairfax, the general; and the parliament voted him their hearty thanks for having disobeyed their commands.

*The king is
brought to
Hampton-
court.*

The leaders of the army, having established their dominion over the parliament and city, brought the king to Hampton-court, where he lived for some time with an appearance of dignity and freedom. The parliament renewed their applications to him, and presented him with the same conditions, which they had offered at Newcastle; but he declined accepting them; and desired the parliament would take into consideration the proposals of the army, and make them the foundation of the public settlementⁿ. He had at once hopes, that, in the struggles for power been the army and parliament, he might be chosen mediator in the dispute; and he expected that the kingdom, at last, sensible of the miseries of anarchy, would return to its former constitution. Under all his anxiety, however, such was his admirable equality of temper, that no difference was perceived in his countenance or behaviour, and though a captive in the hands of his inveterate enemies, he still supported the dignity of a monarch. At first, he was treated with some marks of distinction. He was permitted to converse with his old servants; his chaplains were admitted to him, and celebrated divine service according to the rites of the church of England. But the greatest pleasure he enjoyed was in the company of his children, with whom he had several interviews. The meeting on these occasions was so pathetic, that Cromwell himself, who was once present, could not help being moved. He was heard to declare, that he had never before beheld so affecting a scene.

*Cromwell's
emissaries per-
suade the
king of his
personal
danger.*

No sooner had the army gained a complete victory over the house of commons than the independents began to abate of their expressions of duty and respect towards the king. He was now, therefore, more strictly guarded: they would hardly permit his domestics to converse with him in private; and spies were employed to mark all his words and actions. By Cromwell's contrivance, he was

ⁿ Rushw. vol. viii. p. 210.

every hour threatened with false dangers; by which he was taught to fear for his personal safety; and on this account, he at length formed the resolution of withdrawing himself from the army; though without any concerted scheme for the future disposal of his person. Cromwell considered, that, if Charles should escape from the kingdom, there would be then a theatre open for realizing his own ambitious projects; or if the unfortunate monarch should be apprehended in his flight, the attempt would aggravate his guilt, and apologize for any succeeding severity.

Early in the evening the king retired to his chamber, on pretence of being indisposed: and about an hour after midnight he went down the back-stairs, attended only by Ashburnham and Legg, both gentlemen of his bed-chamber. Sir John Berkeley waited for him at the garden-gate with horses, which they instantly mounted, and travelling through the forest all night, arrived next day at Tichfield, the seat of the earl of Southampton. Before he arrived at this place, he had gone to the sea-coast; and expressed great anxiety that a ship, which Ashburnham had undertaken to have in readiness, was not to be seen. At Tichfield he deliberated with his friends upon his next excursion; and it was proposed that he should cross over to the Isle of Wight, the governor of which was Hammond; who, though a creature of Cromwell's, was yet a nephew of one Dr. Hammond, the king's chaplain. To this inauspicious protector, no other expedient appearing preferable, it was resolved to have recourse. Ashburnham and Berkeley were dispatched before, to exact from this officer a promise, that if he would not protect the king, he would at least not detain him. Hammond, though he alleged his duty to the parliament, under which he held his commission, expressed a strong inclination to serve his majesty; and upon the credit of this empty assurance, Ashburnham, imprudently, if not treacherously brought Hammond with a guard of soldiers to Tichfield, where he waited in a lower apartment, while the former went up to the king's chamber. Charles no sooner understood that Hammond was in the house with a body of troops, than he exclaimed, "O Jack! thou hast undone me." Without farther delay, however, he put himself into the governor's hands, and departed for Carisbroke castle in the Isle of Wight, where, though received with great demonstrations of respect and duty, he was in reality a prisoner.

*The king
privately
quits
Hampton
Court,
and flies to
the Isle of
Wight.
Nov. 11.*

While the king continued in this forlorn situation, the parliament was every day becoming more feeble and factious. Cromwell, on the other hand, was strengthening the army, and taking every precaution to repress any mutinous disposition; which, had it not been for the quickness of his discernment, and the vigour of his exertion, must have broke forth with ungovernable fury. At first, in order to engage the troops into a rebellion against their masters, he had encouraged an arrogant spirit among the inferior officers and private men, who had thus become strongly tainted with principles subversive of government. To wean the soldiers from those licentious maxims, Cromwell had issued orders for discontinuing the meetings of the agitators; and he affected to pay an implicit obedience to the parliament, which, being now fully reduced to subjection, he purposed to make, for the future, the instrument of his authority.

The Levellers.

Among the independents, who, in general, opposed ecclesiastical subordination, arose a set of men, called Levellers, who disallowed all subordination whatever, and declared that they would have no other chaplain, king, or general but Jesus Christ. They maintained that all men were equal; that all degrees and ranks in society ought to be levelled, and an exact partition of property established in the nation. This ferment, originally the work of Cromwell himself, now operated with so much violence, as to threaten the total extinction of his authority; and he therefore determined, by one resolute blow, to annihilate the faction, or perish in the attempt. Having intimation that the levellers were to meet at a certain place, he unexpectedly appeared before the assembly, at the head of his red regiment, which had been hitherto invincible. He demanded, in the name of God, what they meant by those seditious meetings; he expostulated with them upon the dangerous consequences of such chimerical doctrines as those which they maintained, and he desired them immediately to depart. But, instead of obeying, they returned an insolent answer: wherefore, rushing furiously on them, he laid, with his own hands, two of them dead at his feet. His guards dispersing the rest, he caused several of them to be hanged on the spot; and others he sent prisoners to London. By this vigorous conduct, the disorder was suppressed, and the army returned to its wonted discipline and obedience.

° Rushw. vol. viii. p. 875. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 87.

This action increased the authority of Cromwell, both in the camp and in the parliament; and while Fairfax was nominally general of the troops, the former was vested with all power. But, in consequence of new and unexpected successes, his authority soon became irresistible. The Scots, perhaps ashamed at the reproach of having sold their king, and farther stimulated by the independents, who took every occasion to mortify them, raised an army in favour of the captive monarch. The command of it was given to the duke of Hamilton, who immediately invaded England; where he was joined by a body of forces, under the command of sir Marmaduke Langdale. Their two armies amounted to about twenty thousand men. But Cromwell, at the head of eight thousand of his hardy veterans, feared not to give them battle. He attacked them one after the other, routed and dispersed them, made Hamilton prisoner, and following his blow, entered Scotland, where he settled the government entirely to his satisfaction. An insurrection in Kent was quelled by Fairfax, at the same time, with equal facility; and the criminal attempts of this daring usurper were every where crowned with success.

The Scots invade England, but are defeated by Cromwell, who penetrates into Scotland.

While the forces were employed in different quarters, the parliament regained its liberty, and began to act with its wonted courage. The members who, from terror of the army, had withdrawn, now returned; and infusing boldness into their companions, restored to the presbyterian party the ascendant, which it had formerly lost. The eleven impeached members were recalled; the vote, by which they were expelled, was reversed; and commissioners, composed of five peers and ten commoners, were sent to Newport in the Isle of Wight, in order to treat with the king ^p.

The first point insisted on by the parliamentary commissioners, was the king's recalling all his proclamations and declarations against the parliament, and the acknowledging that they had taken arms in their own defence. He frankly agreed to the former requisition; but long scrupled the latter; the falsehood and indignity of which begat in his breast an extreme reluctance against it. But the parliament, sensible that the letter of the law condemned them as rebels and traitors, deemed this point absolutely requisite for their own security; and the king,

Treaty of Newport. Sept. 18.

^p Clarendon, vol. v. p. 180. Sir Edward Walker's perfect Copies, p. 6.

finding that peace could be obtained on no other terms, at last yielded to it. He only entered a protest, which was admitted, that no concession, made by him, should be valid, unless the treaty of pacification were concluded^o.

He agreed that the parliament should retain, during twenty years, the power over the militia and army; with that of levying money for the support of both those establishments. He even yielded to them the right of resuming, at any time afterwards, this authority, whenever they should declare such a resumption necessary for the public service. In effect, the important power of the sword was for ever ravished from him and his successors^r.

He agreed that all the great offices, during the twenty years, should be filled by both houses of parliament^s. He relinquished to them the entire government of Ireland, and the conduct of the war there^t. He renounced the power of the wards, and accepted of one hundred thousand pounds a year in lieu of it^u. He acknowledged the validity of their great-seal, and gave up his own^x. And he abandoned the power of creating peers without consent of parliament.

Of all the demands of the parliament, Charles refused only two. Though he relinquished almost every power of the crown, he would neither give up his friends to punishment, nor desert what he esteemed his religious duty.

The parliament insisted on the establishment of presbytery, the sale of the chapter-lands, the abolition of all forms of prayer, and a rigorous execution of the laws against Catholics. The king offered to retrench every thing, which he did not esteem of apostolical institution: he was willing to abolish archbishops, deans, prebendaries, and canons: he offered that the chapter-lands should be let at low leases during ninety-nine years: he consented that the present church government should continue during three years^y; after which time, he required not that any thing should be restored to the bishops but the power of ordination, and even that power to be exercised by advice of the presbyters^z. If the parliament, upon the expiration of that period, still insisted on their demand, all other branches of episcopal jurisdiction were to be abolished, and a new form of government must, by common consent, be established.

^o Walker, p. 45.

78.

56. 63.

^r Ibid. p. 45.

^y Ibid. p. 29, 35, 49.

^s Ibid. p. 51.

^t Ibid. 69, 77.

^z Ibid. p. 65.

^u Ibid. p.

^x Ibid. p.

The book of Common Prayer he was willing to renounce, but required the liberty of using some other liturgy in his own chapel^a; a demand, which, though seemingly reasonable, was positively refused by the parliament.

In the dispute on these articles, one of the parliamentary theologians told the king, "that if he did not consent to the utter abolition of episcopacy, he would be damned." From an enthusiastic individual, such rudeness may not appear surprising; but it is not without some indignation, that we read the following vote of the lords and commons. "The houses, out of their detestation to that abominable idolatry used in the mass, do declare, that they cannot admit of, or consent unto, any such indulgence in any law, as is desired by his majesty for exempting the queen and her family from the penalties to be enacted against the exercise of the mass^b."

It was the interest, both of king and parliament, to finish their treaty with all expedition; and endeavour, by their combined force, to resist, if possible, the usurpations of the army. But so great was the bigotry on both sides, that they were willing to sacrifice the greatest civil interests rather than relinquish the most minute of their theological contentions. From these causes, assisted by the artifice of the independents, the treaty was spun out to such a length, that the invasions and insurrections were every where subdued; and the army, sensible of their own power, began, with furious remonstrances, to demand vengeance on the king. They advanced to Windsor; and sending an officer to seize the king's person, he was conveyed to Hurst-castle in Hampshire, opposite to the Isle of Wight. This measure having been foreseen some time before, the king was exhorted to make his escape, which, it was conceived, might be easily effected. But having given his word to the parliament not to attempt the recovery of his liberty during the negotiation, and three weeks after, he would not, by any persuasion, be induced to violate that promise.

The king seized again by the army.

In vain did the parliament attempt to assert their authority, by expressing their disapprobation of seizing the king's person; in vain did they issue orders that the army should advance no nearer London. They received from Cromwell a message, that he intended paying them a vi-

^a Walker, p. 75, 82. Rushw. vol. viii. p. 1323.
ker, p. 71.

^b Wal-

fit next day with his army; and in the mean time, ordered them to raise him forty thousand pounds upon the city.

The commons, however, though destitute of all hopes of prevailing, had still courage to resist, and attempted, in the face of the whole army, to close their treaty with the king. They had taken into consideration all his concessions; and though they had formerly voted them unsatisfactory, they now renewed the consultation with fresh vigour. After a violent debate, which lasted three days, it was carried in the king's favour by a majority of a hundred and twenty-nine against eighty-three, that his concessions were a foundation for the houses to proceed upon, in the settlement of the kingdom. This was the last attempt in his favour; for the next day, colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, surrounded the house with two regiments, and seizing in the passage forty-one members of the presbyterian party, sent them to a low room, which passed by the denomination of Hell. Above a hundred and sixty members more were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the most furious and most determined of the independents, in all not exceeding sixty. This atrocious invasion of parliamentary rights commonly passed under the name of colonel Pride's purge, and the remaining members received the appellation of the Rump.

*The house
purged.
Dec. 6.*

*Proceedings
of the
rump par-
liament.*

The subsequent proceedings of the parliament, if this diminutive assembly deserve that honourable name, retained not the least appearance of law, equity, or freedom. They instantly reversed the former vote; declared the king's concessions unsatisfactory; and determined that no member, absent at this last vote, should be received, until he subscribed to it, as agreeable to his judgment. They also committed to prison, sir William Waller, sir John Clotworthy, and other leaders of the presbyterians. These men, by their credit and authority, had, at the commencement of the war, supported the parliament; and thereby prepared the way for the greatness of the present leaders, who, at that time, were of small account in the nation. The secluded members having published a paper, containing a narrative of the violence, which had been exercised upon them, and a protestation, that all acts were void, which, from that time, had been transacted in the house of commons; the remaining members encountered it with a declaration, in which they pronounced it false, scandalous, seditious, and tending to the subversion of government.

The constitution, both civil and ecclesiastical, of the kingdom being destroyed, nothing now remained to be perpetrated by those desperate associates, but the height of all iniquity and fanatical extravagance, the public trial and execution of their sovereign. To this consummation of guilt was every measure precipitated by the zealous independents. The leaders of the assembly, which now degraded the name of parliament, and which was composed of a medley of the most obscure citizens, and the military officers, had intended that the army alone should execute this daring enterprize. But the generals were too wise to load themselves singly with the infamy, which, they knew, must attend an action so shocking to the general sentiments of mankind. The parliament, they were resolved, should share with them the reproach of that criminal measure. In the house of commons, therefore, a committee was appointed to bring in a charge against the king. On their report a vote passed, declaring it treason in a king, to levy war against his parliament, and appointing a high court of justice to try his majesty for this new invented treason. For form sake, they desired the concurrence of the few remaining lords in the other house, where virtue enough was yet left unanimously to reject the horrid proposal.

*The project
of trying
the king for
high trea-
son.*

But the commons were not to be stopped in their furious career by so small an obstacle. They voted, that the concurrence of the house of lords was unnecessary; they voted, that the people was the origin of all just power; a principle, which, though admitted, could never establish their own authority. To confirm their resolution, a woman of Herefordshire, illuminated by prophetic visions, desired admittance into the council, and communicated a revelation, which assured them, that their measures were consecrated from above, and ratified by the sanction of the Holy Ghost. This intelligence gave them great comfort, and increased the zeal with which they prosecuted their purpose.

A D. 1649.

Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, and the most furious enthusiast in the army, was sent with a strong party to conduct the king to London. His afflicted subjects, who ran to have a sight of their sovereign, were greatly affected at the change which appeared in his face and person. He had allowed his beard to grow; his hair was become venerably grey, rather by the load of anxiety, which he had suffered, than by the hand of Time; and his whole aspect bore the marks of great misfortune. He had long been attended only by an old decrepit servant,

whose name was sir Philip Warwick, who could only deplore his master's fate, without being able to revenge his cause. All the exterior symbols of sovereignty were now withdrawn; and his new attendants had orders to serve him without ceremony. The duke of Hamilton, who was reserved for the same punishment with his master, having leave to take a last farewell as the king departed from Windsor, threw himself at his majesty's feet, crying out, "My dear master!" The unhappy monarch, raising him up, and embracing him tenderly, replied, while the tears ran down his cheeks, "I have indeed been a dear master to you."

*The king
is brought
to London.*

Charles himself was assured, that the period of his life was approaching; but he could not even yet believe, that his enemies meant to conclude their violence by a public trial and execution. A private assassination was what he every moment expected.

From the 6th to the 20th of January, was spent in making preparations for his extraordinary trial. The court of justice consisted of one hundred and thirty-three persons, as named by the commons; but of these never above seventy met upon the trial. The greater part consisted of the chief officers of the army, most of them of very mean birth, with some of the lower house, and a few citizens of London. The twelve judges were at first appointed in the number; but as they had affirmed, that it was contrary to all the ideas of English law to prefer an impeachment of treason against the king, by whose authority every accusation for treason must necessarily be conducted, their names, as well as those of some peers, were afterwards struck out. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president; Coke was appointed solicitor for the people of England; Dorislaus, Steele, and Aske, were named assistants. The court sat in Westminster-hall.

When the cryer, in reciting the names of the commissioners, pronounced that of Fairfax, which had been inserted in the number, a female voice from the gallery was heard to cry out, "He has more wit than to be here." When the charge was read against the king, in the name of the people of England, the same voice exclaimed, "No, nor a tenth part of them." Axtel, the officer who guarded the court, giving orders to fire into the box, whence the voice proceeded, it was discovered that these bold answers came from lady Fairfax, who alone had courage to condemn their proceedings.

When

When the king was brought forward before the court, he was conducted by the mace-bearer to a chair placed within the bar. Though long detained a prisoner, and now produced as a criminal, he sustained the dignity of a monarch: he surveyed the members of the court with a stern haughty air, and, without moving his hat, sat down, while the members also were covered. His charge was then read by the solicitor, accusing him of having been the cause of all the bloodshed which followed since the commencement of the war; at which part of the charge he could not suppress a smile of contempt and indignation. After the charge was finished, Bradshaw directed his discourse to the king, and told him, that the court expected his answer.

The king's trial.

The king, with great temper and dignity, entered upon his defence, by declining the authority of the court. He represented, that, having been engaged in treaty with his two houses of parliament, and having finished almost every article, he had expected to be brought to his capital in another manner, and before this time, to have been restored to his legal rights. He perceived, he said, no appearance of an upper house, so essential a part of the constitution; and had learned, that even the commons, whose authority was pretended, had been subdued by lawless force: that himself was the king and fountain of law, and consequently could never be tried by laws to which he had never given his assent: that having been entrusted with the liberties of the people, he would not now betray them, by recognizing a power founded in usurpation: that even to them, his pretended judges, and to the whole world, he was willing, if called upon in another manner, to prove the integrity of his conduct; but that before them he must decline any apology, lest he should be considered as the betrayer, instead of being applauded as the martyr, of the constitution.

Bradshaw, in order to support the authority of the court, insisted that they had received their authority from the people, the only source of every lawful power. He pressed the prisoner not to decline the authority of the court, that was delegated by the commons of England, and interrupted, and over-ruled the king in his attempts to reply.

Three times was the king thus produced before the court, and as often declined its jurisdiction. On the fourth, the judges having examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved, that the king had appeared in arms

against the forces commissioned by the parliament, they pronounced sentence against him. He seemed very anxious, at this time, to be admitted to a conference with the two houses; and it was supposed, that he intended to resign the crown to his son; but the court refused compliance, and considered his request as an artifice to suspend their proceedings.

The whole conduct of the king, during this last scene of his life, was great, firm, and equal. In going through the hall from this execrable tribunal, the soldiers and rabble were instigated to cry out justice and execution! They reviled him with the most bitter reproaches. Some of them went the utmost length of brutal insolence, and spit in his face. He patiently bore their insolence. "Poor souls," cried he, "they would treat their generals in the same manner for six pence." Those of the populace, who yet retained the feelings of humanity, expressed their sorrow in sighs and tears. The king was softened at this moving scene, and expressed his gratitude for their dutiful affection. One soldier, in particular, implored a blessing on his royal head. An officer, over-hearing him, struck him to the ground in presence of the king, who could not help saying, that the punishment exceeded the offence.

Foreign powers intercede for the king.

As soon as the intention of trying the king was known in foreign countries, it was exclaimed against by the general voice of reason and humanity. The French ambassador, by orders from his court, interposed in the king's behalf: the Dutch employed their good offices: the Scots exclaimed and protested against the violence; and the queen and prince wrote pathetic letters to the parliament; but all entreaties were vain with men who were fixed in their resolutions of extirpating monarchy.

Four lords, the king's counsellors, request to be punished in his room.

Four of the king's friends, men of virtue and dignity, Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, and Lindsey, applied to the commons. They represented that they were the king's counsellors, and had concurred, by their advice, in all those measures, which were now imputed as crimes to their royal master: that in justice they only were guilty, and ought alone to be punished for any blameable action of the prince: and that they now presented themselves, in order to save, by their own punishment, that precious life, which it became the commons themselves, and every subject, to defend.^d (So generous an effort reflected ho-

^c Rushw. vol. viii. p. 1425.
p. 319.

^d Pernichet, p. 85. Lloyd; p. 319.

nour on those who made it, but contributed nothing towards rescuing the king from the hands of his enemies.

Three days were allowed the king between his sentence and execution. This interval passed with great tranquillity, chiefly in reading and devotion, in which he was assisted by Dr. Juxon, late bishop of London. All his family, that remained in England, were allowed access to him. It consisted only of the princess Elizabeth and the duke of Gloucester. Gloucester was little more than an infant. The princess, notwithstanding her tender years, shewed an advanced judgment; and the calamities of her family had made a deep impression upon her. After many seasonable exhortations to his daughter, he took his little son in his arms, and embracing him, "My child," said he, "they will cut off thy father's head; yes, they will cut off my head, and make thee a king. But mark what I say, thou must not be a king as long as thy brothers, Charles and James, are alive. They will cut off thy brothers heads, when they can catch them; and thy head too they will cut off at last. Therefore I charge thee, do not be made a king by them." The child, bursting into tears, replied, "I will be torn in pieces first."

Every night, during this interval, the king slept sound as usual; though the noise of the workmen, employed in framing the scaffold, continually resounded in his ears. The morning of the fatal day, he rose early; and calling for Herbert, one of his attendants, he bade him employ more than usual care in dressing him, and preparing him for so great and joyful a solemnity.

To aggravate the punishment, the place destined for the execution was the street before Whitehall. He was led through the Banqueting House to the scaffold, which adjoined to that edifice; attended by his friend and servant bishop Juxon, a man endowed with the same mild and steady virtues, which so much distinguished his master. The scaffold, which was covered with black, was guarded by a regiment of soldiers, under the command of colonel Tomlinson; and on it were to be seen the block, the ax, and two executioners in masques. The people in great crowds stood at some distance, in dreadful expectation of the event. The king surveyed all these solemn preparations with composure; and as he could not expect to be heard by the people at a distance, he addressed himself to the few persons who stood round him. He justified his

*The king's
execution.
Jan. 30.*

• Clement Walker's History of Independency.

own innocence in the late fatal wars, and observed, that he had not taken arms until after the parliament had enlisted forces; nor had he any other object in his military operations, than to preserve entire that authority, which his predecessors had transmitted to him. Though innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker, and observed, that an unjust sentence, which he had suffered to take effect, was now punished by an unjust sentence upon himself. He forgave all his enemies, exhorted the people to return to obedience, and acknowledge his son as his successor; declaring, at the same time, his attachment to the Protestant religion, as professed in the church of England. So strong was the impression of his dying words upon the few who could hear him, that even colonel Tomlinson, to whose care he had been committed, acknowledged himself a convert.

While he was preparing himself for the block, bishop Juxon called out to him, "There is, sir, but one stage more, which, though turbulent and troublesome, is yet a very short one. Consider, it will soon carry you a great way. It will carry you from earth to heaven; and there shall you find, to your great joy, the prize to which you hasten, a crown of glory." "I go," replied the king, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown; where no disturbance can have place." "You exchange," rejoined the bishop, "a temporal for an eternal crown, a good exchange." The king, having taken off his cloak, delivered to the prelate his George, accompanied with the word, "Remember." He then laid his neck on the block; and stretching out his hand as a signal, his head was severed from his body at a blow, by one of the executioners; and the other, holding it up, exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor."

Never were astonishment, grief, and indignation more strongly excited than by the catastrophe of this unfortunate prince. The spectators testified their horror in sighs, tears, and lamentations; and the whole nation was quickly overwhelmed with sorrow for the dreadful event. The people, in proportion to their former delusions, returned now with violence to duty and affection; while each reproached himself, either with active disloyalty towards the king, or a criminal compliance with his destroyers. The very pulpits, which used to resound with insolence and sedition, were bedewed with tears of unfeigned repentance; and all men united in the detestation

of those dark hypocrites, who had so long disguised their treasons under sanctified pretences, and had, in this last act of atrocious guilt, thrown an indelible stain upon the nation.

Charles was executed in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. He was of a middle stature, robust, and well proportioned. His visage was pleasing, but melancholy; and he excelled in horsemanship and other exercises.

The character of Charles is so obvious from the detail of his reign, that it stands in no need of being particularly developed by the historian. In his private morals, he was unblemished and exemplary; and, in his public conduct, he may justly be said to have rather been unhappy than worthy of censure. It was his misfortune to live in a time, when the precedents of many former reigns favoured strongly of arbitrary power, and the genius of the people ran violently towards liberty; and even now, it is difficult to determine what conduct, in his circumstances, could have maintained the authority of the crown, and preserved the peace of the nation.

His character.

C H A P. VIII.

From the Death of Charles I. to the Restoration.

THE parliament, for so must we continue to call a small and inconsiderable part of the house of commons, having murdered their sovereign under the pretence of justice, began to assume more the air of a legal power, and to enlarge a little the narrow bottom upon which they stood. Of the excluded members, they admitted a few of such as were liable to least exception; but on condition that these should sign an approbation of whatever had been done in their absence with regard to the king's trial. Some willingly accepted a share of power on such terms; but the greater part refused to comply. They issued some writs for new elections, in places where they hoped to have interest enough to bring in their own friends and dependents. They named a council of state, consisting of thirty-eight members, who received all addresses, who gave orders to all generals and admirals, who executed the laws, and who digested all business before it was introduced into parliament. They pretended to employ themselves entirely in adjusting the laws, forms, and plan of a new representative; and as soon as they should have set-

A.D. 1649.

The parliament chooses a council of state.

tled the nation, they professed an intention of restoring the power to the people, from whom, they acknowledged, they had entirely derived it.

The commons published a proclamation, forbidding all persons, on pain of incurring the penalty of high treason, to acknowledge Charles Stuart, eldest son of the late king, as sovereign of England. They likewise voted the house of lords useless and dangerous. It was therefore abolished, and all the peers reduced to a level with their fellow-subjects. They afterwards passed an act abolishing the kingly power; and decreed, that the state should henceforth be governed by the representatives of the people, sitting in the house of commons, under the form of a republic. A great seal was made, on one side of which was engraved the arms of England and Ireland, with this inscription: "The Great-seal of England." On the reverse was represented the house of commons sitting, with this motto, "On the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored, 1648." It was committed to the charge of a certain number of persons, intitled, the Conservators of the Liberty of England; and all public orders were expedited in their names, under the direction of parliament.

Another high court of justice was erected, of which Bradshaw was again chosen president, and they proceeded to try some noblemen who remained in custody, for the attachment which they had shown to their late sovereign. The persons devoted to death by this tribunal were, the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, the lord Goring, whom the king had created earl of Norwich, lord Capel, and sir John Owen, all accused of having carried arms against the parliament. The duke of Hamilton had made his escape, and was discovered by accident in the borough of Southwark, whence he was conveyed to the Tower. At his trial, he pleaded that he was not a subject of England, but a prisoner of war, taken in open hostility, acting by virtue of a commission from the parliament of his own country. The court told him, that he was tried as earl of Cambridge; and that, having accepted this title, and sat in the English parliament, he was become a subject of England. The earl of Holland, being oppressed with age and infirmities, made very little defence. The earl of Norwich said, he had been bred from his youth in the court, and received many obligations from his majesty, whom he thought it was his duty to obey. Lord Capel refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court; and claimed

claimed a fair trial by his peers, if he had done any thing contrary to the laws. Sir John Owen said he had served the king according to his conscience, and the oath of allegiance he had taken. They were all convicted, and condemned to lose their heads. Sir John Owen, hearing the sentence, thanked the court, with a profound reverence, for adjudging him to so honourable a death; and swore, by God! he was afraid they would have ordered him to be hanged like a felon. Their friends petitioned the parliament in their behalf; and the earl of Norwich, with sir John Owen, was reprieved. The duke, when he mounted the scaffold, complained bitterly of the sentence, by which he suffered death for obeying orders which he could not have rejected, without incurring the penalty of high treason. Lord Capel, in a speech to the people, extolled the virtues of their murdered sovereign, and exhorted them to acknowledge, as successor to the crown, his son the prince of Wales, whom he recommended as a prince of great hopes. Several other unfortunate royalists were executed in different parts of the kingdom; among whom was Poyer, who, with Powell and Langhorn, had raised an insurrection in Wales for the king's service.

*Execution
of the duke
of Hamilton,
and
lord Capel,*

The prince of Wales, now in the eighteenth year of his age, resided at the Hague, where he received the melancholy tidings of his father's death. He immediately assumed the title of king; and all those who attended him, and had been members of his father's council, were continued as counsellors. He subsisted entirely on the friendship and bounty of his brother-in-law the prince of Orange; but he soon saw himself in danger of being cut off from that resource. The states of Holland, foreseeing that the parliament would insist upon their obliging him to quit their dominions, were inclined to anticipate the requisition; and the king, being informed of their design, resolved to prevent the disgrace of a formal dismissal. He found himself, however, at a loss to fix upon a retreat. In his father's life-time, he had met with an inhospitable reception in France; and he was too well acquainted with the policy of the queen-regent and the cardinal, to believe that they would now prefer his friendship to that of the new republic. In this emergency, therefore, he fixed his eye upon Ireland. The pope's nuncio had rendered himself so odious to the Catholics of that kingdom, that he was obliged to retire. The marquis of Ormond, having concluded a second treaty

*Charles II.
resolves to
try his
fortune in
Ireland.*

with

with the council of Kilkenny, took the command of their forces, with which he wrested several towns from the hands of the parliament of England, and resolved to undertake the siege of Dublin. Prince Rupert, who now commanded the king's fleet, had been chased by a superior navy under the earl of Warwick, and retired to the harbour of Kinfale, where he lay in safety, and was able to favour the operations of the marquis. Thither Charles resolved to retire, when, in consequence of intelligence received from Scotland, his design was suspended.

A.D. 1650.

Charles is proclaimed in Scotland; but declines complying with their proposals.

The parliament in that kingdom had disavowed the proceedings against the late king; and in strong terms taxed the English parliament with a violation of the covenant, inasmuch that their commissioners were arrested, and for some time detained in custody. The Scots hated the independents, whom they considered as implacable enemies to their nation, as well as to the presbyterian discipline; and they dreaded the thoughts of a republican government, established upon the principles which the English government seemed to pursue. Their states, therefore, being assembled, issued a proclamation, acknowledging Charles II. as their lawful and hereditary sovereign, on condition, that, before his admission to the exercise of regal authority, he should give proper satisfaction to the kingdom, with regard to the security of religion, the union between the two nations, and the peace of Scotland; according to the national and solemn league and covenant. Deputies were sent to inform the king of this transaction; and they reached the Hague just at the time, when the earl of Lanerk, now duke of Hamilton, and the earl of Lauderdale, who had quitted their country on account of the late engagement, arrived in Holland. In a few days after their landing, the king was visited by the marquis of Montrose, who had engaged in the service of the emperor; but hearing of his master's martyrdom, he now, with a numerous retinue of gentlemen, who followed his fortunes, repaired to the Hague, and made a tender of his service to his young sovereign. The king, therefore, was now besieged by three parties of the Scottish nation, who hated one another; namely, the rigid covenanters, patronized by Argyle; the moderate presbyterians, who adhered to the duke of Hamilton; and the royalists, headed by Montrose.

The Scots send deputies to treat with Charles.

The king derived but little satisfaction from the news of his being proclaimed, under such restrictions. He was displeased at their insolence, in presuming to capitulate with

with their sovereign: he remembered that the ruin of his father was entirely owing to the Scottish presbyterians: he detested their hypocrisy, was averse to their austere manners, and declined their invitation. Instead of subscribing to their conditions, he persisted in his design to visit Ireland; and, in the mean time, granted a commission to Montrose to make a descent upon Scotland.

Charles, in consequence of his mother's importunities, resolved to visit her before his departure for Ireland. He was the more inclined to gratify her in this request, as he perceived the states-general were heartily tired of his residing in Holland; where his presence had become more disagreeable on account of an incident which gave umbrage to the Dutch. Dr. Dorislaus, a native of Delft, who had lived many years in England, and been employed as judge-advocate in the parliament's army, was now sent over to the Hague, in quality of agent from the commons. On the evening of his arrival, while he sat at supper in a public ordinary, five or six strangers entering the apartment, with their swords drawn, one of them desired the company would be under no apprehension, as their business was only with Dorislaus, agent to the rebels in England, who had so lately murdered their sovereign. So saying, he pulled Dorislaus aside, and killed him on the spot. The assassin and his confederates retired unmolested; but they were known to be Scottish officers, depending upon the marquis of Montrose. The states did not fail to complain of this outrage; though they behaved with great respect to the king, and proceeded so slowly in their inquisition, that the offenders had time to consult their own safety.

Some unfavourable events in Ireland having deterred the king from prosecuting his purpose of repairing thither, after visiting his mother at Paris, he retired with his brother the duke of York, and his little court, to the island of Jersey, where sir George Carteret, the governor, still preserved his fidelity. Here, Winram, laird of Liberton, came to him as deputy from the committee of estates in Scotland, and informed him of the conditions, to which he must necessarily accede, before he could be admitted to the exercise of his authority. The king having by this time received the account of Ormond's defeat, and Cromwell's progress in Ireland, and being also importuned by the queen and the prince of Orange, to listen to the Scottish proposals, Winram found him extremely willing to listen to a treaty. But this disposition of the king was the consequence

*The king
retires to
Jersey.*

*He agrees
to treat
with the
Scots.*

sequence only of necessity; for after he had assured Winram, that he would meet the Scottish commissioners at Breda, in the month of March, he wrote a letter to Montrose, to hasten his preparations for a descent upon Scotland, in hope that the success of that enterprize would spare him the mortification of treating with those whom he considered as the worst of rebels. When Winram returned to his own country, the parliament, and general assembly of the kirk, influenced by the marquis of Argyle, concurred in preparing a set of propositions, and appointed deputies to open the conferences at Breda.

Their propositions at Breda.

The deputies met the king at the appointed time and place, and, in order to an accommodation, presented him with four articles, from which they would not recede. They demanded, that none of those who had been excommunicated by the kirk, should have access to his majesty: that he would declare upon oath, and by writing signed with his privy-seal, his approbation of the national covenant, with the solemn league and covenant of the two kingdoms, and fulfil the intention of them to the best of his power: that he would ratify the acts of parliament, enjoining the subscription of those covenants, establishing the presbyterian Church-government, the Directory, Confession of Faith, and the Catechism: that he would practise them himself; give orders that they should be practised by his domestics; and promise, that he would never allow them to be changed: lastly, that all civil concerns should be regulated by the parliament, and all ecclesiastical affairs by the general assembly. Charles did not receive these proposals without indignation; but not being in a condition to manifest his resentment, he judged it prudent to dissemble. He, however, signified his aversion to take the covenant, which indeed he detested: he offered to confirm the presbyterian religion in Scotland by act of parliament; but in respect of himself, he thought it unreasonable to desire that he should renounce the religion in which he had been educated. He asked them whether they were empowered to relax in any demand, or to treat about the assistance he might expect from the Scots, towards his being restored to the crown of England? They answered, that they had no such discretionary powers; and that he had no other alternative than that of accepting or rejecting their propositions.

Severe as were these conditions, Charles found it necessary to temporise, and protracted the negotiation, until he should hear from Montrose, upon the success of whose enterprize

enterprize all his hopes were founded. That heroic nobleman, having been supplied with money by the king of Denmark, and some private gentlemen of his own country, who were settled in that kingdom, and in Sweden, purchased some arms and ammunition, which, with about five hundred soldiers, he transported to the most northern parts of Scotland, at the very time when the commissioners were at Breda. He surpris'd a castle, in which he secured his military stores, summoned his friends to join him, and published a manifesto, representing that he was come by virtue of his majesty's commission, to protect his fellow-subjects, without any intention to interrupt the negociation at Breda. On the contrary, he hoped to facilitate the conclusion of it, by means of his army; and should it terminate in a satisfactory manner, he would immediately lay down his arms.

*Montrose
arrives in
Scotland.*

The Scotch parliament was exceedingly irritated against the king, for having, at such a juncture, granted a commission to a person, who was alike the object of their terror and abhorrence, degraded and forfeited by their court of justiciary, and excommunicated by their clergy. Perceiving that the king's intention was to enforce, if possible, his own terms, they instantly assembled an army, under the command of David Lesley; and, in the mean time, Strachan marched northwards with a body of horse, to keep the country in awe, and hinder the royalists from joining Montrose. The marquis had no cavalry, and very few partizans repaired to his standard; so that he neither could procure intelligence of the enemy, nor withstand them when they suddenly appeared. Being attacked by the parliamentary forces, the Highlanders fled at the first charge; but the foreigners made a vigorous stand for some time, and the marquis distinguished himself by his usual intrepidity. At last, however, being obliged to provide for his safety, he threw away his George and Garter, and exchanging his cloaths with a peasant, repaired in this disguise to the house of a gentleman who had formerly served under his command. He there lay concealed for two days; but whether betrayed by his landlord, or discovered by accident, he fell into the hands of Lesley, who treated him with great insolence; and, after having exposed him to the view of the people, in this wretched attire, conveyed him to Edinburgh, where the parliament was then sitting. At the gate of the city he was delivered to the magistrates, who caused him to be bound on a high chair, placed upon a cart provided for that purpose, and conducted

*He is de-
feated and
taken.*

conducted through the public street, that the populace might have a full view of the man, who had so often excited their terror.

When he was carried before the parliament, Loudon, the chancellor, in a violent declamation, reproached him with the breach of the national covenant, which he had subscribed; his rebellion against God, the king, and the kingdom; and the many horrible murders, treasons, and impieties, for which he was now to be brought to condign punishment. Montrose in his answers maintained his usual magnimity. He told the parliament, that, since the king, as he was informed, had so far acknowledged their authority as to enter into a treaty with them, he now appeared uncovered before their tribunal; a respect, which, while they stood in open defiance to their sovereign, they would in vain have required of him. He said he had taken and kept the first covenant, while they prosecuted the purposes for which it was ordained; that he had never subscribed the second, which was productive of the most infamous rebellion; and that in all his warlike enterprises, he was warranted by that commission, which he had received from his and their master, against whose lawful authority they had erected their standard. He observed, that no blood had ever been shed by him but in the field of battle; and many persons were now in his eye, many now dared to pronounce sentence of death upon him, persons, whose life, forfeited by the laws of war, he had formerly saved from the fury of the soldiers. He told them, that, as to himself, they had in vain endeavoured to vilify and degrade him by all their studied indignities; but the justice of his cause would ennoble any fortune; and his only affliction was to see the authority of his prince, with which he was invested, treated with so much ignominy. He was condemned to be hanged next day on a gallows thirty feet high; then to be quartered, and his members exposed in different parts of the kingdom. During this short interval, he was persecuted by their ministers, who assured him that his sufferings in this life were not to be compared with those which he would undergo hereafter; and without scruple pronounced his eternal damnation. He told them, that they were a miserable deluded and deluding people; and would shortly bring their country under the most insupportable servitude, to which any nation had ever been reduced. He declared, he was as well pleased to hear that his head should be placed on the Tolbooth, as he should be to know that

that his picture hung in the king's bed-chamber; and wished he had flesh enough to be distributed among all the cities of Christendom, as a testimony of the cause for which he suffered. At the place of execution, the hangman tied about his neck, with a cord, an elegant Latin book, containing the history of his exploits, written by Dr. Wishart, who had been his chaplain. He smiled at this mark of impotent malice, saying, he was more proud of that collar than ever he had been of the Garter. Having asked, whether they had any more indignities to put upon him, and renewing some devout ejaculations, he patiently endured the last act of the executioner.

His execution.

After the death of Montrose, the king, finding himself destitute of every resource, subscribed the terms which the Scottish commissioners had presented, and embarked at Scheveling, with the duke of Hamilton and the earl of Lauderdale, who were so obnoxious to the rigid presbyterians, that when they arrived in Scotland, they found it necessary to retire to their respective houses for their personal safety. The king was obliged to sign the covenant, before the Scots would allow him to set his foot on shore. The marquis of Argyle then received him with demonstrations of the most profound respect; but all his English domestics, of any quality, except the duke of Buckingham, were removed from his person. He was surrounded, and incessantly importuned by their clergy, who came to instruct him in religion; and obliged him to give constant attendance at their long sermons and prayers, which generally turned upon the tyranny of his father, the idolatry of his mother, and his own malignant disposition. They insisted upon his observing Sunday as the most rigorous fast of a Jewish sabbath; they kept a strict watch upon his looks and gestures; and, if ever he chanced to smile during those religious ordinances, he underwent a severe reprimand for his profanity.

Charles arrives in Scotland.

But the facility which the king discovered in yielding to whatever was required of him, made the covenanters and the clergy suspect, that he regarded all his concessions merely as ridiculous farces, to which he must of necessity submit. They had therefore another trial prepared for him. Instead of the solemnity of his coronation, which was delayed, they were resolved that he should pass through a public humiliation, and do penance before the whole people. They sent him twelve articles of repentance, which he was to acknowledge; and the king had agreed that he would submit to this indignity. The vari-

ous

ous transgressions of his father and grand-father, with the idolatry of his mother, are again enumerated and aggravated in these articles; and farther declarations were insisted on, that he sought the restoration of his rights for the sole advancement of religion, and in subordination to the kingdom of Christ^f. In short, the clergy, having brought royalty under their feet, were resolved to trample on it and vilify it, by every indignity which their present influence enabled them to impose on their unhappy prince.

Charles, in the mean time, found his authority entirely annihilated, as well as his character degraded. He was consulted in no public measure; he was not called to assist at any councils. His favour was sufficient to discredit any candidate for office or advancement. All efforts which he made to unite the opposite parties, increased the suspicion, which the covenanters had entertained, that he was not rightly established in their own principles.

The advance of the English army under Cromwell was not able to appease the animosities among the parties in Scotland. The clergy were still resolute to exclude all but their most zealous adherents. As soon as the English parliament found that the treaty between the king and the Scots would probably terminate in an accommodation, they made preparations for war. Cromwell, having broken the force and courage of the Irish, was sent for; and he left the command of Ireland to Ireton, who governed that kingdom in the character of deputy, and with great activity persevered in the measure of subduing and expelling the natives.

Fairfax, now disgusted at the extremities into which he had been hurried, resigned his commission; and it was bestowed on Cromwell, who was declared captain-general of all the forces in England. This command, in a common-wealth, which stood entirely by arms, was of the utmost importance; and was the chief step, which this ambitious politician had yet made towards sovereign power. He immediately marched his forces, and entered Scotland with an army of sixteen thousand men.

The command of the Scottish army was given to Lesley, an experienced officer. He intrenched himself in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith, and took care to remove from the counties of Merse and the Lothians every thing which could serve to the subsistence of

Cromwell enters Scotland with an army.

^f Sir Ed. Walker's Historical Discourses, p. 173.

the English army. Cromwell advanced to the Scottish camp, and endeavoured, by every expedient, to bring Lesley to a battle. The latter, sensible that, though superior in numbers, his army was much inferior in discipline to the English, carefully kept himself within his intrenchments. By several skirmishes he tried to confirm the spirits of his soldiers; and he was successful in these enterprizes. His army daily increased both in numbers and courage. The king came to the camp; and having exerted himself in an action, gained on the affections of the soldiery. The clergy were alarmed, and ordered Charles immediately to quit the camp. They also purged it carefully of about four thousand Malignants and Engagers (the common appellations of all who were obnoxious to the clergy) whose zeal had led them to attend the king, and who were the soldiers of chief credit and experience in the nation^g. They then concluded, that they had an army composed entirely of saints, and could not be vanquished. They murmured extremely, not only against their prudent general, but against the Lord, on account of his delays in giving them deliverance; and they declared, that, if he would not save them from the English sectaries, he should no longer be their God^h. An advantage having offered itself on a Sunday, they hindered the general from making use of it, lest he should involve the nation in the guilt of sabbath-breaking.

In the mean time Cromwell had no provisions but what he received by sea; and not having had the precaution to secure a sufficient supply, his army was reduced to great difficulties. He retired to Dunbar. Lesley followed him, and incamped on the heights of Lammernure, which overlook that town. Between Dunbar and Berwick were many difficult passes; and of these Lesley had taken possession. In this extremity the English general had even embraced a resolution of sending by sea all his foot and artillery to England, and of breaking through, at all hazards, with his cavalry; but the madness of the Scottish ecclesiastics saved him from this loss and dishonour.

Night and day the ministers had been wrestling with the Lord in prayer, as they termed it; and they fancied, that they had at last obtained the victory. Revelations, they said, were made them, that the sectarian and heretical army, with Agag, meaning Cromwell, was delivered into

^g Sir Edw. Walker. p. 165.

^h Whitlocke, p. 449.

*Battle of
Dunbar.*

their hands. Upon the faith of these visions, they forced their general, in spite of his remonstrances, to descend into the plain, with a view of attacking the English in their retreat. Cromwell, looking through a glass, saw the enemy's camp in motion; and foretold, without the help of revelations, that the Lord had delivered them into his hands. He immediately gave orders for an attack. The Scots, though double in number to the English, were soon put to flight, and pursued with great slaughter. No victory could be more complete than this which was obtained by Cromwell. About three thousand of the enemy were slain, and nine thousand made prisoners. Cromwell pursued his advantage, and took possession of Edinburgh and Leith. The remnant of the Scottish army fled to Sterling. The approach of the winter season, and an ague, which seized Cromwell, kept him from pushing the victory any farther.

The clergy made great lamentations, and told the Lord, that to them it was little to sacrifice their estates and lives, but to him it was a great loss to suffer his elect to be destroyed¹. They published a declaration, containing the cause of their late misfortunes. These they ascribed to the manifold provocations of the king's house, of which, they feared, he had not yet thoroughly repented; the secret intrusion of malignants into the king's family, and even into the camp; the leaving of a most malignant and profane guard of horse, who, being sent for to be purged, came two days before the defeat, and were allowed to fight with the army; the acknowledgement of the king's cause by many, without subordination to religion and liberty; and the carnal self-seeking of some, with the neglect of family-prayers by others.

Cromwell, having been so successful in the war of the sword, took up the pen against the Scottish ecclesiastics. He wrote them some polemical letters, in which he maintained the chief points of the independent theology. He likewise retorted on them their favourite argument of providence: and asked them, whether the Lord had not declared against them? But the ministers thought, that the same events, which to their enemies were judgments, to them were trials; and they replied, that the Lord had only hid his face, for a time, from Jacob. Cromwell, however, insisted that the appeal had been made to God in the most express and solemn manner, and that, in the

¹ Sir Edw. Walker.

fields of Dunbar, a final decision had been awarded in favour of the English army.

The defeat of the Scots was regarded by the king as a fortunate event. Both armies were almost equally his enemies; and the vanquished were now obliged to give him some more authority, and apply to him for support. The parliament was summoned to meet at St. Johnstone's. Hamilton, Lauderdale, and all the engagers were admitted into court and camp, on condition of doing public penance, and expressing repentance for their late transgressions. The intended humiliations or penance of the king was changed into the ceremony of his coronation, which was performed at Scone with great pomp and solemnity. But amidst all this appearance of respect, Charles was little better than a prisoner, and was still exposed to all the rudeness and pedantry of the ecclesiastics. Though artful in the practice of courtly dissimulation, the sanctified style was utterly unknown to him; and he never could mould his deportment into that starched grimace, which the covenanters required as an infallible sign of his conversion. The clergy, therefore, could never esteem the king sufficiently regenerated; and, by continual exhortations, remonstrances, and reprimands, they still endeavoured to bring him to a juster sense of his spiritual duty.

A.D. 1651.

 January 1.
 Coronation
 of the king
 in Scot-
 land.

At last, the king, shocked at all the indignities, and, perhaps, still more tired with all the formalities, to which he was obliged to submit, made an attempt to regain his liberty. General Middleton, at the head of some royalists, being proscribed by the covenanters, kept in the mountains, expecting some opportunity of serving his master. The king, resolved to join this body, secretly made his escape, and fled towards the Highlands. Colonel Montgomery, with a troop of horse, was sent in pursuit of him; and, overtaking the king, persuaded him to return. The royalists being too weak to support him, Charles was the more easily induced to comply. This incident procured him afterwards better treatment and more authority. Argyle renewed his courtship to the king, who, with equal dissimulation, pretended to repose in him great confidence. He even went so far as to drop hints of an intention to marry that nobleman's daughter; but Argyle was too wise to be seduced by such an artifice.

As soon as the season would permit, the Scottish army was assembled under Hamilton and Lesley; and the king was permitted to join the camp. The forces of the west-

ern counties, notwithstanding the imminent danger which threatened their country, determined not to unite their cause with that of an army which admitted any engagers or malignants; and they, therefore, kept in a body apart under the command of Ker. They assumed the title of Protesters; and their frantic clergy declaimed equally against the king and against Cromwell. The other party was denominated Resolutioners; and these distinctions continued long after to divide and agitate the kingdom.

*Charles
incamps at
Torwood.*

Charles incamped at the Torwood; and his generals were resolved to conduct themselves by the same cautious maxims, which, so long as they were embraced, had been successful during the former campaign. The town of Stirling lay at his back, and the whole North supplied him with provisions. Strong intrenchments defended his front, and it was in vain that Cromwell made every attempt to bring him to an engagement. The English general, after losing much time, dispatched Lambert over the Frith into Fife, with an intention of cutting off the provisions of the enemy. This officer fell upon Holborne and Brown, who commanded a party of the Scots, and put them to the rout with great slaughter. Cromwell also passed over with his whole army; and lying behind the king, made it impossible for him to keep his post any longer.

*The king
marches
into Eng-
land;*

In this exigence, Charles embraced a resolution worthy of a young prince contending for empire. Observing that the way was open to England, he resolved immediately to march into that country, where he expected that all the royalists, and all those who were discontented with the present government, would flock to his standard. His generals were persuaded to enter into the same views; and with one consent, the Scottish army, to the number of fourteen thousand men, rose from their camp, and advanced by rapid journies towards the South.

*and is
pursued by
Cromwell.*

Cromwell, surpris'd at the movement of the royal army, immediately dispatched letters to the parliament, exhorting them not to be dismayed at the approach of the Scots. He sent orders every where for assembling forces to oppose the king. He ordered Lambert, with a body of cavalry, to hang upon the rear of the royal army, and infest its march; and himself, leaving Monk with seven thousand men to complete the reduction of Scotland, followed the king with all possible expedition.

Charles soon found himself disappointed in his expectation of increasing his army. The Scots, terrified at the prospect of so hazardous an enterprize, deserted in great numbers,

numbers. The English, frightened at the name of his opponent, dreaded to join him. The earl of Derby proceeded to levy forces in Cheshire and Lancashire; but was soon suppressed by a party of the parliamentary troops. The king, on arriving at Worcester, had the farther mortification to be informed, that Cromwell was marching with hasty strides from Scotland, with an army increased to thirty thousand men. The news scarce arrived, when that active general Sept. 3. appeared; and, attacking the town on all sides, broke in Battle of Worcester. upon the disordered royalists. The streets of the city were strewed with dead, the whole Scottish army was either killed or made prisoners, and the king himself, having given many proofs of personal valour, was obliged to fly.

The king retired from the field in company with fifty or sixty of his adherents, from whom he soon after separated. By the earl of Derby's directions he went to Boscobel, a solitary house on the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by a farmer of the name of Penderel. Here, having his hair cut off, the better to disguise his person, he wrought for some days in the habit of a peasant, cutting faggots in a wood. Some nights he lay upon straw in the house, and fed upon such homely fare as it afforded. For a better concealment, he mounted a spreading oak, where he sheltered himself among the leaves and branches for twenty-four hours, in company with one colonel Careless, who also had escaped the carnage at Worcester. In this situation he saw several soldiers pass by, all of whom were intent in search of the king; and some expressed, in his hearing, their earnest wishes of seizing him. This tree was afterwards denominated the Royal Oak, and, for many years, was regarded by the neighbourhood with great veneration. Charles conceals himself among the boughs of an oak.

From the poor, but hospitable house of the faithful Penderel, the king passed, with imminent danger and great difficulty, to the residence of colonel Lane, a zealous loyalist, in Staffordshire. He there deliberated about the means of escaping into France; and Bristol being supposed the properest port, it was agreed that, personating a servant, he should ride thither, before this gentleman's sister, on a visit to one Mrs. Norton, who lived in the neighbourhood of that city. During this journey he every day met with persons whose faces he knew, and, at one time, passed through a whole regiment of the enemy's army.

After arriving at Mrs. Norton's, the first person they saw was one of his own chaplains, sitting at the door,

The king rides to the neighbourhood of Bristol in the character of a servant.

amusing himself with seeing people play at bowls. The king, after having taken proper care of his horse in the stable, was shown to an apartment, which Mrs. Lane, being told that the poor lad, as he was called, had an ague, ordered to be provided for him. Though Charles kept himself retired in this chamber, the butler, whose name was Pope, soon knew him. The king was alarmed at the discovery, but made the butler promise that he would keep the secret from every mortal, even from his master; and he was faithful to his engagement.

He goes from Bristol to Dorsetshire.

No ship being found that would for a month set sail from Bristol either for France or Spain, the king was obliged to go elsewhere for a passage. He therefore repaired to the house of colonel Wyndham, in Dorsetshire, by whom he was most cordially received. This gentleman's mother, a venerable matron, expressed the utmost joy, that having lost three sons and one grandchild in defence of the late king, she had now the honour of being instrumental in the protection of her royal guest.

Is in great danger of being discovered.

At this place the king continued several days, during which time great endeavours were used to procure a vessel for his escape; but he still met with disappointments. After leaving Wyndham's house, he was obliged to return to it; and, pursuing his journey thence a second time, he had a very providential escape from a little inn, where he set up for the night. The day had been appointed by parliament for a solemn fast; and a fanatical weaver, who had been a soldier in the parliament army, was preaching against the king in a small chapel fronting the house. Charles, to avoid suspicion, mixed with the congregation. It happened that a smith, of the same principles with the weaver, had been examining the horses belonging to the passengers, and came to assure the preacher, he knew by the fashion of the shoes, that one of the strangers horses came from the North. The preacher immediately affirmed, that this horse could belong to no other than Charles Stuart, and instantly went with a constable to search the inn. But the king having taken timely precaution, had left the inn before the constable's arrival. At Shoreham, in Suffex, was at last found a vessel, in which he embarked. He was known to so many, that had he not sailed in that critical moment, it had been impossible for him to escape. After forty-one days concealment he arrived at Feschamp in Normandy. No less than forty men and women had at different times been privy to his concealment.

He embarks at Shoreham in Suffex. Arrives at Feschamp in Normandy.

So elated was Cromwell at his late success in the battle of Worcester, that he intended to have knighted in the field two of his generals, Lambert and Fleetwood; but was dissuaded by his friends from exerting this act of regal authority. At what particular period he began to entertain thoughts of taking into his hand the reins of government, is uncertain. We only know, that he now discovered to his intimate friends these aspiring views; and disdaining submission to the empty name of a republic, which stood chiefly by his influence, even expressed a desire of assuming the rank of king, which he had contributed, with so much seeming zeal, to abolish ^{*Cromwell aspires to the crown.*}

Cromwell returned to London in triumph, and was met at Acton by the speaker of the house, accompanied by the mayor and magistrates of the city, in their formalities. His first care was to take advantage of his late successes, by depressing the Scots, who had withstood the work of the Gospel, as he called it. The parliament passed an act for abolishing royalty in Scotland, and annexing that kingdom, as a conquered province, to the English commonwealth. It was, however, granted the privilege of sending some members to the English parliament. Judges were appointed to distribute justice, and the people of that country, disgusted with the late tyranny of their own ecclesiastics, were not much dissatisfied with these regulations. ^{*Scotland annexed to the commonwealth of England.*}

In this manner the English parliament, by the means of Cromwell, established an uncontrolled authority over all the British dominions. Ireland was entirely subdued by Ireton and Ludlow. In America, all the settlements which had declared for the royal cause, were obliged to submit: Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the Isle of Man, were easily reduced to subjection.

This parliament, composed of sixty or seventy obscure and illiterate men, were not less despotic over the morals than the civil liberties of the nation. Selfish aims and bigotry chiefly engrossed their attention. They carried their austerity so far as to enact a law, declaring fornication, after the first act, to be felony, without benefit of clergy¹. Not daring to entrust the trials of treason to juries, which being chosen indifferently from among the people, would have been little favourable to the commonwealth, they eluded that noble institution, by which the ^{*Domestic regulations*}

^h Whitlocke, p. 523.¹ Scobel, p. 121.

government of this island has ever been so much distinguished. The parliament now erected a high court of justice, which was to receive indictments from the council of state. This court was composed of men devoted to the ruling party, without name or character, determined to sacrifice every thing to their own safety or ambition. In respect to ecclesiastical affairs, it seemed the intention of many leaders in the parliament to admit of no established church, but to leave all persons to embrace whatever sect, or to support whatever clergy were most agreeable to them. But the parliament went so far as to make some approaches, in one province, to their independent model. Almost all the clergy of Wales being ejected as malignants, itinerant preachers with small salaries were settled, not above four or five in each county, and these, being furnished with horses at the public expence, hurried from place to place, and carried, as themselves expressed it, the glad tidings of the Gospel ^k. They were all of them men of the lowest birth and education, who had deserted mechanical employments in order to follow this profession.

A.D. 1652.

*Dutch
war.*

After the entire reduction of the British dominions, the parliament had leisure to exert its vigour in foreign enterprises. The Dutch were the first that felt the weight of their arms; the pretext for which was the assassination of Dr. Dorislaus, and some slight insult offered by the friends of the prince of Orange to Mr. St. John, ambassador from the parliament to the States-general. The chief dependence of the English council lay in the activity and courage of Blake, their admiral; who, though he had not embarked in a naval command until late in life, surpassed, in the qualifications of that office, all who had gone before him. On the other side the Dutch opposed to him their celebrated admiral, Van Tromp. Many were the engagements between these great commanders, and various was their success. The Dutch, however, who felt many great disadvantages by the loss of their trade, and by the total suspension of their fisheries, were willing to treat for a peace, but the parliament gave them a very unfavourable answer. It was the policy of that body to keep their navy on foot as long as they could; rightly judging, that while the force of the nation was exerted by sea, Cromwell's power, which

^k Dr. John Walker's Attempt, 147, & seq.

was become very formidable by land, would be liable to receive less addition. But this vigilant aspirer, perceiving that they entertained a jealousy of his power and ambition, and were resolved to bring him to a subordination to their authority, determined to prevent them. Secure in the confidence of the army, he meditated another daring effort for establishing his own dominion, and with this view persuaded the officers to present a petition for the payment of arrears, and redress of grievances, which he knew would be rejected with disdain. The petition was accordingly soon drawn up and presented. In it the officers, after demanding their arrears, desired the parliament to consider how many years it had sat, and what professions they had formerly made of their intentions to remodel the house, and establish freedom on the broadest basis. They alleged, that it was now full time for the representatives to give place to others; and that, however meritorious their actions might have been, it was an injury to the rest of the nation to be excluded from bearing any part in the service of their country.

Cromwell resolves to make himself absolute.

The parliament was highly offended at this presumption of the army, and made a sharp reply to the council of officers. They appointed a committee to prepare an act, ordaining that all persons who presented any such remonstrances for the future, should be deemed guilty of high treason. The officers insisted on the privilege which they had exercised; and by these altercations the breach became still wider between the army and the commonwealth. Cromwell, now finding matters ripe for his purpose, called a council of officers, in order to come to a determination with regard to a public settlement. While the officers were in debate, colonel Ingoldsby informed Cromwell, that the parliament had come to a resolution not to dissolve itself, but to fill up the house by new elections, and was at that very moment deliberating upon this expedient. Cromwell immediately rose up, apparently in a great rage, and, turning to major Vernon, cried out, "I am compelled to do a thing which makes the very hair of my head stand on end." Then hastening, with three hundred soldiers, some of whom he placed on the stairs, some in the lobby, and some at the door, he entered the house, with marks of violent indignation on his countenance; and, having taken his seat, attended to the debates for some time. He beckoned Harrison, and told him, that he now judged the parliament

ment

A. D. 1653.

April.

He dissolves the parliament by force.

ment ripe for dissolution. "Sir (said Harrison), the work is very great and dangerous; I desire you seriously to consider before you engage in it." "You say well," replied the general, and sat still about a quarter of an hour. When the question was ready to be put, he said again to Harrison, "This is the time, I must do it," and suddenly starting up, he loaded the parliament with reproaches for their tyranny, ambition, and robbery of the public. Then stamping with his foot, which was a signal for the soldiers to enter, "For shame (said he to the parliament), get you gone: give place to honest men; to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament: I tell you, you are no longer a parliament. The Lord has done with you: he has chosen other instruments for carrying on his work." Sir Harry Vane exclaiming against this proceeding, he cried with a loud voice, "O! sir Harry Vane! sir Harry Vane! the Lord deliver me from sir Harry Vane!" Taking hold of Martin by the cloak, "Thou art a whore-master," said he. To another, "Thou art an adulterer." To a third, "Thou art a drunkard and a glutton:" and, to a fourth, "Thou art an extortioner." He commanded a soldier to seize the mace. "What (said he), shall we do with this bauble? Here, take it away. It is you (addressing himself to the house), that have forced me upon this. I have fought the Lord, night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work." Having commanded the soldiers to clear the hall, himself went out the last, and ordering the doors to be locked, departed to his lodgings in Whitehall.

In this precipitate manner, so conformable to the genuine character of Cromwell, did he, without the least opposition, or even murmur, annihilate that assembly, which had filled Europe with the renown of its actions, and with astonishment at its crimes. He immediately received congratulatory addresses from the fleet, the corporations, and the army, for having dismissed a parliament, which, by a series of arbitrary measures, had become extremely obnoxious to the nation.

Birth and education of Oliver Cromwell.

Oliver Cromwell, in whose hands the dissolution of the parliament had left the whole power, civil and military, of the three kingdoms, was born at Huntingdon, the last year of the former century, of a good family, though himself, being the son of a second brother, inherited but a small estate. In the course of his education he had
been

been sent to the university; but made little proficiency in his studies. For some time he led a disorderly course of life, by which he dissipated part of his patrimony. But all of a sudden the spirit of reformation seized him; he married, affected a composed behaviour, adopted all the zeal of the puritanical party, and offered to restore to every one whatever sums he had formerly gained by gaming. The same vehemence of temper which had transported him into youthful excesses, now distinguished his religious habits. His house was the resort of all the more rigid of the dissenting clergy; towards whom he exercised such acts of liberality as his circumstances could not well afford. Though he acquired a tolerable fortune by a maternal uncle, he found his affairs so embarrassed, that he was obliged to take a farm at St. Ives, and apply himself, for some years, to agriculture, as a profession. But this expedient was not attended with success. The long prayers which he said to his family in the morning, and again in the afternoon, consumed his own time and that of his ploughmen; and he reserved no leisure for the care of his temporal affairs. Urged by his wants and his piety, he had made a party with Hambden, his near kinsman, who was pressed only by the latter motive, to transport himself into New England, now become the retreat of the more zealous of the puritanical party; and it was an order of council that obliged them to disembark and remain in England. From accident or intrigue, Cromwell was chosen by the town of Cambridge member of the long parliament. His domestic affairs were then in great disorder; and he seemed not to possess any talents which could qualify him to rise in that public sphere. His person was ungraceful, his dress slovenly, and his voice untuneable, his elocution homely, tedious, obscure, and embarrassed. The fervour of his spirit frequently prompted him to rise in the house, but he was not heard with attention. His friend Hambden alone was acquainted with the depth of his genius, and foretold, that if a civil war should ensue, he would soon rise into eminence.

Though Cromwell, in dissolving the parliament, had assumed the supreme authority, he thought proper to amuse the people with the appearance of a commonwealth, which it was the humour of the times to admire; but was resolved to give them a parliament which would be entirely subservient to his commands. For this purpose, consulting with some of the principal officers, it was decreed, that the sovereign power should be vested
in

in one hundred and forty-four persons, under the denomination of a parliament; and himself undertook to make the choice. The persons pitched upon for exercising this seemingly important trust, were the meanest and most ignorant of the people, and the very dregs of the fanatics. On these he pretended, by his sole act and deed, to devolve the whole authority of the state. This legislative power they were to exercise during fifteen months; and they were afterwards to choose the same number of persons as their successors.

*Barebone's
parliament.*

This notable assembly began with seeking God by prayer; an office which was performed by eight or ten gifted men in the house; and, with so much success, that, according to the confession of all, they had never before enjoyed so much of the holy spirit as was then communicated to them¹. The folly of these legislators was expressed in their assumed names, which were either some of those in the Old Testament, or phrases borrowed from Scripture. Among them were the names of Zerobabel, Habbakuk, and even Mesopotamia. One of them particularly, who was called Praise God Barebone, a canting leather-feller, gave his name to the assembly, and it was called Barebone's parliament.

There attempts at legislation were entirely correspondent to their stations and characters. Being chiefly composed of Antinomians, a sect which, after receiving the spirit, suppose themselves incapable of error, and of fifth monarchy men, who every hour expected Christ's coming on earth, they began with deliberating upon the suppression of the clergy, the universities, and the courts of justice; instead of which it was their design to substitute the law of Moses.

*Negotiation
with the
Dutch.*

With this hopeful assembly the Dutch ambassadors endeavoured to enter into negotiation concerning a peace; but, though Protestants, and even presbyterians, they met with a bad reception from men who pretended to sanctity so much superior. They were regarded by the new parliament as worldly men, intent only on commerce and industry, whom it was more fitting that the saints should extirpate, than embrace in any political connection. The parliament insisted, that the man of sin should be put away, and a new birth be obtained by prayer and meditation. The ambassadors were struck with astonishment; and being unable to converse with them in their

¹ Parl. Hist. vol. xx. p. 182.

own way, were obliged to give up their treaty as impracticable.

The very vulgar now exclaimed against so ridiculous a legislature, and Cromwell began to be ashamed of their complicated absurdities. He was also dissatisfied that the parliament, though it had derived all its authority from him, began to pretend power from the Lord^m, and to insist already on their divine commission. He had been careful to summon in his writs many persons entirely devoted to him, and these he commanded to dismiss the assembly. Accordingly, by concert, they met earlier than the rest of their fraternity; and observing to each other that this parliament had sat long enough, they, with Rouse, their speaker, hastened to Cromwell, and resigned into his hands the authority with which he had invested them. Cromwell accepted their resignation with pleasure; but being told that some of their number were refractory, and continued sitting in the house, he sent thither colonel White, with a party of soldiers, to dismiss them. On entering the assembly, this officer asked them, what they did there. "We are seeking the Lord," said they. "Then you may go elsewhere (replied he); for, to my certain knowledge, he has not been here these many years."

Dec. 12.
The parliament surrenders its power to Cromwell,

This assembly of fanatics being dissolved, the officers, by their own authority, declared Cromwell protector of the commonwealth of England. He was addressed by the title of highness, and with great solemnity installed in that high office at Whitehall, in the palace of the kings of England.

who is made protector.

The crude and indigested system of polity by which the nation was now to be governed, was drawn up in an instrument, the chief articles of which were the following. A council was appointed, which was not to exceed twenty-one, nor be less than thirteen persons. These were to enjoy their office during life or good behaviour; and, in case of a vacancy, the remaining members named three, of whom the protector chose one. The protector was appointed the supreme magistrate of the commonwealth, with all the powers which belonged to the crown. That of the sword was vested in him, jointly with the parliament, while it was sitting, or with the council of state in the intervals. He was obliged to summon a parliament every three years, and allow

them to sit five months without adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution. The bills which they passed were to be presented to the protector for his assent; but if within twenty days it was not obtained, they were to become laws by the authority alone of parliament. A standing army was established, consisting of twenty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse; and funds were assigned for their support. These were not to be diminished without consent of the protector; and in this article alone he assumed a negative. During the intervals of parliament, the protector and council had the power of enacting laws, which were to be valid until the next meeting of parliament. The protector was to enjoy his office during life, and, on his death, the place was immediately to be supplied by the council. The council of state, named by the instrument, was composed of fifteen, men entirely devoted to the protector; and to each of whom he assigned a pension of one thousand pounds a year. He took care to have his troops, upon whose fidelity he depended for support, paid a month in advance; the magazines were also well provided, and the public treasure managed with care; while his vigilance, activity, and resolution were such, that he discovered every conspiracy against his person, and every plot for an insurrection, before they took effect.

A.D. 1654.

*Peace with
Holland.*

The negociation of a treaty with Holland was at length brought to a conclusion. The Dutch consented to pay the compliment to the British flag: they abandoned the interest of Charles; they engaged to pay eighty-five thousand pounds as an indemnification for losses, and restore the isle of Polorone to the English East India company.

The Dutch war being successful, and the peace reasonable, brought credit to Cromwell's administration, which also derived advantage from an incident that displayed the vigour of his character. Don Pantaleon Sá, brother to the Portuguese ambassador, and joined with him in commissionⁿ, fancying himself to be insulted, came upon the Exchange, armed, and attended by several servants. By mistake he attacked a gentleman whom he took for the person who had given him offence, and having by many wounds dispatched him, he and his attendants took shelter in the house of the Portuguese ambassador, who had connived at this criminal enterprize^o. The populace surrounded the house, and threatened to set fire

ⁿ Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 429.

^o Ibid. vol. i. p. 616.

to it: Cromwell sent a guard, which seized all the criminals. They were brought to trial, and, notwithstanding the opposition of the ambassador, who pleaded the privileges of his office, Don Pantaleon was executed on Tower-hill. The situation of Portugal obliged that court to acquiesce in this act of public justice; and the ambassador soon after signed with the protector a treaty of peace and alliance, which was very advantageous to the English commerce.

The brother of the Portuguese ambassador beheaded for murder.

The administration of the protector, however, had not procured him the confidence of the public; and, in a parliament which he summoned on the 3d of September, a day which he always regarded as fortunate for him, he found the disposition of the members unfavourable to his government. The royalists had been instructed by the king to remain quiet, and to cover themselves under the appearance of republicans; among whom they found such inveterate hatred against the protector, that they could not wish for more zealous adversaries to his authority. The parliament having heard the protector's speech, three hours long^p, and having chosen Lenthall their speaker, immediately entered into a discussion of the instrument of government, and of that authority which Cromwell had assumed over the nation. The greatest freedom was used in arraigning the new dignity of protector; and even the personal character and conduct of Cromwell escaped not without censure. The protector, surpris'd and enrag'd at this refractory spirit in the parliament, which, however, he had so much reason to expect, sent for them to the Painted Chamber, and, with an air of great authority, inveighed against their conduct. He told them, that nothing could be more absurd than for them to dispute his title, since the same instrument of government which made them a parliament, had invested him with the protectorship; that some points in the new constitution were supposed to be fundamentals, and were not, on any pretence, to be altered or disputed; that, among these, were the government of the nation by a single person and a parliament, their joint authority over the army and militia, the succession of new parliaments, and liberty of conscience; and that, with regard to these particulars, there was reserved to him a negative voice, to which, in the other circumstances of government, he confessed himself no wise entitled.

Cromwell calls a new parliament.

Cromwell now found himself under the necessity of exacting a security, which, had he foreseen the spirit of the house, he would, with better grace, have required at their first meeting⁹. He obliged the members to sign a recognition of his authority, and an engagement not to propose or consent to any alteration in the government, as settled in a single person and a parliament; and he placed guards at the door of the house, who allowed none but subscribers to enter. Most of the members, after some hesitation, submitted to this condition, but retained the same refractory spirit which they had discovered in their first debates. The instrument of government was taken in pieces, and examined, article by article, with the most scrupulous accuracy. Very few topics were advanced with the general approbation of the house; and, during the whole course of their proceedings, they neither sent up one bill to the protector, nor took any notice of him. Being informed that conspiracies were entered into between the members and some malecontent officers, he hastened to the dissolution of so dangerous an assembly. By the instrument of government, to which he had sworn, no parliament could be dissolved until it had sat five months; but Cromwell pretended that a month contained only twenty-eight days, according to the method of computation practised in paying the fleet and army. The full time, therefore, according to this reckoning, being elapsed, the parliament was ordered to attend the protector, who made them a tedious, confused, angry harangue, and dismissed them.

A.D. 1655.

Jan. 22.
The parliament is dissolved.

Insurrection of the royalists.

Great discontents now prevailing in the nation, a conspiracy was concerted between the king and the royalists throughout England, and a day of general rising was appointed. Intelligence of this design was conveyed to Cromwell, whose administration was extremely vigilant. Thurloe, his secretary, had spies every where. Manning, who had access to the king's family, kept a regular correspondence with him. Nor was it difficult to obtain intelligence of a confederacy so generally known to a party, who valued themselves more on zeal and courage than on secrecy and sobriety. Many of the royalists were thrown into prison: others, on the approach of the day, were terrified with the danger of the enterprize, and remained at home. In one place alone the conspiracy broke into action. Penruddock, Groves, Jones, and other gentle-

⁹ Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 620.

men of the West, entered Salisbury with about two hundred horse, at the very time when the judges were holding the assizes. Those the insurgents made prisoners, and proclaimed the king. Though they expected to be joined by other royalists, so prevalent was the terror of the established government that they received no accession of force; and, after wandering about some time dispirited, one troop of horse was able at last to suppress them. The leaders of the conspiracy being made prisoners, *which is suppressed.* were capitally punished; the rest were transported to Barbadoes, and sold for slaves.

The protector resolved no longer to keep any terms with the royalists. With the consent of his council, he issued an edict, for exacting from that whole party the tenth penny, in order, as he pretended, to make them pay the expences to which their mutinous disposition continually exposed the government. However harrassed *The royalists oppressed.* with former oppressions, therefore, they were obliged anew to redeem themselves by great sums of money, and many of them were reduced, by those multiplied disasters, to extreme poverty. Whoever was known to be disaffected, or even lay under any suspicion, was exposed to the new exaction.

During these transactions the queen of England and her son Charles, passed most of their time at Paris; and, notwithstanding their near connection of blood, received but few civilities, and still less support, from the French court. The English parliament, however, having assumed the sovereignty of the state, resented the countenance, cold as it was, with which the French court treated the prince. On pretence of injuries, of which the English merchants complained, they issued letters of reprisal on the French; and Blake went so far as to attack and seize a whole Squadron of ships which were carrying supplies to Dunkirk, then closely besieged by the Spaniards. That town, disappointed of those supplies, fell into the hands of the enemy; and the French ministry soon found it necessary to change their measures. They treated Charles with such affected indifference, that, to prevent the indignity of being desired to leave the kingdom, he judged it proper to anticipate the requisition. He went first to Spa, and afterwards to Cologne, where he lived two years on a small pension, of about six thousand pounds, allowed him by the court of France, and on some contributions sent him by his friends in England. *The king retires to Cologne.* Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards lord-chancellor, and the

marquis of Ormond, were his chief friends and confidants.

As the French minister had thought it prudent to bend under the English parliament, they deemed it still more necessary to pay deference to the protector, when he assumed the reins of government. Cardinal Mazarine, by whom the affairs of that kingdom were conducted, was ready to comply with every proposal made by the protector, the boldness and vigour of whose administration rendered him the object of general terror. To negotiate a peace with England, Bourdeaux was sent over as minister. During the whole negotiation, which Bourdeaux conducted with indefatigable patience, Cromwell affected the utmost indifference to any treaty; and though English privateers committed daily depredations on the French commerce, Mazarine was content, in hopes of a fortunate issue, still to submit to these indignities^r.

The court of Spain, though no less assiduous to gain his friendship, was not equally successful. This vast monarchy, which, but a few years before, had threatened the liberties of Europe, was now reduced so low as to be scarce able to defend itself. Policy required that Cromwell should have supported its declining state against the dangerous ambition of France; at least, that he should not have entered into an association with the latter to depress it farther. But he understood not the foreign interests of his country, and lent the court of France a body of six thousand men to attack the Spanish dominions in the Netherlands. The French, upon obtaining, by his assistance, a signal victory at Dunes, put Dunkirk, which they had just taken from the Spaniards, into his hands, as a reward for his friendship.

But it was by sea that he humbled the pride of Spain with still more important success. Blake, whose fame was now spread over Europe, sailed with a fleet of thirty capital ships into the Mediterranean, whither, since the time of the crusades, no English fleet had ever ventured to advance. He there conquered all that had the temerity to oppose him. Casting anchor before Leghorn, he demanded and obtained satisfaction for some injuries which the English commerce had suffered from the duke of Tuscany. He next sailed to Algiers, compelled the dey to make peace, and to restrain his piratical subjects from making farther depredations on the English. He went thence to

*Cromwell
engages in
a league
with
France.*

^r Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 103. 619. 653.

Tunis, where, having made the same demands, he was desired by the dey of that place to look at the two castles, Porto Farino and Goletta, and do his utmost. Blake was not slow in accepting the challenge: he drew his ships close up to the castles, in which he made great havock with his artillery; and, after butning all the vessels in the harbour, sailed out triumphantly to pursue his voyage. At Cadiz, he took two galleons, valued at near two millions of pieces of eight. At the Canaries, he burned a Spanish fleet of sixteen ships; and returning home to England, to enjoy the fame of his noble actions, as he came within sight of his native country he expired. This gallant man, though he fought for an usurper, yet was averse to his cause. He was by principle a zealous republican; and his aim was to serve his country, not to support usurpation. "It is still our duty," he would say to the seamen, "to fight for our country, into whatever hands the government may fall."

War with Spain.

Blake takes the Spanish galleons.

While Blake was prosecuting his enterprizes, another was carried on under the command of admiral Pen and Venables, with about four thousand land-forces. Their expedition was intended against Hispaniola; but, being frustrated in that design, they steered to Jamaica, which surrendered to them without a blow. Of so little importance was this conquest esteemed, that, upon the return of the expedition, Pen and Venables were sent to the Tower, for the miscarriage in their primary object.

Pen and Venables take Jamaica.

Though the administration of the protector was distinguished by these great successes, they might rather be ascribed to the spirit of the times than to his own abilities. Cromwell was possessed of but two arts in perfection; that of managing the army, by which he ruled, and of obtaining the secrets of his enemies who were plotting against him. For the former, his valour and fanatical cant was sufficient; for the latter, he is said to have expended sixty thousand pounds a-year among his spies.

Cromwell began to hope, that, by his administration, attended with so much lustre abroad, and tranquillity at home, he had now acquired such authority as would secure to his government the compliance of the representatives of the nation. He, therefore, summoned a parliament; but, not trusting altogether to the good-will of the people, he used every art to influence the elections, and fill the house with his own creatures. Ireland, being entirely in the hands of the army, chose few but such officers as were most acceptable to him. Scotland showed a like

A.D. 1656.

Sept. 17.
A new parliament.

compliance; and, as the nobility and gentry of that kingdom regarded their attendance on English parliaments as a badge of slavery, it was more easy for the officers to prevail in the elections. Notwithstanding all these precautions, the protector still found, that the majority would not be favourable to him. He set guards, therefore, on the door, who permitted none to enter but such as produced a warrant from his council; which rejected about a hundred, who either refused a recognition of the protector's authority, or were on other accounts obnoxious to him. The excluded members protested against so egregious a violence, subversive of all liberty; but every application for redress was neglected both by the council and the parliament.

By these means, the majority of the parliament was now either friendly to the protector, or resolved, by their compliance, to adjust, if possible, the military government to their laws and liberties. They voted a renunciation of all title in Charles Stuart, or any of his family. Colonel Jephson, in order to sound the inclinations of the house, ventured to move, that the parliament should bestow the crown on the protector; and no surprize or reluctance was discovered on the occasion. When Cromwell afterwards asked Jephson what induced him to make such a motion, "As long (said Jephson) as I have the honour to sit in parliament, I must follow the dictates of my own conscience, whatever offence I may be so unfortunate as to give you." "Get thee gone (said Cromwell, giving him a gentle blow on the shoulder), get thee gone, for a mad fellow as thou art."

In order to pave the way to this advancement, for which he so ardently longed, Cromwell resolved to sacrifice his major-generals, whom he knew to be extremely odious to the nation; and who, having begun to establish a separate jurisdiction, had rendered themselves formidable to the protector himself. Claypole, his son-in-law, who possessed his confidence, abandoned them to the pleasure of the house; and, though the name was still retained, it was agreed to abridge, or rather entirely annihilate, the power of the major-generals.

At length, a motion in form was made by alderman Pack, one of the city-members, for investing the protector with the dignity of king. This motion, at first, excited great disorder. The chief opposition came from the usual adherents of the protector; the major-generals, and such officers as depended on them. Lambert, a man of

deep intrigue, and of great interest in the army, had long entertained the ambition of succeeding Cromwell in the protectorship; and he foresaw, that, if the monarchy were restored, hereditary right would also be established, and the crown be transmitted to the posterity of the prince first elected. He pleaded, therefore, conscience; and, rousing all those civil and religious jealousies, which had been industriously fomented among the soldiers, against kingly government, he raised a formidable party against the motion.

On the other hand, the motion was supported by every one who was more particularly devoted to the protector. Many persons also, attached to their country, despaired of ever being able to subvert the present illegal establishment, and were desirous, by fixing it on its ancient foundations, to induce the protector to pay a regard to the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom. The bill was voted by a considerable majority; and a committee was appointed to reason with the protector, and to overcome those scruples which he testified against accepting so liberal an offer.

A.D. 1657.

*Crown
offered to
Cromwell.*

The conference lasted for several days. The committee urged, that all the statutes and customs of England were founded on the supposition of regal authority: that a protector, except during the minority of a king, was a name utterly unknown to the laws; no man was acquainted with the genuine extent of his authority; and it was greatly the interest of all his highness's friends to seek the shelter of this statute.

Cromwell was sufficiently convinced of the solidity of the reasons which were urged by the committee; and his inclination coincided with his judgment; but how to reconcile the measure to the sentiments of the soldiers was the difficulty. Suspended between the apprehensions arising from this quarter, and his own most ardent desires, Cromwell protracted the time, and seemed still to oppose the arguments of the committee; in hopes that, by artifice, he might be able to reconcile the minds of the soldiers to the proposed dignity. The absurdity of his speeches on this occasion (for they still remain) forms the most striking contrast that can be imagined to the general sagacity of his character. "I confess (said he), for it behoves me to deal plainly with you, I must confess, I would say, I hope, I may be understood in this, for indeed I must be tender what I say to such an audience as this; I say, I would be understood, that in this argument I do not make parallel betwixt men of a different

mind and a parliament, which shall have their desires. I know there is no comparison, nor can it be urged upon me, that my words have the least colour that way, because the parliament seems to give liberty to me to say any thing to you; as that, that is a tender of my humble reasons and judgment and opinion to them, and if I think they are such and will be such to them, and are faithful servants, and will be so to the supreme authority, and the legislative wheresoever it is: if, I say, I should not tell you, knowing their minds to be so, I should not be faithful, if I should not tell you so, to the end you may report it to the parliament: I shall say something for myself, for my own mind, I do profess it, I am not a man scrupulous about words or names of such things I have not: but as I have the word of God, and I hope I shall ever have it, for the rule of my conscience, for my informations; so truly men that have been led in dark paths, through the providence and dispensation of God; why surely it is not to be objected to a man; for who can love to walk in the dark? But providence does so dispose. And though a man may impute his own folly and blindness to providence sinfully, yet it must be at my peril; the case may be that is the providence of God, that doth lead men in darkness: I must need say, that I have had a great deal of experience of providence, and though it is no rule without or against the word, yet it is a very good expostor of the word in many cases."

But the opposition which Cromwell dreaded, was not that which came from Lambert and his adherents, whom he now regarded as capital enemies, and was resolved to deprive of all authority; it was that which arose from his own family, and from men, who, by interest as well as inclination, were the most devoted to him. Fleetwood and Desborow, the former married to his daughter, and the latter to his sister, could by no means be induced to consent that he should be invested with the regal dignity. They told him, that, if he accepted of the crown, they would instantly throw up their commissions, and never afterwards should have it in their power to serve him*. Colonel Pride procured a petition against the office of king, signed by a majority of the officers who were in London and the neighbourhood. Some sudden mutiny in the army was justly dreaded; and several persons, it is said, had entered into an engagement to murder the

* Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 265.

protector within a few hours after he should have accepted the offer of the parliament. At last, Cromwell, after long doubt and perplexity, was obliged to refuse that crown, which the representatives of the nation had tendered to him. *He rejects it.*

The regal dignity being rejected by Cromwell, the parliament found themselves obliged to retain the name of a commonwealth and protector; and, as the government was hitherto a manifest usurpation, it was thought proper to sanction it by a seeming choice of the people and their representatives. Instead of the "Instrument of Government," which was the work of the general officers alone, "A humble Petition and Advice" was framed, and offered to the protector by the parliament. This was represented as the great basis of the republican establishment, regulating and limiting the powers of each member of the constitution, and securing for ever the liberties of the people. By this deed, the authority of the protector was in some particulars enlarged; in others, it was considerably diminished. He had the power of nominating his successor; he had a perpetual revenue assigned him; a million a-year for the pay of the fleet and army; three hundred thousand pounds for the support of the civil government; and he had authority to name a new house of peers, who should enjoy their seats during life, and exercise some functions of the former house. But he renounced the power assumed in the intervals of parliament, of framing laws with the consent of his council; and he agreed, that no members of either house should be excluded but by the consent of that house of which they were members. The humble Petition and Advice was amended by a supplement the same session; but, after all, it may be regarded as an undigested model of government. After this new deed, Cromwell was again inaugurated in Westminster-hall, with great solemnity. *Humble petition and advice.*

The parliament having adjourned itself, the protector deprived Lambert of all his commissions; but allowed him a pension of two thousand pounds a-year, as a bribe for his future peaceable department.

Richard, eldest son of the protector, was brought to court, introduced into public business, and thenceforth regarded by many as his heir in the protectorship; though Cromwell sometimes employed the gross artifice of flattering others with the hopes of succession.

The parliament was again assembled; continu. 7, as in A.D. 1658;
the times of monarchy, of two houses. Cromwell dur-

ing the interval, had sent writs to his house of peers which consisted of sixty members. They were composed of five or six ancient peers, of several gentlemen of fortune, and of some officers who had risen from the meanest stations. None of the ancient peers, however, would deign to accept of a seat. The protector endeavoured at first to maintain the appearance of a legal magistrate. He placed no guard at the door of either house; but soon found how incompatible liberty is with military usurpation. By bringing so great a number of his friends and adherents into the upper house, he had lost the majority among the national representatives. In consequence of a clause in the humble Petition and Advice, the commons assumed a power of re-admitting those members whom the council had formerly excluded. Sir Arthur Hazelrigg, and some others, whom Cromwell had created lords, rather chose to take their seat with the commons. An incontestible majority now declared themselves against the protector; and they refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of that other house which he had established. Even the validity of the humble Petition and Advice was questioned, as being voted by a parliament which lay under force, and which was deprived, by military violence, of a considerable number of its members. Cromwell, dreading combinations between the parliament and the malecontents in the army, resolved to allow no leisure for forming any conspiracy against him; and, with expressions of great displeasure, he dissolved the parliament. When urged by Fleetwood, and others of his friends, not to precipitate himself into this rash measure, he swore by the Living God, that they should not sit a moment longer.

Parliament dissolved.

The protector was now kept in perpetual inquietude. His administration, expensive both by military enterprizes and secret intelligence, had exhausted his revenue, and involved him in a considerable debt. The royalists, he heard, had renewed their conspiracies for a general insurrection; and Ormond was secretly come over with a view of concerting measures for the execution of this project. Many leaders of the presbyterians had secretly entered into the engagement. Even the army was infected with the spirit of discontent; and some dangerous commotion was every moment expected from it. All his arts and policy were exhausted; and, having so often deceived every party, and almost every individual, he could no longer hope, by repeating the same professions, to meet with equal confidence.

Conspiracy of the royalists detected.

But

But the conspiracy of the royalists was discovered, and proved ineffectual. Ormond was obliged to fly; great numbers were thrown into prison; and a high court of justice was again erected for the trial of those whose guilt was most apparent. Notwithstanding the recognition of his authority by the last parliament, the protector could not as yet trust to an unbiassed jury.

The conspiracy of the millenarians in the army struck Cromwell with still greater apprehensions. The officers whom he had discarded harboured in their breast some desperate project; and there wanted not others in the army who were disposed to second their undertakings. The levellers and agitators had been encouraged by Cromwell to interpose with their advice in all political deliberations; and he had even affected to honour many of them with his particular friendship, while he conducted his daring enterprize against the king and the parliament. It was a usual practice with him, in order to familiarize himself the more with the agitators, who were commonly corporals or serjeants, to take them to bed with him, and there, after prayers and exhortations, to discuss together their projects and principles, both political and religious: but, having assumed the dignity of protector, he excluded them from all his councils; a treatment at which many of them were exasperated. He was likewise apprehensive of assassinations, from the zealous spirit which actuated the soldiers. One Sundercome had undertaken to murder him; and, by a variety of accidents, had often been prevented from executing his bloody purpose.

*Discontents
in the
army.*

The protector, surrounded by these dangers, and tormented with apprehensions, was destitute even of domestic consolation. Fleetwood, his son-in-law, actuated by the wildest zeal, began to estrange himself from him; and detested that character which could use religious professions for the purposes of temporal advancement. His eldest daughter, married to Fleetwood, had adopted republican principles so vehement, that she could not behold even her own father invested with uncontrollable power. His other daughters were no less prejudiced in favour of the royal cause; but, above all, Mrs. Claypole, his favourite daughter, who, upon her death-bed, upbraided him with the unwarrantable measures into which his ambition had betrayed him.

*Unhappy
state of the
protector.*

All peace was now for ever banished from his mind. He felt, that the grandeur which he had attained with so much difficulty, was incapable of affording any enjoyment.

ment. Equally jealous of treacherous friends and of enraged enemies, he was haunted, in all his walks, with the dread of assassination. Every action of his life betrayed the terrors under which he laboured. The aspect of strangers was uneasy to him. He wore armour under his cloaths, and always kept pistols in his pockets. He never moved a step without strong guards attending him; and he performed every journey with precipitation. He returned from no place by the direct road, or by the same way which he went; and seldom slept above three nights successively in the same chamber. Nor did he ever let it be known before-hand what chamber he intended to choose; or entrusted himself in any which was not provided with a back-door, at which one or more centinels were placed. In solitude he was miserable; and society terrified him.

His sickness, At last, anxiety of mind affected his health; and he was seized with a slow fever, which changed into a tertian ague. For the space of a week no dangerous symptoms appeared; and, in the intervals of the fits, he was able to walk abroad. But the fever increasing, himself began to dread his approaching fate; though he was taught, by his fanatic chaplains, to consider his present disorder as no way fatal. When one of them, named Goodwin, told him, that the elect would never be damned, "Then I am safe (said the protector), for I am sure that once I was in a state of grace." His physicians were sensible of the danger of his case; but he was so much encouraged by the visions and revelations of his preachers, that he began to consider his recovery as not in the least doubtful. "I tell you (cried he to the physicians), I tell you, I shall not die of this distemper: I am well assured of my recovery. It is promised by the Lord, not only to my supplications, but to those of men who hold a stricter commerce and more intimate correspondence with him. Ye may have skill in your profession; but nature can do more than all the physicians in the world, and God is far above nature." Upon a fast-day, observed both at Hampton Court and Whitehall, on account of his sickness, they did not so much pray for his health, as thank God for the undoubted pledges they had received of his recovery. Notwithstanding those assurances, the fatal symptoms every hour increased; and the physicians were obliged to declare, that he could not survive the next fit. The council, therefore, came to know his last will with regard to the succession.

^c Bates, Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 355. 416.

But his senses fast declining, he was only able to answer "yes" to their demand, whether his son Richard should succeed him in the protectorship. He died on the 3d of September, that very day which he had always considered as the most fortunate of his life. He was then fifty-nine years old, and had usurped the government nine years. *and death.*

Cromwell was of a robust frame of body, and of a manly, though not of an agreeable aspect. He left only two sons, Richard and Henry; and three daughters; one married to general Fleetwood, another to lord Fauconberg, and a third to lord Rich. His father died when he was young. His mother lived until after he was protector; and, contrary to her orders, he buried her with great pomp in Westminster Abbey.

Immediately after the decease of Cromwell, the council assembled; and, in consequence of his last will, elected his son Richard protector of the commonwealth. This election was notified to the mayor of London; and, next day, he was proclaimed in that city, and in Westminster. He in a little time received addresses from the different counties and corporations of England, congratulating him upon his succession, which they promised to support with life and fortune. Henry, his brother, who governed Ireland with popularity, ensured him the obedience of that kingdom; and Monk, whose authority was established in Scotland, immediately proclaimed the new protector. The army, every where, with the fleet, acknowledged his title; and foreign ministers were forward in paying him the usual compliments. *A.D. 1658.*
Richard declared protector.

It was found necessary to call a parliament, to furnish supplies for the common exigencies of government. The ancient right of election was restored to all the small boroughs; and the counties were allowed no more than their usual members. The other house, or the house of peers, consisted only of those persons of no real title, who had been advanced to that dignified station by the late protector. *A.D. 1659.*
A parliament.

The parliament was now the least inimical to the protector's authority. His uncle Desborow was a republican, and his brother-in-law Fleetwood an enthusiastic millenarian, consequently both averse to the government of a single person. The latter was the idol of the army, which Richard disoblged by the promotion of some officers against whom they entertained a dislike. Lambert also, and Ludlow, with many other officers whom Oliver had dismissed, came forth from their retreats, and began to cabal against the protector. All these established a meet-
ing

*Cabal of
Walling-
ford-house.*

ing at general Fleetwood's, which, as he dwelt in Wallingford-house, was called the cabal of Wallingford.

Richard was persuaded, by some of his disguised enemies, to call a general council of officers, who, as they pretended, might make him proposals for the good of the army. No sooner were they assembled than they voted a remonstrance; in which it was proposed, that the military power should be entrusted to some person in whom they could all confide; and it was plainly given to understand, that the young protector was not that person.

Richard, alarmed at this proposal, applied to his council; and they referred it to the parliament. Both considered it as an audacious attempt; and a vote was passed, that there should be no meeting or general council of officers, except with the protector's consent, or by his orders. This proceeding brought things immediately to an open rupture. The officers hastened to Richard, and demanded a dissolution of the parliament. Desborow, a man of a clownish and brutal nature, threatened him, if he should refuse compliance. The protector, wanting the resolution to deny, accordingly dissolved that assembly; and, by the same act, himself was, by every one, considered as effectually divested of all power. Soon after he signed his own abdication in form.

*Abdication
of Richard.*

Henry, the deputy of Ireland, who, though endowed with more vigour and capacity, possessed the same moderate disposition with Richard, followed the protector's example, and resigned his commission without striking a blow. Richard continued to possess a moderate estate, but burdened with a large debt which he had contracted for the interment of his father. After the Restoration, though he remained unmolested, he thought proper to travel for some years. He extended his peaceable, inoffensive life to an extreme old age; and died not until the latter end of queen Anne's reign.

*Restoration
of the rump
parliament.*

The council of officers, now possessed of supreme authority, deliberated what form of government they should establish; and, after some consultation, determined to revive the long parliament which had been expelled by Cromwell. This was called the good old cause, from their attachment to republican principles; and to the members of this the cabal of officers, for some time, delivered up their own authority. The members, who had been secluded by colonel Pride's purge, as it was called, attempted, but in vain, to resume their seats among them.

The

The rump-parliament, for such was the name it went by, chose a council, in which they took care that the officers of Wallingford-house should not be the majority. They appointed Fleetwood lieutenant-general; but inserted in his commission, that it should only continue during the pleasure of the house. They chose seven persons who should nominate to such commands as became vacant; and they voted, that all commissions should be received from the speaker, and be signed by him in the name of the house. The tendency of these precautions escaped not the observation of the officers; and their discontent would immediately have broken out into some resolution fatal to the parliament, had it not been checked by apprehensions of danger from the royalists, or presbyterians, who were considered as the common enemy.

In this exigence, the officers held several conferences together, with a design to maintain their authority; and they at length came to the resolution of dissolving that assembly, by which they found themselves opposed. Accordingly, Lambert, one of the general officers, drew up a chosen body of troops; and, placing them in the streets which led to Westminster-hall, when the speaker, Lenthall, proceeded in his carriage to the house, he ordered the horses to be turned, and very civilly conducted him home. The other members were likewise intercepted; and the army returned to their quarters, to observe a solemn fast, which generally either preceded or attended their outrages.

Oct. 13.
*Parliament
expelled.*

The officers, having thus resumed the power they had given, resolved not to relinquish it for the future upon easy terms. They elected a committee of twenty-three persons, of whom seven were officers. These they called a committee of safety, and pretended to invest it with sovereign authority. Fleetwood, a weak zealot, was made commander in chief; Lambert, an artful ambitious man, major-general; Desborow, lieutenant-general; and Monk, who had been invested by Cromwell with the government of Scotland, was appointed major-general of the foot. A military government was now established, which gave the nation the melancholy prospect of an uncontrollable tyranny.

*Committee
of safety.*

Meanwhile, general Monk was at the head of eight thousand veterans in Scotland, and beheld the distractions of his native country with but slender hopes of relieving it. This personage, to whom was reserved the glory of re-establishing monarchy, and putting an end to the bloody dissensions

*General
Monk.*

dissensions of the three kingdoms, was the second son of a respectable family in Devonshire. He betook himself in early youth to the profession of arms; and was engaged in the unfortunate expeditions to Cadiz and the isle of Rhé. After England had concluded peace with foreign powers, he sought military experience in the Low Countries; but, on the breaking out of the civil commotions, he returned to his native country, and was entrusted with a regiment in the service of king Charles. By his humane and equal temper he gained the good-will of the soldiery; who, with a mixture of familiarity and affection, usually called him honest George Monk. At the siege of Nantwich he was made prisoner by Fairfax, and soon after sent to the Tower. He did not recover his liberty until after the total overthrow of the royal party; when Cromwell took him into favour, and sent him to oppose the Irish rebels, against whom he performed signal services. Upon the reduction of that kingdom, he was sent over into Scotland, and there entrusted with the supreme command; in which station he was not less esteemed by the Scots than loved by his own army.

Monk, upon receiving intelligence that the officers had, by their own authority, dissolved the parliament, protested against the violence, and, resolved, as he pretended, to vindicate their invaded privileges. A rivalry having long subsisted between him and Lambert, every body saw the reason why he opposed the elevation of that ambitious general, by whose success his own authority, he knew, would soon be subverted. Little friendship had subsisted between him and the parliamentary leaders; and it seemed, therefore, nowise probable that he intended to make any effort for the advancement of one enemy above another. Deeper designs, either in the king's favour or his own, were suspected to be the motive of his conduct. He drew together the several scattered regiments, and summoned an assembly, resembling a convention of states; to which having communicated his resolution of marching into England, he received a small supply of money. As soon as he put his army into motion, his friendship was eagerly sought after by all the contending parties. His younger brother, a clergyman, who was a zealous royalist, came to him with a message from sir John Granville, in the name of the king. The general asked him, if he had ever communicated the contents of his commission to any other person. His brother replied, to none except to Dr. Price, the general's own chaplain, a man of probity,

bity, and in the royal interests. The general, altering his countenance, at once changed the discourse, and would enter into no farther conference with him. The same deep reserve was maintained through all his subsequent proceedings.

Hearing that Lambert, with his army, was advancing northward to meet him, he sent to London three commissioners, with very earnest professions of an accommodation. His chief aim was to gain time, and relax the preparations of his enemies. The committee of safety fell into the snare. A treaty was signed by Monk's commissioners; but he refused to ratify it, and complained that they had exceeded their powers. Still, however, he made proposals for a new negotiation at Newcastle; and the committee of officers again accepted his fallacious offers.

*Negotiation
between
Monk and
the com-
mittee of
safety.*

Meanwhile, the committee of safety found themselves surrounded with great difficulties. The nation had fallen into total anarchy, refused the payment of all taxes, and loudly exclaimed against the tyranny of the army. While Lambert was in the North, Hazelrig and Morley took possession of Portsmouth, and declared for the parliament. The apprentices in London rose in a tumult, and demanded a free parliament. Admiral Lawson, with his squadron, came into the river, and declared for the parliament; and even the regiments which had been left in the city, being solicited by their old officers, who had been cashiered, revolted to the parliament. The rump, being thus invited on all hands, again ventured to resume their seats, and to thunder their votes in turn against the officers, and that part of the army by which they had been ejected. Without taking any notice of Lambert, they sent orders to the forces under his command immediately to repair to those quarters which had been appointed them. The soldiers were not slow in obeying the parliamentary orders; and Lambert at last found himself deserted by his whole army. He was soon after arrested and committed to the Tower; several other officers were cashiered; sir Harry Vane, and some members who had concurred with the committee of safety, were ordered into confinement; and the parliament seemed now to stand on a firmer foundation than before.

*The rump
restored.*

Monk, though informed of the restitution of the parliament, from which, of consequence, he ought to have received orders, continued to advance with his army, which consisted of near six thousand men. The gentry, on his march, flocked round him with intreaties
and

and addresses, expressing their desire of a new parliament: Fairfax brought him a body of troops, with which he offered to assist in restoring the royal family; but Monk persevering in his taciturnity, that officer quitted the army, and returned to his own house in Yorkshire. Monk, having arrived at St. Alban's, sent the parliament a message, desiring them to remove such forces as remained in London to country-quarters. This message greatly perplexed the house; but they found it necessary to comply. The soldiers, however, made more difficulty; and one regiment, in particular, positively refused, for some time, to yield their place to the northern army. Monk entered London next day, and took up his quarters in Westminster. He soon waited upon the house, which voted him their thanks for the services he had rendered his country. Not being an eloquent speaker, he told them, in a blunt manner, that his only merit was a desire of restoring peace to the community; and, for this purpose, he intreated that they would permit a free parliament to be called.

Feb. 3.
Monk enters London.

So little reverence was paid to the present government by the people, that the citizens resolved to pay no taxes until the members, formerly excluded by colonel Pride, should be replaced. The parliament, finding matters come to an extremity, determined to make at once a full experiment of their own power, and of their general's obedience. They accordingly ordered Monk to march into the city; to seize twelve persons most obnoxious to the parliament; to remove the posts and chains from all the streets; and to take down and break the portcullices and gates of the city. A very few hours were allowed him to deliberate upon the execution of those violent orders; and, to the great surprize of all men, he prepared himself for obedience. He entered the city in a military manner; apprehended as many as he could of the proscribed persons, whom he sent to the Tower; with every circumstance of contempt he broke the gates and portcullices; and, having exposed the city to public derision, returned in triumph to Westminster.

He marches into the city, and destroys the gates.

Next day, the general began to think that he had proceeded too rigorously in the execution of such orders; and, marching again into the city, he desired the mayor to summon a common-council at Guildhall. He there made many apologies for the indignity which he had been obliged to put upon them; assured them of his persever-

ance

ance in the cause of freedom; and that his army would, for the future, co-operate only in such measures as they should approve.

The union of the city and the army caused no small alarm in the house of commons. They were sensible that a free parliament was ardently desired by the whole nation; and that, in case of the dissolution of their own present authority, their power was at an end. Their desire of retaining their situation was increased by the dread of punishment. They had been instrumental in bringing their sovereign to the scaffold; had loaded the nation with various taxes, and some of them had grown rich by the public plunder. They resolved, therefore, to make one effort for the re-establishment of their dominion. They sent a committee with offers to gain the general, who refused to hear them, except in the presence of some of the excluded members. Several of them, desperate with guilt and fanaticism, even promised to invest him with the dignity of supreme magistrate, and to support his usurpation. But Monk was too prudent to listen to such wild proposals; he resolved to restore the secluded members, and, by their means, to bring about a new election. For this purpose, having previously secured the consent of his officers, and exacted from the excluded members a promise, that they would call a full and free parliament, he conducted them to the house of commons, the other members of which were then sitting. Most of the independents immediately left the place. The restored members began by repealing all those orders by which they had been excluded. They renewed and enlarged the general's commission; they fixed an assessment for the support of the fleet and army; and, having passed these votes for the present composure of the kingdom, they dissolved themselves, and issued writs for the immediate assembling of a new parliament. Meanwhile, Monk new-modelled his army to the purposes he had in view. Some officers, by his direction, presented him with an address, in which they promised to obey implicitly the orders of the ensuing parliament. He approved of this engagement, which he desired might be signed by all the different regiments; and this measure furnished him with a pretence for dismissing all the officers by whom it was rejected.

The general still hitherto persevered in his reserve; and nothing but a security of confidence at last extorted a confession from him. He had been intimate with one Morrice, a gentleman of Devonshire, of a sedentary, studious

*Secluded
members
restored.*

*March 16.
Long par-
liament dis-
solved.*

Monk privately receives a message from the king.

disposition, and with whom alone he deliberated on the great enterprize of the Restoration. Sir John Granville, who had a commission from the king, applied to Morrice for access to the general; but received for answer, that the general desired he might communicate his business to Morrice. Granville, though importunately urged, refused, for some time, to deliver his message to any but Monk; upon which the latter, now satisfied that he might depend on Granville's secrecy, admitted him to his presence, and opened to him his whole intentions; but, with his usual caution, scrupled to commit any thing to writingⁿ. He delivered only a verbal message to Granville; assuring the king of his services, and exhorting him instantly to leave the Spanish territories, and retire into Holland, where he might wait for farther advice.

The new elections go every where in favour of the king.

Meantime, the elections for the new parliament went every where in favour of the king's party. The presbyterians had long been so harrassed by the falsehood, the folly, and the tyranny, of their independent coadjutors, that there was nothing they now more sincerely desired than the king's restoration. Uniting, therefore, with the royalists, they formed a decisive majority on every contest, and determined to co-operate for the restoration of the royal family. Though the former parliament had voted, that no one should be elected who had in person, or whose father had, borne arms for the late king, yet very little regard was any where paid to this ordinance; and, in many places, the known loyalty of the candidate was the strongest recommendation to his constituents.

April 25. New parliament.

When the parliament met, they chose for their speaker sir Harbottle Grimstone, a man, at first attached to the republican party, but had long been a convert to the royal interests. The affections of all were turned towards the king; yet such were their fears, and so great the dangers attending a freedom of speech, that no one dared, for some days, to make mention of his name. The members only shewed their loyalty in bitter invectives against the memory of Cromwell, and in execrations against the murder of their late sovereign. At last, the general, having sufficiently founded their inclinations, gave directions to Annesley, president of the council, to inform them, that one sir John Granville, a servant of the king's, had been sent over by his majesty, and was now at the door, with a letter to the commons. Nothing could exceed the trans-

May 1. Granville presents a message from the king to the commons.

ⁿ Lansdowne, Clarendon.

port with which this message was received. The members, for a moment, forgot the dignity of their situation, and indulged themselves in acclamations of applause. Granville was called in, and the letter eagerly read. This was no sooner finished than all at once the house burst into an universal assent to the king's proposals; and, to diffuse the satisfaction over the kingdom, a vote passed, that the letter and declaration should immediately be published.

The king's declaration was received with the utmost joy *The Re-* by every order of the state. It offered a general amnesty *storation,* to all persons whatsoever, and that without any exceptions but such as should be made by parliament. It promised to secure to every subject perfect liberty of conscience; to submit to the examination of parliament the claims of all such as possessed lands with contested titles; to satisfy the army under general Monk with respect to their arrears; and to continue his officers in their several ranks, when they should be received into the king's service.

This declaration was not less pleasing to the nobility than to the people. The lords hastened to re-instate themselves in their ancient authority, and to take their share in the settlement of the nation. It was unanimously resolved, that they should send the king fifty thousand pounds, his brother, the duke of York, ten thousand, and the duke of Gloucester half that sum. Then both houses erased from their records all acts that had passed to the prejudice of royalty. The king was soon afterwards proclaimed with great solemnity, in Palace Yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple Bar. A committee of lords and commons was dispatched to invite his majesty to return, and take possession of the government. The people, now freed from all restraint, gave loose to unbounded joy. Thousands were seen running about frantic with transport; and, as the noble historian observes, such were the numbers of royalists who pressed forward on this occasion, that one could not but wonder where those persons dwelt who had lately done so much mischief.

May 8.
The king
proclaimed.

Great joy
of the na-
tion.

The respect of foreign powers soon followed the submission of the king's subjects. Spain invited him to return to the Low Countries, and embark in some of her maritime towns. France made protestations of the most affectionate regard, and offered Calais for the same purpose. Nor did the States-general neglect to send deputies with a like invitation. The king resolved to accept of the offer from the republic. As he passed from Breda to the Hague, he was attended by numerous crowds, and every where

received with the loudest acclamations. The States-general in a body, and afterwards the states of Holland apart, performed their compliments with the greatest solemnity.

*The king
embarks at
Scheveling,
and lands
at Dover.*

May 29.
*He enters
London.*

The king omitted not to confirm the substance of his declarations to the commissioners, who were dispatched to attend him into his native dominions. Montague, the English admiral, waited upon his majesty to inform him, that the fleet expected his orders at Scheveling. The duke of York immediately repaired on board, and took the command as lord high-admiral. The king went on board; and, landing at Dover, was received by the general, whom he tenderly embraced. On the 29th of May, which was his birth-day, he entered London amidst universal acclamations.

C H A P. IX.

From the Restoration to the Revolution.

C H A R L E S II.

A.D. 1660.

WHEN Charles ascended the throne, he was thirty years of age, possessed of a vigorous and graceful person, and of an elegant address. His whole behaviour was well calculated to support and increase popularity. Accustomed, during his exile, to live on the most intimate terms with his courtiers, he carried the same endearing familiarities to the throne; and, from the levity of his temper, no resentment of former injuries was dreaded. From the whole tenor of his actions and discourse, he seemed desirous of sinking the memory of all past animosities in oblivion, and of uniting men of every denomination in a cordial attachment to their prince and their native country.

*New mi-
nistry.*

The king, without any regard to former distinctions, admitted into his council the most eminent men of the nation. The presbyterians, equally with the royalists, shared this honour. Sir Edward Hyde, who had attended him in his exile, was now created a peer, by the title of lord Clarendon, and appointed lord chancellor, and first minister of state. The marquis, afterwards created duke of Ormond, was appointed lord-steward of the household, the earl of Southampton high-treasurer, and sir Edward Nicholas secretary of state.

Admiral
Montague

Montague received the title of earl of Sandwich. Monk, who had performed such signal services, was created duke of Albemarle.

The king, in his declaration at Breda, had promised an indemnity to all criminals but those who should be excepted by parliament; and he now issued a proclamation, declaring, that such of the late king's judges as did not surrender themselves prisoners within fourteen days should receive no pardon. Nineteen surrendered themselves, some were taken in their flight, and others escaped beyond sea. The commons seemed more inclined to lenity than the lords. The upper house, inflamed by the ill usage which they had received, were resolved, beside the late king's judges, to except every one who had sat in any high court of justice. Nay, the earl of Bristol moved, that no pardon might be granted to those who had anywise contributed to the king's death. So wide an exception, in which every one who had served the parliament might be comprehended, gave a general alarm; but the king soon dissipated their fears. He came to the house of peers, and, in the most earnest terms, urged the act of general indemnity; a measure which was received with great satisfaction and applause. The act, therefore, passed both houses, and soon received the royal assent. Those who had an immediate hand in the late king's death were there excepted. Even Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and others now dead, were attainted, and their estates forfeited. Vane and Lambert, though none of the regicides, were also excepted. St. John, and seventeen persons more, were deprived of all benefit from this act, if they ever accepted any public employment. All who had sat in any illegal high court of justice were disabled from bearing offices. These were all the severities which followed such flagrant violations of the laws and constitutions of the kingdom.

Act of indemnity.

The next business of the parliament was the settlement of the king's revenue. The tenures of wards and liveries had long been regarded as a grievous burden by the nobility and gentry. Several attempts had been made, during the reign of James, to purchase not only this prerogative, but that of purveyance; and two hundred thousand pounds a-year had then been offered to the crown in lieu of them. Wardships and purveyance had been utterly abolished by the republican parliament; and even in the present parliament, before the king arrived in England, a bill had been introduced, offering him a compensation for the emoluments of these prerogatives. A hundred thousand pounds

Settlement of the revenue.

a-year was the sum agreed to; and half of the excise was settled in perpetuity upon the crown, as the fund whence this revenue should be levied. The bargain might be esteemed hard; and it was chiefly the necessity of the king's situation which induced him to give it his consent. Tonnage and poundage, with the other half of the excise, were granted to the king during life. The parliament even proceeded so far as to vote, that the settled revenue of the crown, for all charges, should be one million two hundred thousand pounds a-year; a sum greater than any English monarch had ever before enjoyed. But the deficiency of this allowance appears from the chancellor's calculation, according to which, the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds a-year was requisite for the fleet and other articles, which formerly, while the military force of the princes on the continent was less powerful, cost the crown but eighty thousand pounds. In all the temporary supplies which the parliament voted, they discovered the same frugality. Even towards disbanding the army, so formidable in itself, the commons discovered great jealousy in granting the necessary sum.

*Trial and
execution
of the regi-
cides,*

During the recess of parliament, the public attention was turned to the trial and execution of the regicides, General Harrison, who was first brought to his trial, pleaded his cause with that undaunted firmness which had distinguished him through life. What he had done, he said, was from the impulses of the spirit of God. He would not, he said, for any benefit to himself, hurt a hair of the poorest man or woman upon earth; and, during the usurpation of Cromwell, when all the rest of the world acknowledged his right, or submitted to his power, he had boldly upbraided the usurper to his face. Harrison's death was marked with the same admirable constancy which he displayed at his trial. Carew, Coke, Peters, Scot, Clement, Scrope, Jones, Hacker, and Axtell, shared the same fate. They all suffered not only with passive fortitude, but with the resolution of men who considered the act for which they were condemned as highly meritorious. Some circumstances of barbarity attended the execution of those criminals. Harrison's entrails were torn out, and thrown into the fire before he expired. His head was fixed on the sledge that drew Coke and Peters to the place of execution, with the face turned towards them. The executioner, having mangled Coke, approached Peters, besmeared with the blood of his friend, and asked how he liked that work. Peters, viewing him with
an

an air of scorn, replied, "You have butchered a servant of God in my sight; but I defy your cruelty." The rest of the king's judges were reprieved, and afterwards dispersed into several prisons.

Those transactions were soon followed by the death of the duke of Gloucester, in the twentieth year of his age; a prince of the most promising hopes, and tenderly beloved by the king. The princess of Orange having come to England in order to partake of the joy attending the restoration of her family, soon after sickened and died. The queen-mother paid a visit to her son, and obtained his consent to the marriage of the princess Henrietta with the duke of Orleans, brother to the French king.

Death of the duke of Gloucester, and the princess of Orange. Princess Henrietta married to the duke of Orleans. Dec. 29. Dissolution of the convention-parliament.

After a recess of near two months, both houses met, and proceeded in the great work of the national settlement. Business, being carried on with unanimity, was soon dispatched; and, after they had sat near two months, the king, in a speech full of the most gracious expressions, thought proper to dissolve the parliament.

The councils of Charles were at this time chiefly directed by Clarendon, who conducted himself with wisdom and justice, and endeavoured to promote equally the interests of prince and people. Actuated by these principles, he now hastened to disband the army. When the king reviewed those veteran troops, he was struck with their discipline and martial appearance; and being sensible that regular forces are most useful instruments of sovereign power, he possessed a desire of finding expedients to retain them. But his wise minister set before him the danger which might arise from the mutinous habits in which they had lived so many years; and he convinced the king that, until they were disbanded, he never could consider himself as securely fixed on the throne. The only troops retained were a few guards and garrisons, consisting of about a thousand horse and four thousand foot. This was the first appearance, under the monarchy, of a regular standing army in England.

The army, except some guards and garrisons, disbanded.

Clarendon was now nearly allied to the royal family, His daughter, Anne Hyde, a woman of spirit and fine accomplishments, had hearkened, while abroad, to addresses from the duke of York, and, under promise of marriage, had secretly admitted him to her bed. Some time after the Restoration her pregnancy appeared, and though many endeavoured to persuade the king from consenting to so unequal an alliance, Charles, from a regard to his

*The duke
of York
marries
Lady Anne
Hyde.*

friend and minister, who had been ignorant of these engagements, permitted his brother to marry her*. Clarendon expressed great uneasiness at the honour which he had obtained; and said, that by being elevated so much above his rank, he thence dreaded a more sudden downfall.

*Prelacy
restored.*

The laws, which established bishops and the liturgy, were as yet unrepealed by any legal authority; and any attempt of the parliament, by new acts, to abolish episcopacy, and to give the superiority to presbyterianism, had been sufficient to involve the nation again in blood and confusion. Moved by these views, the commons had wisely postponed the examination of all religious controversy, and had left the settlement of the church to the king and to the ancient laws. Charles at first used great moderation in the execution of the laws. Of the bishops who had been displaced, nine remained alive, and these were immediately restored to their sees. All the ejected clergy recovered their livings, and the liturgy was again admitted into the churches. But at the same time, in order to give contentment to the presbyterians, a declaration was issued, in which the king promised, that he would provide suffragan bishops for the larger dioceses; that all the prelates should be regular and constant preachers; that they should not confer ordination, or exercise any jurisdiction, without the advice or assistance of presbyters, chosen by the diocese; that such alterations should be made in the liturgy as would render it totally unexceptionable; and that the surplice, the cross in baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus, should not be rigidly insisted on. This declaration was issued by the king as head of the church; and if he assumed, in many parts of it, a legislative authority in ecclesiastical matters, it appeared to be justifiable upon the principle of necessity, when the whole fabric of the state had been disjointed by the late convulsions, and required the moderating hand of the chief magistrate to restore it to its former condition.

*Insurrection
of the
Millenarians.*

But this appearance of moderation and neutrality was not able to remove the apprehensions, or restrain the enthusiasm, of a few men, who were impelled by a species of fanaticism, remarkable even in those times of religious extravagance. One Venner, a desperate enthusiast, who had often conspired against Cromwell, and had as often

* King James's Memoirs.

been pardoned, had by this time persuaded his followers, that if they would take arms, Jesus would come to put himself at their head. Their imaginations being inflamed with this idea, they issued forth in complete armour, to the number of sixty persons, into the streets of London, and proclaimed king Jesus wherever they went. They believed themselves invulnerable and invincible, and expected the same fortune which had attended Gideon, and the other heroes of the Old Testament. Every one at first fled before them. One unhappy man being questioned who he was for, and answering, that he was for God and the king, was instantly sacrificed to their fury. In this manner they went from street to street, and made a desperate resistance against a body of the trained-bands that was sent to oppose them. After killing many of the assailants, they made a regular retreat into Caen-wood, near Hampstead. Being chased thence next morning by a party of guards, they returned to London, and took possession of a house, in which they defended themselves until the greater part of them was killed. The rest being taken by the troops, were tried, condemned, and executed; and to the last they persisted in affirming, that if they were deceived, it was the Lord that had deceived them.

In the new parliament an act was passed for the security of the king's person and government. To intend or devise the king's imprisonment, or bodily harm, or deposition, or levying war against him, was declared, during the lifetime of his present majesty, to be high-treason. To affirm him to be a papist or heretic, or to endeavour by speech or writing to alienate the affections of his subjects; these offences were made sufficient to incapacitate the person guilty from holding any employment in church or state. The abuses of petitioning in the preceding reign, having been attended with the worst consequences; and to prevent such irregular practices for the future, it was enacted, that no more than twenty hands should be fixed to any petition, unless with the sanction of three justices, or the major part of the grand jury; and that no petition should be presented to the king or either house by above ten persons. The penalty annexed to a transgression of this law was a fine of a hundred pounds, and three months imprisonment.

The bishops, though restored to their spiritual authority, were still excluded from parliament by the law which the late king had passed, immediately before the commencement of the civil disorders. Great violence, both

A.D. 661.

New parliament.

Bishops' seats restored.

against

against the king and the house of peers, had been employed in passing this law; and on that account the partizans of the church were provided with a plausible pretence for repealing it. Charles expressed much satisfaction, when he gave his assent to the act for that purpose.

A. D. 1662.

Act of uniformity.

This parliament, besides its care of the monarchy, was particularly attentive to the interests of the church. A bill of uniformity, therefore, was passed, by which it was required, that every clergyman should be re-ordained if he had not before received episcopal ordination; should declare his assent to every thing contained in the book of Common Prayer; should take the oath of canonical obedience; should abjure the solemn league and covenant; and should renounce the principle of taking arms, on any pretence whatsoever, against the king. This bill reinstated the church in the same condition in which it stood before the commencement of the civil wars.

Though the parliament gave the strongest proofs of their attachment to the principles of monarchy; yet when any revenue was demanded for the crown, they were not so liberal in their concessions. The king's debts were greatly accumulated, and the commons were at last constrained to vote him an extraordinary supply of one million two hundred thousand pounds, to be levied by eighteen monthly assessments. But besides that this supply was very inadequate to the king's present exigency, he was obliged earnestly to solicit the commons before he could obtain it; and, in order to convince the house of the extreme necessity, he desired them to examine strictly into all his receipts and disbursements. The house, finding upon enquiry, that the several branches of the revenue fell much short of the sums expected, at length voted a new imposition of two shillings on each hearth; and this tax they settled on the king during life. The whole established revenue, however, did not, for many years, exceed a million⁷, a sum confessedly too small for the public expenses.

The king's marriage with the infanta of Portugal.

The king's continual exigencies drove him constantly to measures no way suited to his inclination. Among these was his marriage, celebrated at this time with Catharine, the infanta of Portugal; who, though a virtuous princess, seems to have possessed but few personal attractions. According to the most probable accounts⁸, the resolution of

⁷ D'Estades, 25th July, 1661. Mr. Ralph's History, vol. i. p. 176.

⁸ Carte's Ormond, vol. ii. p. 254.

marrying this princess was taken by the king, unknown to all his ministers; and no remonstrances could prevail with him to alter his intentions. When the matter was laid before the council, all voices concurred in approving the resolution, and the parliament expressed the same complaisance. There seems to be little doubt that Charles's inducement to this measure was the infant's portion, which amounted to three hundred thousand pounds, beside the fortrefs of Tangier in Africa, and of Bombay in the East Indies. For these, therefore, he sacrificed his inclination; and the inauspicious marriage was accordingly celebrated.

Still the king's necessities were greater than his supplies. He had secretly received from France the sum of two hundred thousand crowns for the support of Portugal; but the forces sent over to that country, and the fleets maintained in order to defend it, had already cost the king that sum, and with it, near double the money, which had been paid as the queen's portion^a. The time fixed for payment of his sister's portion to the duke of Orleans was approaching. Tangiers, a fortrefs from which great benefit was expected, was become an additional burden to the crown; and Rutherford, who now commanded at Dunkirk, had increased the charge of that garrison to a hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year. These considerations induced Charles, with the concurrence of Clarendon and Southampton, to sell this place to the French, and it was accordingly transferred for the sum of four hundred thousand pounds.

*Sale of
Dunkirk.*

While this affair was in agitation, Berkstead, Corbet, and Okey, three of the regicides, who had escaped beyond sea, were discovered and arrested in Holland by Downing, the English resident at the Hague. They were conveyed on board an English ship, without giving them time to claim the protection of the States, and were executed at Tyburn, where they behaved with more moderation and submission than any of the regicides who had suffered. Their trial was soon followed by that of sir Henry Vane and general Lambert, who had been excepted from the act of indemnity, as principal authors of the troubles, though they were not in the number of those who sat in judgment on the late king. Their execution had been suspended at the intercession of the convention-parliament; but the new parliament, more zealous for

*Execution
of Berk-
stead, Cor-
bet, and
Okey.*

*Trial and
execution
of Vane.*

^a D'Estades, August 17, 1662.

monarchy, applied for their trial and condemnation. Vane was indicted for his conduct after the king's death; and defended himself with great ability: but the court, considering more the general opinion of his active guilt in the beginning and prosecution of the civil wars, than the articles of treason charged against him, took advantage of the letter of the law, and brought him in guilty. Though naturally timid, he was so animated by his enthusiasm, as to bear his fate with fortitude and composure. When brought to the scaffold, he began to address the multitude in justification of the cause in which he had embarked; but his voice was drowned by the noise of drums and trumpets. Lambert was likewise found guilty and condemned; but, in consequence of his submissive behaviour at his trial, he obtained a reprieve, and was confined to the island of Guernsey, where he lived twenty years in oblivion.

Aug. 24.
Presbyter-
ian clergy
ejected.

The fatal St. Bartholomew now approached; the day on which the clergy were obliged, by the late law, either to relinquish their livings, or to sign the articles required of them. A combination had been entered into by the more zealous of the presbyterian ecclesiastics to refuse the subscription, in hopes that the bishops would not venture at once to expel so great a number of popular preachers. The catholic party at court, who wished for a division among the Protestants, encouraged them in this resolution, and even gave them to understand that the king would protect them in their refusal. Charles himself, by his irresolute conduct, contributed, either from design or accident, to increase this opinion. Above all, the terms of subscription had been made extremely rigid, on purpose to disgust the zealous and scrupulous among the presbyterians, and deprive them of their livings. About two thousand of the clergy, in one day, relinquished their cures, and, to the astonishment of the court, sacrificed their interest to their religious tenets. During the dominion of the parliamentary party, a fifth of each living had been allowed to the ejected clergymen; but this indulgence, though at first insisted on by the house of peers, was now refused to the presbyterians. Bishopricks were offered to Calamy, Baxter, and Reynolds, leaders among the presbyterians; but the last only could be prevailed on to accept. Deaneries and other preferments were refused by many.

The presbyterians, thinking themselves unjustly oppressed, petitioned the king and council to exempt them
from

from the penalties specified in the act of uniformity; and his majesty issued a proclamation, that, though he adhered with all his heart to that act, yet, out of regard to his subjects, he was willing to dispense with their observing some of the particulars which it specified. This indulgence was planned on purpose to favour the Catholics, and therefore transacted without the privity and concurrence of the chancellor, whose credit with the king now began to decline. Clarendon was a violent enemy to the Papists, and on that account hated by the queen-mother, the duke of York, and the earl of Bristol, who had turned Roman catholic during his exile. The chancellor was likewise obnoxious to Mrs. Palmer, the king's favourite concubine, who was afterwards created duchess of Cleveland. She failed not, therefore, to undermine his interest with his master; and in this attempt she proved successful. Secretary Nicholas, the chancellor's great friend, was removed from his place, and sir Henry Bennet, his avowed enemy, was advanced to that office.

A.D. 1653.

*Decline of
Clarendon's
credit.*

In the next session the commons, having examined the obstacles to the trade of the nation, voted, that the wrongs and indignities offered by the Dutch in the Indies, Africa, and elsewhere, to the subjects of England, had, in a great measure, obstructed the trade of the nation; that his majesty should be entreated to procure reparation for these wrongs; for which purpose the two houses would assist him to the utmost of their power. This was the prelude of a war with Holland, upon which the king had been for some time determined, from the means which it might afford him of converting a part of the supplies to his private emolument. His brother also, the duke of York, longed for an opportunity of signaling his courage and conduct as high admiral, against a people he hated, not only for their republican principles, but as being one of the chief bulwarks of the protestant religion.

*Rupture
with Hol-
land.*

This war commenced on each side with depredations. The English, under the command of sir Robert Holmes, not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corse castle, on the coast of Africa, but seized the Dutch settlements of Cape Verde, and the isle of Goree. Sailing thence to America, the admiral took possession of Nova Belgia, since called New York. On the other hand, De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, sailed to Guinea, and dispossessed the English of all their settlements in those parts, except Cape Corse. He then sailed to America, and attacked Barba-

does, but was repulsed. He afterwards committed hostilities on Long Island.

Charles had as yet received no supplies from the parliament for the support of the war; but by his own funds and credit he was enabled to equip a fleet. The city of London lent him a hundred thousand pounds. Himself went from port to port, inspecting with great diligence, and encouraging the naval preparations. Soon after, the two most considerable fleets of each nation met, one under the duke of York, to the number of a hundred and fourteen sail, the other, nearly of equal force, commanded by the Dutch admiral Opdam. The engagement began about four in the morning, and both sides fought with their usual intrepidity. The duke of York was in the hottest part of the engagement, and behaved with great spirit and composure, while several of his attendants were killed beside him. In the heat of the action, when engaged in close fight with the duke, the ship of the Dutch admiral blew up. This accident much discouraged the Dutch, who fled towards their own coast. They had nineteen ships sunk and taken, while the English lost but one. This disaster threw the Dutch into consternation; and de Wit, their great minister, in order to support the declining courage of his countrymen, came on board, and took on himself the command of the fleet. This extraordinary man quickly became as much master of naval affairs if he had from his infancy been educated in them. He even made considerable improvements in the art of sailing.

A.D. 1665.

June 3.
*Victory of
the Eng-
lish.*

*Rupture
with
France and
Denmark.*

The success of the English excited the jealousy of the neighbouring states, particularly France and Denmark, which resolved on supporting the Dutch in their unequal contest. The latter, being thus strengthened by so powerful an alliance, determined to face the English once more. De Ruyter, their great admiral, was returned from his expedition to Guinea, and was appointed, at the head of seventy-six sail, to join the duke of Beaufort, the French admiral, who was supposed to be then entering the British channel from Toulon. The English fleet, which did not exceed seventy-four sail, was now commanded by the duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert. Albemarle, who from his successes under Cromwell had learned too much to despise the enemy, proposed to dispatch prince Rupert with twenty ships to oppose the duke of Beaufort. Sir George Ayscue, well acquainted with the force of the enemy, protested against the temerity of this resolution;

but.

but Albemarle's authority prevailed. The remainder of the English set sail to give battle to the Dutch, who seeing the enemy advance quickly upon them, cut their cables, and prepared for the combat. The battle that ensued is one of the most memorable in history. It began with incredible fury. The Dutch admiral, Evertzen, was killed by a cannon-ball; one vessel of their fleet was blown up, and one of the English taken. Darknefs parted the combatants. The second day they renewed the action with increased animosity. Sixteen French ships joined the Dutch; and the English being so shattered that their fighting ships were reduced to twenty-eight, found themselves obliged to retreat towards their own coast. The Dutch followed them, and another dreadful conflict was on the point of beginning, when a calm, which came on a little before night, suspended the engagement. The morning of the third day the English were obliged to continue their retreat, and the Dutch persisted in pursuing. Albemarle, who closed the rear, formed the desperate resolution of blowing up his ship rather than submit to the enemy; but he happily found himself reinforced by prince Rupert with sixteen ships of the line. By this time it was night, and the next morning, after a distant cannonading, the fleets came to a close combat, which was continued with great violence, until they were parted by a mist. Sir George Ayscue, in a ship of a hundred guns, had the misfortune to strike on the Galoper-sands, where he was surrounded and taken. The English retired first into their harbours; but it is doubtful which side obtained the victory.

A second engagement, equally bloody, followed soon after, with larger fleets on both sides, commanded by the same admirals. In this the Dutch was obliged to own themselves vanquished, and retreated into their harbours. But, by the junction of Beaufort, the French admiral, they were again in a capacity to outnumber the English fleet. That of the Dutch, commanded by de Ruyter, appeared in the Thames, and threw the English into the utmost consternation. A chain had been drawn across the river Medway; and some fortifications had been added to the forts along the banks; but all those were unequal to the present force. Sheerness was soon taken; the Dutch pressed forward, and broke the chain, though fortified by some ships sunk there by Albemarle's orders. Destroying the shipping in their passage, they advanced still onward, with six men of war and five fire-ships, as

A.D. 1666.

 June 1.
*Sea-fight of
four days.*

 July 25.
*Victory of
the Eng-
lish.*
*The Dutch
fleet enters
the Thames.*

far

far as Upnore castle, where they burned three men of war. The whole city of London was in consternation, expecting that the Dutch might sail up next tide to London Bridge, and even destroy the capital. But, from the failure of the French, who had promised their assistance, the Dutch found themselves unable to effect this project. Having, therefore, spread an alarm, they returned to their own ports, to boast their insult on the British glory.

Sept. 2.
Fire of
London.

The English felt great indignation at this disgrace, which was not now the only calamity which affected them. London had, the year before, been visited by a plague, which swept away more than a hundred thousand of its inhabitants; and this fatal event was soon followed by another no less dreadful. A fire breaking out at a baker's house near the bridge, spread itself on all sides with such rapidity, that it laid in ashes the most considerable part of the city. The conflagration continued for three days; and it was only by the blowing up of houses that it was at last extinguished. During this terrible scene the king and duke were assiduous in using every effort for extinguishing the flames. About four hundred streets, and thirteen thousand houses were reduced to ashes. As the streets were narrow, and mostly built of wood, the flames spread the faster, and the unusual dryness of the season prevented the proper supplies of water; but the people was not satisfied with these obvious causes. Having been long taught to impute their calamities to the machination of their enemies, they ascribed the present misfortune either to the presbyterians or to the Roman catholics, though most generally the latter, on account of this sect being chiefly the object of detestation. But no proof, or even presumption, after the strictest enquiry by a committee of parliament, ever appeared to authorize such a calumny. Yet, in order to give countenance to the popular prejudice, the inscription, engraved by authority on the Monument, ascribed the calamity to that obnoxious sect; and this inscription still continues as a proof of the blind credulity of the times. This calamity, though it affected the fortune of thousands, in the end proved both beneficial and ornamental to the city. The capital rose from its ruins in greater splendor than ever; and the streets being widened, and built of brick instead of wood, became thus more wholesome and more secure.

The war with the Dutch was now exclaimed against by the nation as unsuccessful and unnecessary; and Charles began

began to be sensible, that all the ends for which he had undertaken it were likely to prove ineffectual. Whatever projects he might have formed, of secreting for his own use the money granted by parliament, he had hitherto failed in his expectation; and, instead of supplying his coffers, he found himself considerably in debt. Proposals for an accommodation were therefore made, which, in the end, the Dutch consented to accept, and a treaty was concluded at Breda, by which the colony of New York was ceded to the English.

A D. 1667.

Peace of
Breda.

As the English had failed in gaining redress upon the complaints which gave rise to the war, the peace was, upon the whole, considered as inglorious; and to appease the clamours of the people by some sacrifice, seemed requisite before the meeting of parliament. In these circumstances the prejudices of the nation pointed out the victim. Clarendon was, at this time, much exposed to the hatred of the public, and of every party which divided the nation. All the numerous sectaries regarded him as their determined enemy. The Catholics knew, that while he retained any authority, all their credit with the king and the duke could procure them no effectual indulgence. Even the royalists, disappointed in their sanguine hopes of preferment, threw a great load of envy on Clarendon, who seemed, for some time, to have possessed the whole power of government. Many accusations were now urged against him: the sale of Dunkirk, the bad payment of the seamen, the disgrace at Chatham, the unsuccessful conclusion of the war; all these misfortunes were charged on the chancellor, who, though he had ever opposed the rupture with Holland, thought it his duty to justify what he could not prevent. A building likewise, more expensive than his slender fortune could afford, had been undertaken by him; and to this, which was regarded as a structure raised from the plunder of the public, the populace commonly gave the appellation of Dunkirk-house. The rigid virtue of Clarendon, instead of securing the esteem, had long incurred the dislike of the king and his dissolute courtiers, and therefore inclination and policy concurred to make Charles sacrifice him to popular prejudices. The great-seal was taken from him, and given to sir Orlando Bridgeman, by the title of lord-keeper.

Fall of
Clarendon.

The dismissal of the chancellor might have answered every pretended purpose of public good; but it was not sufficient to gratify the malice of his enemies. The house of commons, in their address to the king, thanked him

for the dismissal of that nobleman; and immediately a charge was opened against him in the house. It consisted of seventeen articles, which were either false or frivolous. Clarendon, finding that the popular torrent, united to the violence of power, ran with impetuosity against him, thought proper to withdraw to France. The parliament then passed a bill of banishment and incapacity, while Clarendon continued to reside in a private manner at Paris, where he survived his banishment six years, and employed his leisure chiefly in reducing into form his History of the Civil Wars, for which he had before collected materials.

*Triple
alliance.*

Soon after the fall of this statesman, the king formed a confederacy of great importance, known by the name of the Triple Alliance. It was conducted by the celebrated sir William Temple, and had for its object a union between England, Holland, and Sweden, to prevent the French king from completing his conquests in the Netherlands, where his arms had already made great progress.

A.D. 1668.

When the parliament met, in February, the king informed them of these transactions, demanded a speedy supply for equipping a fleet, and fortifying the maritime parts of the kingdom; and earnestly desired that they would deliberate on ways and means for effecting a union with respect to religion among all his protestant subjects. The commons were so offended at the king's lenity towards non-conformists, that they did not even thank him for the the triple alliance, though it has ever since been esteemed a most salutary measure. The king, in vain, reiterated his solicitations for supply; represented the necessity of equipping a fleet; and even offered, that the money which they should grant should be collected and issued for that purpose by commissioners appointed by the house. Instead of complying, the commons voted an enquiry into the miscarriages during the late war. But at length, having been indulged in all their prejudices, they were prevailed with to vote the king three hundred and ten thousand pounds, after which they were adjourned.

A.D. 1669.

The king's necessities obliged him again to assemble the parliament, which now shewed some disposition to relieve him; but not without his yielding to new laws against conventicles. In the next session the act against conventicles passed, and received the royal assent. By this act;

A.D. 1670.

the hearer in a conventicle (that is, in a dissenting assembly, where more than five persons, beside the family, were

were present) was fined five shillings for the first offence, ten for the second; the preacher twenty pounds for the first offence, forty for the second. The person, in whose house the conventicle met, was amerced in a like sum with the preacher.

Some attempts were at this time made by the king to effect a union between England and Scotland. Commissioners were even appointed to meet, in order to regulate the conditions; but the design, chiefly by the intrigues of Lauderdale, was soon after rendered abortive.

The king's counsels, though negligent and fluctuating, had hitherto, in the main, been calculated for the public good; but they now became for some time remarkably impolitic, and were followed by such consequences as had almost terminated in the ruin both of prince and people.

The committee of council, established for foreign affairs, was entirely changed, and the whole business was entrusted to five persons, Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale. This ministry was known by the

The Cabal.

appellation of the Cabal, a word containing the initial letters of their names. Never was there a more dangerous administration in England, nor one more fitted to operate the ruin of the state. Sir Thomas Clifford was a man of a daring and impetuous spirit, rendered more dangerous by eloquence and intrigue. Lord Ashley, soon after known by the title of earl of Shaftesbury, was the most extraordinary man of his age: he had been a member of the long parliament, and had great influence among the presbyterians: he had insinuated himself into the confidence of Cromwell, and afterwards had a considerable hand in the Restoration: he was turbulent, ambitious, subtle, and enterprising. The duke of Buckingham was gay, capricious, possessed of some wit, and great vivacity, but unrestrained either by prudence or principle. Arlington was a man of a very moderate capacity, with good intentions, but he wanted the courage to persevere in them. Lastly the duke of Lauderdale, who was not defective in natural, still less in acquired talents; but his understanding was not just, and his temper was violent and tyrannical: he was, besides, ambitious, obstinate, insolent, and sullen. These were the men to whom Charles entrusted the conduct of his affairs; and who plunged the remaining part of his reign into difficulties, which had nearly proved fatal to his government. They suggested to the king, that the parliament, though the spirit of party, at present, attached it to the crown, was still more attached to those powers and privileges, which had, during many

preceding years been usurped from the sovereign : that it not only kept the king in dependence by means of his precarious revenue, but had never discovered a suitable generosity, even in those temporary supplies which it had granted him : that it was high time for the king to recover that authority, which his predecessors, during so many ages, had peaceably enjoyed : that the great error of his father was the not having formed any close connection with foreign princes, who, on the breaking out of rebellion, might have found their interest in supporting him : that a war with Holland, undertaken in conjunction with the French king, would be the most advantageous measure which he could adopt : that under pretence of that war, it would not be difficult to raise a military force, without which, during the prevalence of republican principles among his subjects, the king would in vain expect to defend his prerogative : that his naval power might be maintained, partly by the supplies, which, on other pretences, would be previously obtained from parliament ; partly by subsidies from France ; and partly by captures, which might easily be made on that opulent republic : and that in such a situation, an attempt to recover the ancient authority of the crown could not fail of being attended with success.

These suggestions unfortunately concurred with the inclinations and prejudices of the king, who, from the beginning of his reign, seems to have entertained a great jealousy of his own subjects, and, on that account, a desire of fortifying himself by an intimate alliance with France.

Colbert de Croissy, the French ambassador at London, had already founded the inclinations of the king and his ministers, touching an alliance with his master ; and he found them very favourably disposed to forward Lewis's design of rendering himself master of Flanders. Colbert having thus paved the way for a negotiation, the king of France made a pretence of visiting his frontiers, particularly to inspect his new works at Dunkirk ; and he carried with him the queen and the whole court. While he remained at this place, the duchess of Orleans took the opportunity of going over to England ; and Charles met her at Dover, where they passed ten days together in great mirth and festivity. She was one of the most amiable princesses of the age, and loved her brother with the warmest affection. She had a commission to assure Charles, that, provided he would enter into engagements for humbling

The king receives a visit from the duchess of Orleans.

humbling the Dutch, Lewis would enable him effectually to shake off the yoke of parliament, and restore the Catholic religion in England. To render more certain his acquiescence in these measures, the French king sent over with the duchess, a young lady named Querouaille, of extraordinary beauty and accomplishments, by which she instantly captivated the heart of Charles. She accompanied him to London, was created duchess of Portsmouth, and, maintaining her empire over him during the whole course of his life, kept him firm in his connections with France.

The satisfaction, which Charles reaped from this alliance, was greatly diminished by an incident which made a deep impression upon his mind. The duchess of Orleans, immediately after her return to France, having taken a glass of succory-water, by the direction of her physicians, was instantly seized with violent agonies, of which she expired. Strong suspicions of poison arose in the court of France, and were spread all over Europe; and as her husband had discovered many symptoms of jealousy and discontent, he was universally believed to be the author of the crime. When the news of her death was brought to Whitehall by sir Thomas Armstrong, who, at the same time, communicated the suspicion of her having been poisoned, the king melted in a flood of tears, and expressed his indignation against the duke of Orleans, in the most bitter terms of reproach. But he soon checked his passion, and said, "Thomas, I beg you will not mention a syllable of this matter." Charles, during some time, was entirely convinced of the duke of Orleans guilt; but upon receiving the attestation of physicians, who, on opening her body, found no foundation for the general rumour, he was, or pretended to be, satisfied; and the duke of Buckingham, on pretence of carrying compliments of condolence to the duke of Orleans, was dispatched to France, with power to sign the treaty which had been negotiated by the duchess.

*Death of
the duchess
of Orleans.*

While these measures were secretly in agitation, the parliament met, according to adjournment. After a short speech from the throne, the lord-keeper insisted much on the king's great want of supply; the mighty increase of the naval power of France, with the decay of that of England; the necessity of equipping next year a fleet of fifty sail; and the obligations which the king lay under by several treaties to exert himself for the common good of Christendom. Among those treaties, he particularly men-

planned the triple alliance, and the double league with the Spaniards. The articles were not published. The heads of commons, entirely satisfied with the king's measures, voted him considerable supplies.

During this session the commons passed the Coventry-law, by which the practice of gaming was made a capital crime. This law derived its origin from an outrage committed upon a member of parliament. A proposal having been made in the house for laying a tax upon play-houses, it was opposed by the commons, one of whom observed, that the players were the king's servants, and a part of his pleasure. Sir John Coventry, a gentleman of the country-party, asked, whether it was majesty's pleasure to lay a tax upon the male or the female players. This question was considered as an insolent violation of that respect which was due to the crown; and as the more grievous to Charles, as he at that time entertained Dudley and Nell Gwynn, two concubines whom he had taken from the theatre. It was therefore thought necessary that Coventry should be punished for his freedom. Smith, Oglethorpe, and some other officers of the guard were ordered to wait on him, and to set a mark upon him. He defrauded himself with beavery, and after wounding several of the assailants, was with some difficulty drawn. They cut his nose to the bone, in order, as they said, to touch him, what respect he owed to the king. The commons were indignant by this indignity offered to one of their members, on account of words spoken in the house. They passed the law above mentioned, and inserted a clause, that some persons, who had assaulted Sir John Coventry, should be incapable of receiving a pardon from the crown.

If in this transaction the king was blamed for unnecessary severity, he was also exposed to the imputation of a capricious lenity; for another which happened about the same time. Nicoll, a disbanded officer of the protector's, had been engaged in the conspiracy for raising an insurrection in Ireland; on account of which crime, himself had been attainted, and some of his accomplices capitally punished. The desperate ruffian meditated revenge upon Ormond, the lord-lieutenant. He followed to make into England, attacked his coach in the night as it lay along the streets, and with the assistance of some accomplices made himself master of that nobleman's person. Manifesting resentment in his vengeance, he resolved to hang the duke at Tyburn; and for that purpose bound him, and mounted him on horseback behind one of his companions. They

had advanced a considerable way into the fields; when the duke, making a signal for his liberty, threw himself on the ground, and brought down with him the assassin to whom he was bound. While they were struggling together in the night, Ormond's servants, who had been by this time alarmed, ran up to his assistance. Blood and his companions, being discharged their pistols at the duke, rode off, and escaped by favour of the darkness. A little after, he performed the design of carrying off the regalia from the tower; and he so far succeeded in his project, that he actually seized the crown, and passed out at the Towergate, with three accomplices, after having left Edmund the keeper of the jewel-office, seemingly dead of grief on which he had received in defending his trust. But the guards being alarmed, they pursued and apprehended the villains. One of them was known to have been concerned in the attempt upon Ormond; and Blood was immediately concluded to be the ringleader. When a question was put to him, he frankly owned himself the author of the enterprize; but refused to discover his accomplices, saying, the fear of death should never persuade him to deny a crime, or to betray a friend. These extraordinary circumstances making him the general subject of conversation, the king was moved with a curiosity offering and speaking with a person, so noted for his crime and his intrepidity. Blood was not insensible how he might turn this incident to his advantage. He said that, that, on account of the severity which had been exercised over the consciences of the gods, he had been engaged, with others, in a design to kill his majesty with a carbine above Battersea, where he often went to bat: that with this view, he had taken his stand among the reeds; but his mind was so overpowered with awe of majesty, that not only himself relented, but he started his associates from their purpose. He said that he had long been perfectly indifferent about life, which he now considered as lost; but he gave the king to understand, that his associates had bound themselves by the most solemn oaths, to revenge the death of any of the confederacy; and that no precaution or power could elude their desperate resolution. Whether the king was prompted by admiration of the man's boldness, or by fear of assassination; he resolved on granting Blood a pardon; but he thought it a point of decency first to obtain the duke of Ormond's consent. Blood was not only pardoned but gratified with an estate of five hundred pounds

a year in Ireland. The king even encouraged his attendance about his person, and showed him great countenance; while old Edwards, who had bravely ventured his life, and had been wounded in defending the crown and regalia, was neglected.

The duke of York declares himself a Catholic.

In the month of March the duchess of York died. In her last sickness, she made open profession of the Romish religion; and soon after her death, the duke publicly declared his attachment to the same church, to which he had become a convert during his exile.

The immediate views of the cabal at this juncture being directed to a war with Holland, it was necessary to break the triple alliance, and find a pretext for beginning hostilities. Sir Henry Coventry was dispatched as ambassador to Sweden; and sir George Downing sent to the Hague, in the room of sir William Temple. A ground of quarrel was sought by means of a yacht, dispatched for lady Temple. The captain sailed through the Dutch fleet, which lay on their own coasts; and he had orders to make them strike, to fire on them, and to persevere until they should return his fire. The Dutch admiral Van Ghent, surpris'd at this extraordinary behaviour, came on board the yacht, and expressed his willingness to pay respect to the British flag, according to usual practice; but he said it was not to be expected, that a large fleet, commanded by an admiral, and on their own coasts, would lower their top-sails to a single vessel, which was not even a ship of war. The captain, thinking it dangerous, as well as absurd, to renew firing in the midst of the Dutch fleet, continued his course; and, on his return, was committed to the Tower, for not having sufficiently asserted the honour of his majesty.

This incident, however, furnished Downing with an additional article to increase those vain pretences, on which it was purposed to ground the intended rupture. The English court delayed making any complaint for several months, lest the Dutch might have had time to grant satisfaction. Even when Downing delivered his memorial, he was instructed not to accept of any satisfaction after a certain number of days; a manner of negotiating particularly impracticable in Holland, where the forms of the republic will not admit of so speedy a determination. An answer, however, though refused by Downing, was sent over to London by an ambassador extraordinary, who had orders to use every means for accommodating the matter with the court of England. The English ministers replied, that

the answer of the Hollanders was ambiguous and obscure ; but they would not specify the articles or expressions which were liable to that objection. The Dutch ambassador requested the English ministry to draw the answer in what terms they pleased, and told them that he would sign it ; but they replied, that it was not their business to draw papers for the Dutch. The ambassador brought them the draught of an article, and asked them whether it was satisfactory : the English answered, that when he had signed and delivered it, they would tell him their mind concerning it. The Dutchman resolved to sign it at a venture ; and on his demanding a new audience, an hour was appointed for that purpose ; but when he attended, the English refused to enter upon business, and told him, that the season for negociation was now past ^b.

The contracting parties, in the league against Holland, had agreed that the French king, the elector of Cologne, and the bishop of Munster, should fall upon the territories of the States-general in three different places, while the combined fleets of France and England should attack their navy, and distress their commerce. Nothing retarded the commencement of hostilities but the indigence of Charles, who, though he had received two millions five hundred thousand pounds from parliament, and seven hundred thousand livres by stipulation, from the king of France, still found himself in necessity. He gave his ministry to understand, that he could not begin the war without a farther supply of five hundred thousand pounds ; and as he could not have recourse to the parliament, which was prorogued, he promised to confer the office of treasurer upon him who should contrive a practicable expedient for raising that sum of money. The person most fortunate in his invention, was sir Thomas Clifford, who proposed to stop the payments of the exchequer. It had been usual for the bankers to carry their money to the exchequer, and to advance it upon the security of the funds, by which they were afterwards reimbursed, when the money was levied on the public. The bankers, by this traffic, got eight, sometimes ten per cent. for sums, which either had been consigned to them without interest, or which they had borrowed at six per cent. The measure, proposed by sir Thomas Clifford, was so suddenly taken, that none had warning of the danger. A general confusion prevailed in the city, followed by the ruin of many.

A.D 1672.

 2d Jan.
 Exchequer
 shut.

^b England's Appeal, p. 22.

The bankers stopped payment; and the merchants could answer no bills; all commerce was interrupted, and a universal consternation seized the kingdom. The king published a declaration, excusing this step as the effect of necessity, and promising to do justice to the creditors of the crown. But little regard being paid to the declaration, he convened the bankers at the treasury, and assured them from his own mouth, that they should be punctually satisfied, either from the next supplies granted by parliament, or out of his own revenue: he therefore desired that they would answer the draughts of the merchants, so that business might not be interrupted.

Arbitrary proceedings of the court,

That the counsels pursued at this time, by the king and his ministers, were arbitrary and unconstitutional, appears from another measure, which, when considered in itself, may be ascribed to liberal policy. Charles, resolved to make use of his supreme power in ecclesiastical matters, issued, by virtue of this authority, a proclamation, suspending the penal laws, enacted against all non-conformists and recusants; and granting to the protestant dissenters the public exercise of their religion, and to the catholics the exercise of it in private houses. At the same time, the act of navigation was suspended by the king's authority; a measure, which, though a stretch of prerogative, seemed useful to commerce, while all the seamen were employed on board the royal navy. An army had been levied; and it was found, that discipline could not be enforced without the exercise of martial law, which was therefore established by order of council, though contrary to the petition of right. These, and some other acts of power, however unimportant in themselves, were no wise suitable to that legal administration, which, after so violent commotions, the nation had hope of seeing established. The lord-keeper, having refused to affix the great-seal to the declaration for suspending the penal laws, was for that reason, though under other pretences, removed from his office; and Shaftesbury was made chancellor in his place.

Attack of the Dutch Smyrna fleet.

Before the declaration of war with Holland, an attempt was made on the Dutch fleet by sir Robert Holmes. This fleet consisted of seventy sail, valued at a million and a half, and the hopes of seizing so rich a prey had been a great motive for engaging Charles in the present war. Holmes, with nine frigates and three yachts, had orders to go on this expedition. In the channel, he passed Sprague, who was returning with a squadron from a cruise in the Mediterranean,

Mediterranean. Sprague informed him of the near approach of the Hollanders ; and had not Holmes, from a desire of engrossing the honour and profit of the enterprize, concealed his orders, the conjunction of the two squadrons must infallibly have secured success. When Holmes approached the Dutch, he put on an amicable appearance, and invited the admiral, Van Nefs, who commanded the convoy, to come on board of him. One of the captains gave a like insidious invitation to the rear-admiral. But these officers, having received information of the hostile intentions of the English, were on their guard, and had already put all the ships of war and merchant-men in an excellent posture of defence. Three times were they assailed by the English with great impetuosity, and as often did they valiantly defend themselves. In the third attack one of the Dutch ships of war was taken ; as were three or four of the least considerable merchant-men. The rest continued their course ; and favoured by a mist, got safe into their own harbours. The States-general exclaimed loudly against this pyratrical attempt, as it was denominated ; while the English ministry endeavoured to apologize for it, by pretending that it was a casual rencounter, occasioned by the obstinacy of the Dutch, in refusing the honours of the flag.

Until this incident the states, notwithstanding all the menaces and preparations of the English, never believed they were thoroughly in earnest ; but Charles was determined to proceed. He immediately issued a declaration of war against the Dutch ; though reasons more false and frivolous never were employed to justify a flagrant violation of treaty. Some complaints are there made of injuries done to the East India company, which yet that company disavowed : the detention of some English ships in Surinam is mentioned ; though it appears that the persons who occupied them voluntarily remained there : the refusal of a Dutch fleet on their own coasts to strike to an English yacht, is much aggravated : and beside these pretences, mention is made of some abusive pictures, which are represented as a ground of quarrel. The Dutch were long at a loss to know to what this article alluded ; until it was discovered, that a portrait of Cornelius de Wit, brother to the pensionary, painted by order of certain magistrates at Dort, and hung up in a chamber of the town-house, had given occasion to the complaint. In the perspective of this piece, the painter had represented some ships on fire in a harbour. This was construed to be

*War with
Holland.*

Chatham,

Chatham, where De Wit had acquired much honour. Charles, to complete the farce, pretended, in his declaration, that he would still faithfully adhere to the triple alliance. Meanwhile, he ordered all the Dutch ships that were in English harbours, to be seized, contrary to an express article in the treaty of Breda. The Dutch followed his example; but afterwards released their captures, observing that his breach of faith was not a sufficient reason for their imitating such unjustifiable conduct. After so uncommon an instance of candour and generosity, Charles was ashamed to detain their vessels, which therefore were set at liberty.

The English now saw themselves engaged in a league with France against the Dutch; and consequently, whether victorious or vanquished, their efforts were like to be equally unsuccessful. The French monarchy had for some years been growing into power; and now, under the conduct of the ambitious Lewis XIV. it began to threaten the liberties of Europe, and particularly the protestant religion, of which Lewis had shewn himself a determined enemy. The people, therefore, beheld with dissatisfaction a confederacy, which, if successful, must subvert the balance of power, which the Protestants aimed at preserving. Nor were they less apprehensive of their own sovereign, who, though he pretended to turn all religion to ridicule in his gayer hours, yet was secretly attached to the Catholics, or was very much suspected of being so. The first events of this war, therefore, were correspondent to their fears of French treachery. The English and French combined fleets, commanded by the duke of York, and the marechal d'Etrées, met the Dutch fleet to the number of ninety sail, commanded by admiral de Ruyter, and a furious battle ensued. In this engagement, the gallant Sandwich, who commanded the English van, drove his ship into the midst of the enemy, beat off the admiral that ventured to attack him, sunk another ship that attempted to board him, and sunk three fire-ships that endeavoured to grapple with him. Though his vessel was torn with shot, and out of a thousand men there remained only four hundred, he still continued to thunder in the midst of the engagement. At last, a fire-ship, more fortunate than the preceding, having laid hold of his vessel, her destruction was now inevitable. Sandwich, however, though warned by sir Edward Haddock, his captain, refused to quit his ship, and heroically embraced death as a shelter from that ignominy, which a rash expression of the duke's, he thought, had thrown upon him.

28th May.
*Battle of
Solebay.*

*Earl of
Sandwich
killed.*

him. Night parted the combatants; the Dutch retired, and were not followed by the English. The loss sustained by the Dutch and English was nearly equal; but the French suffered very little, not having entered into the heat of the engagement. It was even suspected that they had orders for this conduct, and to spare their own ships, while the two other powers should grow weak by their mutual animosities.

The combined powers were much more successful against the Dutch by land. Lewis crossed the Rhine, took all the frontier towns of the enemy, and even threatened the republic with total ruin. Terms of accommodation were proposed to the states by the confederates. Lewis offered them such as would have deprived them of all power of resisting an invasion from Flanders by land; while those of Charles exposed them equally to every invasion by sea. At last, the murmurs of the English at seeing this brave and industrious people, the supporters of the protestant cause, on the brink of destruction, were too loud not to impress the king. He was obliged to call a parliament, how much soever he dreaded the assembling of that body at present. The eyes of all men were fixed on this session, which met, after prorogations continued for near two years. Before the commons entered upon business, there lay before them an affair, which discovered, beyond a possibility of doubt, the arbitrary projects of the king. It had been a constant practice in the house for many years, in case of any vacancy, to issue out writs for new elections; but, by Shaftesbury's advice, several members had taken their seats upon irregular writs issued by the chancellor; so that the whole house in time might be filled with members clandestinely called up by the court. The house was no sooner assembled, therefore, and the speaker placed in his chair, than a motion was made against this method of election; and the members themselves, thus called to parliament, had the modesty to withdraw. Their election was declared null; and new writs, in the usual form, were issued by the speaker.

A.D. 1673.
 14th Feb.
 A parliament.

The king's late declaration of indulgence to all sectaries was next taken into consideration; and a remonstrance drawn up against that exercise of the prerogative. The commons represented that such a practice, if admitted, might tend to interrupt the free course of the laws, and alter the legislative power, which had been acknowledged to reside in the king and the two houses of parliament. Charles, therefore, found himself obliged reluctantly to retract

Declaration of indulgence recalled.

retract this declaration; but that he might do it with a better grace, he asked the opinion of the house of peers; who advised him to comply. The commons not only expressed the utmost satisfaction with this measure, but their inviolable attachment to the king; and he, on his part, assured them, that he would willingly pass any law which might tend to give them satisfaction in all their just grievances.

Shaftesbury joins the country-party.

Shaftesbury, when he found the king recede from so capital a point, which he had publicly declared his resolution to maintain, dreaded that he might also abandon his ministers to the vengeance of parliament; and therefore resolved to atone for all his violences in favour of monarchy, by like violences in opposition to it. Never change was more sudden, or less calculated to save appearances. Immediately he entered into all the cabals of the country party; and discovered to them, perhaps magnified, the arbitrary projects of the court, in which himself had borne so great a share. He was received with open arms by that party, which stood in need of so able a leader.

The test-act.

The two houses were so much pleased with the king's compliance, that they went in a body to thank his majesty for his gracious declaration. It did not, however, obliterate the apprehensions which had been excited by the former measures of the court; and they soon passed a law imposing a test on all who should enjoy any public office. Beside taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and receiving the sacrament in the established church, they were obliged to abjure all belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation. The parliament likewise passed an act of indemnity, which screened the king's ministers from the danger of any farther enquiry.

Though Charles had retracted his declaration of indulgence, and thereby had tacitly relinquished the dispensing power, he was still resolved to persevere in his alliance with France, and in the Dutch war. The money granted by parliament was sufficient to equip a fleet, of which, as the duke had been set aside by the test, prince Rupert was declared admiral. Under him were appointed sir Edward Sprague and the earl of Ossory; and they were joined by a French squadron, commanded by d'Étrées. The combined fleet set sail towards the coast of Holland, where they found the enemy lying at anchor, within the sands at Schonvelt. Several sea engagements succeeded each other very rapidly; but no decisive action took place.

The

The parliament being again assembled, discovered much greater symptoms of ill humour than had appeared in the last session. They had known for some time of a negotiation of marriage carried on between the duke of York and the archduchess of Inspruc, a catholic of the Austrian family; and they had made no opposition. But when that negotiation failed, and the duke applied to a princess of the house of Modena, then in close alliance with France, this circumstance, joined to so many other causes of discontent, exasperated the commons; and they remonstrated with the greatest zeal against the intended marriage. The king told them, that their remonstrance came too late; for that the marriage was already celebrated by proxy. The commons still insisting, and proceeding farther, they voted the standing army a grievance, and declared, that they would grant no more supply, unless it appeared that the Dutch were so obstinate as to refuse all reasonable conditions of peace. To cut short these disagreeable attacks, the king resolved to prorogue the parliament; and with that intention he came unexpectedly to the house of peers, and sent the usher to summon the commons. It happened, that the speaker and the usher nearly met at the door of the house; but the speaker being within, some of the members suddenly shut the door, and cried, "To the chair, to the chair!" while others cried, "the black rod is at the door." The speaker was hurried to the chair; and the following motions were instantly made: that the alliance with France is a grievance; that the evil counsellors about the king are a grievance; that the duke of Lauderdale is a grievance, and not fit to be trusted or employed. There was a general cry, "To the question, to the question!" but the usher knocking violently at the door, the speaker leaped from the chair, and the house rose in great confusion. The king, in a very short speech, represented the great advantages which the enemy would reap from the least appearance of dissension between him and his parliament: he declared he had exerted his utmost care in preventing the growth of popery; and prorogued them to the 7th day of January. He deprived the earl of Shaftesbury of the office of chancellor, which he bestowed on sir Heneage Finch. He removed from the court all popish recusants, and issued a proclamation for putting the laws in execution against Papists. The test had incapacitated Clifford, and the white staff was conferred on sir Thomas Osborne, soon after created earl of Danby,

20th Oct.
A parliament.

Vigorous
opposition
of the
commons.

Danby, a minister of abilities, who had risen by his parliamentary talents.

A.D. 1674.

When the parliament re-assembled, they began with applications for a general fast; by which they intimated, that the nation was in a very calamitous condition: they addressed against the king's guards, which they represented as dangerous to liberty, and even as illegal, since they never had yet received the sanction of parliament: they took some steps towards establishing a more rigorous test against popery: and what chiefly alarmed the court, they made an attack on the members of the cabal, to whose pernicious counsels they imputed all the public grievances. Clifford was dead; Shaftesbury had made his peace with the country-party; Buckingham was desirous of imitating Shaftesbury's example: Lauderdale and Arlington were exposed to all the effects of national resentment. Articles of impeachment were drawn up against the latter, which, however, were never prosecuted; and in respect of the former, he every day declined in the favour of the king, and became contemptible to the people. Thus ended the power of a junto, that had laid a settled plan for overturning the constitution, and establishing upon its ruins unlimited monarchy.

*Dissolution
of the cabal.*

*Peace with
Holland.*

The king, finding that he could expect no supply from the commons for carrying on the war, resolved to make a separate peace with the Dutch, on the terms which they had proposed through the channel of the Spanish ambassador. With a cordiality, which, in the present circumstances, was probably but affected, but which was obliging, he asked the voice of the parliament. The parliament unanimously concurred, both in thanks for this gracious condescension, and in their advice for peace. Peace was accordingly concluded. The honour of the flag was yielded by the Dutch in the most extensive terms: a regulation of trade was agreed to: all possessions were restored to the same condition as before the war: the English planters in Surinam were allowed to remove at pleasure; and the states agreed to pay the king the sum of eight hundred thousand patacoons, near three hundred thousand pounds.

The king of France expressed no resentment at being abandoned in this abrupt and clandestine manner by his ally. On the contrary, he frankly accepted the proffered mediation of Charles, from which he had reason to hope for favour, considering that he, at this time, obliged the English monarch with a yearly pension of one hundred thousand pounds. Besides, the success of the war had not

not been answerable to the sanguine expectations of Lewis; and his enemies had augmented into a formidable alliance. The prince of Orange had advanced into Flanders with a numerous and well disciplined army, and endeavoured to bring the prince of Condé to a battle; but the latter, being inferior in number, cautiously avoided an engagement; until at length the stadtholder exposing a wing of his army at Seneffe, the French general took the advantage of this oversight, and an obstinate action ensued. The prince of Orange behaved on this occasion with equal courage and presence of mind: he rallied his troops, and led them back to the charge: the battle was maintained even by moon-light, until at last the darkness parted the combatants. The prince of Orange afterwards invested Oudenarde; but he was obliged, by the Imperial and Spanish generals, to raise the siege on the approach of the enemy. He next besieged and took Grave; and at the beginning of winter, the allied armies broke up, with great discontents and complaints on all sides. In other places the troops of France were universally victorious; and mareschal Turenne, having dislodged all the allies, he obliged them to repass the Rhine, full of shame for their accumulated defeats, and still more of dissatisfaction with each other.

Considerable alterations were about this time made in the English ministry. Buckingham who had long, by his wit and entertaining humour, possessed the king's favour, was dismissed. Arlington, now chamberlain, and Danby the treasurer, had the principal share in the king's confidence. Great hatred and jealousy arose between these ministers; and public affairs suffered some interruption by their quarrels. But Danby daily gained ground with his master; and Arlington declined in the same proportion.

In the new session of parliament, every step taken by the commons discovered that ill-humour and jealousy, to which the late open measures of the king, and his present secret attachment, gave but too just foundation. They drew up a bill against popery, and the persons of Romish priests; they presented, a second time, a long address against the duke of Lauderdale, whom they accused of having said in council, that the king's edicts ought to be obeyed preferably to the laws of the realm; and of having procured the militia act in the parliament of Scotland, from which England was continually exposed to an invasion, upon the most frivolous pretence. They, therefore,

A D. 1678.

besought his majesty to remove that minister from his presence and councils for ever. But as the king's answer was not satisfactory, they seemed still determined to persevere in their applications. They then set on foot an enquiry into the conduct of Danby, whom they resolved to impeach of having been concerned in a project to render the king absolute; but finding the proofs insufficient, they dropped the accusation. They applied to the king for recalling his troops from the French service; and as he only promised that they should not be recruited, they were much dissatisfied with the answer. A bill was brought in making it treason to levy money without authority of parliament. Another vacating the seats of such members as accepted of offices; with one to secure the personal liberty of the subject.

The test-bill brought into the house of lords.

The commons proceeded with so much warmth in opposition to the court, that many members of the upper house began to dread the revival of the republican spirit. In order to prevent the mischiefs which might arise from such a disposition, the earl of Lindsey brought into the house of lords a test-bill, for imposing upon all persons in ecclesiastical, civil, and military employments, as well as upon privy counsellors, and members of parliament, an oath declaring it unlawful to take arms against the king upon any pretence whatever; and that they would not at any time endeavour the alteration of the Protestant religion, or the established government either in church or state. So great was the opposition made to this bill, that the debates upon it continued seventeen days; and then it was carried by a small majority. Being sent down to the house of commons, it was likely to undergo a scrutiny still more severe. But a quarrel, which ensued between the two houses, prevented the passing of every bill projected during the present session. One Dr. Shirley, being cast in a law-suit before Chancery against sir John Fag, a member of the house of commons, preferred an appeal to the house of peers; and the lords, accepting the petition, summoned Fag to appear before them. He complained to the lower house, which undertook to defend him. They maintained that the lords had no right to receive an appeal from any court of equity; and committed Shirley to prison. The lords insisted upon their jurisdiction, which they had exercised during a long course of years. Conferences were held, but no accommodation ensued. The commons imprisoned four lawyers who pleaded in this cause before the peers, contrary to an order of the lower house. The lords declared

Dispute between the two houses.

declared this commitment a breach of Magna Charta; and ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to release the prisoners. He declines obedience: they apply to the king to punish him for contempt of the house. The king summons both houses, and in a speech exhorts them to lay aside their animosity. But finding his advice had no effect upon the commons, he prorogued the parliament to the 13th day of October.

When the parliament was again assembled, the quarrel between the two houses was revived. The proceedings of the commons discovered the same violence as during the last session. A motion was made in the house of peers; but rejected, for addressing the king to dissolve the present parliament. The king contented himself with proroguing them to the 22d day of November.

An incident which happened soon after the prorogation, strongly marks the genius of Charles's government at this period. The variety as well as violence of the parties, had begotten a propensity to political conversation; and as the coffee-houses in particular were the scenes, where the conduct of the king and ministry was canvassed with great freedom, a proclamation was issued to suppress those places of rendezvous. But the king, observing the people to be dissatisfied, yielded to a petition from the keepers of those houses, who promised for the future to restrain all seditious discourses among their visitants; and the proclamation was recalled.

*The king
suppresses
Coffee-
houses.*

The king, in a plausible speech to the parliament, which met in February, protested he was ready to grant all the security in his power for the maintenance of the protestant religion, and the liberties of the people. He recommended harmony between the two houses, informed them of his necessities, and desired such a supply as would enable him to make a considerable addition to his navy. But before the parliament entered upon business, they were stopped by a doubt concerning the legality of their meeting. It had been enacted by an old law of Edward the Third, that parliaments should be held once every year, or oftener. The last prorogation had been longer than a year; and being supposed on that account illegal, it was pretended to be equivalent to a dissolution. Buckingham, who had made the motion, was seconded by the earls of Salisbury, Shaftesbury, and the lord Wharton. Their arguments produced violent debates; but, as they tended towards an abolition of all that had been transacted in this parliament, as well as to sedition and anarchy, those four

A.D. 1677.

noblemen were committed to the Tower. Buckingham, Salisbury, and Wharton, after having been confined some months, made their submission to the king, who ordered them to be released. Lord Shaftesbury moved in the king's-bench that he might be discharged; but the court refused to take any cognizance of the matter. Having remained a whole year prisoner, he made the same submission with the other three lords; upon which he was also released.

The house of commons now voted the sum of five hundred and eighty thousand pounds to his majesty, for building thirty ships; and strictly appropriated the money to that service. They addressed the king, representing the danger to which his dominions were exposed from the growing greatness of France; and they assured him that, in case of war, they would not be backward in their supplies. As Charles required money for his pleasures, he was not displeased with the latter part of their address, and therefore told them, that unless they granted him five hundred thousand pounds, it would be impossible for him to grant them a satisfactory answer. The house took this message into consideration: but before they came to a resolution, the king sent for them to Whitehall, where he told them, upon the word of a king, that they should not repent any trust which they would repose in him for the safety of his kingdom; that he would not, for any consideration, lose credit with them, or employ their supplies to other purposes than those for which his parliament intended them; but that he would not hazard, either his own safety or that of his people, by taking any vigorous measures, or forming new alliances, until he were in a better condition to act against his enemies. This speech brought affairs to a short issue. The king required them to trust him with a large sum; but the commons expressed a diffidence in his majesty's profession. He reproved them for their distrust, and immediately ordered them to adjourn.

The king saw, with regret, the violent discontent which prevailed in the nation, and which seemed every day to increase. He knew, that, during the late war with Holland, the malecontents at home had made applications to the prince of Orange; and if he continued to neglect the prince's interests, and to thwart the inclinations of his own people, he apprehended lest their common complaints should produce a lasting union between them. He saw, that the religion of the duke inspired the
 nation

nation with dismal apprehensions; and though he had obliged his brother to allow the young princesses to be educated in the protestant faith, something farther, he thought, was necessary, in order to satisfy the nation. He entertained, therefore, a design of offering in marriage to the prince of Orange the lady Mary, the elder princess, and heir apparent to the crown (for the duke had yet no male issue) and he hoped, by so tempting an offer, to engage that prince entirely to his interests. In consequence of this proposal, the prince of Orange came over to England, and the marriage was soon after celebrated; an event which gave great satisfaction amidst those general disquietudes about religion. A negotiation for peace between the French and the Dutch followed soon after; but the mutual animosities of these states not being as yet sufficiently subsided, the war was continued some time longer. Charles, therefore, to satisfy the parliament, which declared loudly against the French, sent over to the continent an army of three thousand men, under the command of the duke of Monmouth, to secure Ostend. A fleet also was fitted out with great diligence; and a quadruple alliance was projected between England, Holland, Spain and the emperor. Those vigorous measures brought about the treaty of Nimeguen, which gave a general peace to Europe. But though peace was secured abroad, the discontents of the people still continued at home.

The English, ever since the fatal league with France, had entertained violent jealousies against the court; and the subsequent measures adopted by the king, had tended to increase the general prejudices. Some mysterious design was still suspected in every enterprize and profession; and arbitrary power and popery were apprehended as the secret objects of every project. In this jealous disposition, the people was suddenly alarmed with the cry of a plot. On the 12th of August, one Kirby, a chemist, accosted the king as he was walking in the park: "Sir," said he, "keep within the company: your enemies have a design upon your life, and you may be shot in this very walk." Being questioned with regard to this strange intimation, he said, that two men, called Grove and Pickering, had engaged to shoot the king; and sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, to poison him. This intelligence, he added, had been communicated to him by Dr. Tongue; whom, if permitted, he would introduce to his majesty. This permission being granted, Tongue, who was a divine of the church of England, an active,

*Marriage
of the
prince of
Orange
with the
lady Mary.
Oct. 23.*

A.D. 1678.

*Peace of
Nimeguen.*

*The popish
plot.*

restless man, full of projects, and void of understanding, was introduced to the king; and brought with him papers, containing information of a plot, and digested into forty-three articles. Tongue being referred to the lord-treasurer Danby, declared to that nobleman, that the papers had been thrust under his door, and that, though he suspected, he did not certainly know, who was the author. After a few days he returned, and told the treasurer, that his suspicions, respecting the author of the papers, were well founded; that the person had confessed to him the whole matter, but desired that his name might be concealed, being apprehensive lest the Papists should murder him.

This information appeared so vague and unsatisfactory, that the king concluded the whole was a fiction. Tongue, however, was not to be repressed in the ardor of his loyalty. He went again to the lord treasurer, and told him, that a packet of letters, written by Jesuits concerned in the plot, was that night to be put into the post-house for Windsor, directed to one Bedingsfield, a Jesuit, who was confessor to the duke of York, and resided at that place. When this intelligence was brought to the king, he replied, that the packet mentioned had a few hours before been carried to the duke by Bedingsfield; who said, that he suspected some bad design upon him, and that he knew the letters not to be the hand-writing of the persons whose names were subscribed to them. This incident farther confirmed the king in his incredulity, and the matter had probably never been more investigated, had it not been for the anxiety of the duke; who, hearing that priests and Jesuits, and even his own confessor, had been accused, was desirous that a thorough enquiry should be made by the council into the pretended conspiracy. Kirby and Tongue were accordingly enquired after, and were now found to be living in close connection with Titus Oates, the person who was said to have conveyed the first intelligence to Tongue. Oates affirmed, that he had fallen under the suspicion of the Jesuits, and that he had concealed himself, in order to avoid their resentment. This man was of an abandoned character, and so indigent that he depended upon Kirby for his daily bread. He had been once indicted for perjury, was afterwards chaplain on board a man of war, and dismissed for unnatural practices. He then professed himself a Roman Catholic, and crossed the sea to St. Omer's, where he lived some time in the English seminary at that place. The fathers of the college sent him thence with some dispatches to Spain;

Spain; but after his return, when they became better acquainted with his character, they would not suffer him to continue among them; so that he found himself under the necessity of returning to London, where he was ready to embrace any means, however profligate, for his support. In this situation, it was a joyful surprize to him to understand that the council was disposed to take some notice of his intelligence. But, expecting more encouragement from the public than from the king or his ministers, he thought proper, before he was presented to the council, to go with his two companions, Tongue and Kirby, to sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, a noted and active justice of the peace, and before him deposed to a narrative, drawn up in a manner so alarming as to make an impression on the vulgar. The pope, he said, had found himself entitled to the possession of England and Ireland, on account of the heresy of prince and people, and had accordingly assumed the sovereignty of these kingdoms. This, which was St. Peter's patrimony, he had delivered up to the Jesuits; and Oliva, the general of that order, was his delegate. Several English catholic lords, whose names he mentioned, were appointed by the pope to the other offices of state: lord Arundel was appointed chancellor, lord Powis treasurer, sir William Godolphin privy-seal, Coleman, the duke's secretary, was made secretary of state, Langhorne attorney-general, lord Belasis general of the forces, lord Peters lieutenant-general, and lord Stafford paymaster. The king, whom the Jesuits called the Black Bastard, was solemnly tried by them, and condemned as a heretic. He affirmed that father Le Shee, meaning the French king's confessor La Chaise, had offered ten thousand pounds to any man who should kill the king. Ten thousand pounds, he said, had been offered to sir George Wakeman to poison the king; but he was mercenary, and demanded fifteen thousand, which demand was complied with. Lest these means should prove abortive, four Irish ruffians had been employed by the Jesuits, at the rate of twenty guineas a piece, to stab the king at Windsor. Coleman, late secretary to the duchess of York, was deeply concerned in the plot, and had given a guinea to the messenger, who carried them orders for the assassination. Grove and Pickering were also employed to shoot the king with silver bullets. The former was to receive, for this service, fifteen hundred pounds; and the latter, being a pious man, thirty thousand masses. Pickering would have executed his purpose, had not the flint at one time drop-

*Oates's
narrative.*

ped out of his pistol, at another time the priming. Co-niers, the Jesuit, had bought a knife at the price of ten shillings, which, he thought, was not dear, considering the purpose for which he intended it, namely, stabbing the king. Letters of subscription were circulated among the Catholics all over England to raise a sum for the same purpose. No less than fifty Jesuits had met in May last, at the White-horse Tavern, where it was unanimously agreed to put the king to death. A wager of a hundred pounds was laid, and the money deposited, that the king should eat no more Christmas-pies. The great fire of London had been the work of the Jesuits; several other fires were resolved on, and a paper-model was already framed for firing the city anew. Fire-balls were called among them Tewkesbury Mustard-pills. Twenty thousand Catholics in London were prepared to rise; and Coleman had remitted two hundred thousand pounds to assist the rebels in Ireland. The duke of York was to be offered the crown, in consequence of the success of these probable schemes, on condition of extirpating the protestant religion. Upon his refusal, "To pot James must go," as the Jesuits were said to express it.

In consequence of this dreadful information, sufficiently marked with absurdity, vulgarity, and contradiction, Titus Oates became the favourite of the people, though, during his examination before the council, he betrayed so much the grossness of his imposture, that he contradicted himself in every step of his narrative. While in Spain, he had been carried, he said to Don John, who promised great assistance towards the execution of the catholic designs. The king asked him, what sort of a man Don John was? Oates replied, that he was a tall lean man; which was directly contrary to the truth, as the king well knew^c. He totally mistook the situation of the Jesuit's college at Paris^d. Though he pretended great intimacy with Coleman, he knew him not when placed very near him; and had no other excuse than that his sight was bad in candle-light^e. He was guilty of the same mistake with regard to sir George Wakeman.

Notwithstanding these objections, Oates's narrative was greedily received by the multitude. The violent animosity which had been excited against the catholics in general, made the people find a gloomy pleasure in hoping for an

^c Burnet, North, Trials,

^d North.

^e Burnet, North,

opportunity of satiating their hatred. And the more diabolical any contrivance appeared, the better it suited the tremendous idea entertained of a Jesuit. Danby likewise, who stood in opposition to the French and catholic interest at court, was willing to encourage every story, which might serve to discredit that party. A great number of the Jesuits mentioned by Oates, was immediately taken into custody. Coleman, who was said to have acted so strenuous a part in the conspiracy, at first retired, but next day surrendered himself to the secretary of state; and some of his papers, by Oates's directions, were secured. Coleman, partly on his own account, partly by orders from the duke, had been engaged in a correspondence with father La Chaize, with the pope's nuncio at Brussels, and with other catholics abroad; and being himself a fiery zealot, the expressions in his letters often betrayed great violence and indiscretion. In his correspondence mention is made of a project for restoring popery, upon the accession of the duke of York. But these letters contained nothing that could serve as proof with regard to the present information; and their very silence in that respect, though they appeared imprudent enough in others, might have entirely discredited Oates's pretended discovery. When the contents of those letters were publicly known, however, they diffused the panic which the preceding narrative had begun. Oates's plot and Coleman's were universally confounded together. Coleman's letters contained some mysterious hints about extirpating the protestant heresy, the great zeal of the duke, and the mercenary spirit of his brother. It appeared from them, that some designs had actually been on foot; and Oates's narrative was supposed to give the particulars.

In this violent agitation, an accident served to confirm the prejudices of the people. Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, who had been so active in unravelling the mystery of the popish machinations, after having been missing some days, was found dead in a ditch by Primrose-hill, in the way to Hampstead. His own sword was thrust through his body; but no blood had flowed from the wound; so that it appeared he had been dead some time before this method was taken to deceive the public. He had money in his pockets, rings on his fingers, and there was a broad livid mark quite round his neck, which was dislocated. His breast exhibited some marks of contusion; and on his breeches were found several drops of wax-lights, which he never used in his own family. The cause of his death remains, and

*Godfrey's
murder.*

and must still continue, a secret; but the cry rose, that he had been assassinated by the Papists, on account of his taking Oates's evidence. This clamour was quickly propagated, and met with universal belief. To such a degree was the populace exasperated against the Roman Catholics, that moderate men began to dread a general massacre of that unhappy sect. The body of Godfrey was carried through the streets in procession, proceeded by seventy clergymen; and every one who saw it made no doubt that his death could be only caused by the Papists. Persons of all ranks were infected with this vulgar prejudice; and such was the general conviction of popish guilt, that it became dangerous to express the least doubt concerning the information of Oates, or the murder of Godfrey.

The parliament.

While the nation was in this ferment, the parliament was assembled, and it testified greater credulity than even the vulgar. The cry of plot was immediately echoed from one house to the other. An address was voted for a solemn fast. A form of prayer was contrived for that solemnity; and because the popish plot had been omitted in the first draught, it was carefully ordered to be inserted; lest, to use the words of a historian^f, omniscience should want intelligence. Addresses were voted for laying before the house such papers as might discover the horrible conspiracy; for the removal of popish recusants from London; for denying access at court to all unknown or suspicious persons; and for appointing the trainbands of London and Westminster to be in readiness. The lords Powis, Stafford, Arundel, Peters, and Bellasis, were committed to the Tower, and soon after impeached for high treason. So vehement were the houses, that they sat every day, forenoon and afternoon, on the subject of the plot; for no other business could be attended to. A committee of lords was appointed to examine prisoners and witnesses. Blank warrants were put into their hands, for the commitment of such as should be accused or suspected. Oates, who, though his evidence were true, must, by his own account, be regarded as an infamous villain, was by every one applauded, caressed, and called the saviour of the nation. He was recommended by the parliament to the king, was lodged in Whitehall, protected by guards, and encouraged by a pension of twelve hundred pounds a year, to proceed in forging new informations.

^f North, p. 207.

The encouragement given to Oates did not fail to call forth new witnesses, who hoped to profit by the delusion of the times. William Bedloe, a man, if possible, more infamous than Oates, appeared next upon the stage. He was, like the former, of very low birth, had been noted for several cheats and thefts, had travelled over many parts of Europe under borrowed names, and had frequently passed himself for a man of quality. This man, at his own desire, was arrested at Bristol, and conveyed to London. When he appeared before the council, he gave information of Godfrey's murder only, which, he said, had been perpetrated in Somerset-house, where the queen lived, by Papists, some of them servants in her family. He said, that a servant of lord Bellasis offered to give him four thousand pounds if he would carry the body off. He was questioned about the plot; but utterly denied all knowledge of it, and also asserted, that he had no acquaintance with Oates. Next day, however, being examined before the committee of lords, he bethought himself better, and was ready to give an ample account of the plot, which he found so anxiously enquired into. This narrative he made totally as well as he could, with that of Oates, which had been published; but to render it of greater importance, he added some new circumstances, and those, still more tremendous and extraordinary. He said, that ten thousand men were to be landed from Flanders in Burlington-bay, and immediately to seize Hull. That Jersey and Guernsey were to be surprized by forces from Brest; and that a French fleet was, all last summer, hovering in the Channel for that purpose. That in London, forty thousand men were ready for an insurrection. That himself had been tampered with to murder a man, and was to receive for that service four thousand pounds, beside the pope's blessing. That the king was to be assassinated, the Protestants massacred, and the government to be offered to One, if he would consent to hold it of the church; if not, the pope should govern it without him. In a subsequent examination before the commons, he accused the lords Carrington and Brudenell, who were committed to custody by order of parliament. But the most terrible part of the narrative was, that Spain was to invade England with forty thousand men, who were ready at St. Jago in the character of pilgrims; though at this time Spain was actually unable to raise ten thousand men to supply her own garrisons in Flanders.

*Bedloe's
narrative*

These

Those narratives are so extravagant that they carry with them their own refutation. The infamy of the witnesses, the contradiction in their testimony, the extreme improbability of it, and the low vulgarity of the information, so unlike that which might be expected from men entrusted with great affairs; all these circumstances concur to excite our horror against the authors of such imposition, and our pity at the delusion of the times that could credit such ridiculous reports. In order to give a confident air to the discovery, Bedloe published a pamphlet, intitled, "A Narrative and imparrial Discovery of the horrid Popish Plot, carried on for burning and destroying the Cities of London and Westminster, with their Suburbs, &c. by captain William Bedloe, lately engaged in that horrid Design, and one of the popish Committee for carrying on such Fires."

The Papists were now become so obnoxious, that vote after vote passed against them in the house of commons. They received the denomination of idolaters; and whoever did not concur in acknowledging the justness of the epithet, was expelled the house without ceremony. Even the duke of York was permitted to keep his place in the house by a majority of only two. "I would not, said one of the lords, have as much as a popish man or a popish woman to remain here; not so much as a popish dog or a popish bitch; not so much as a popish cat to pur or mew about the king." What is a signal instance of the dispositions of the times, this despicable speech, we are informed, even met with approbation.

Encouraged by the general voice in their favour, the witnesses, who all along had enlarged their narratives in proportion as they were greedily received, went a step farther, and ventured to accuse the queen of a design against the life of her husband. The commons, in an address to the king, gave countenance to this scandalous accusation; but the lords rejected it with becoming disdain. The king received the news with his usual good humour. "They think, said he, I have a mind to a new wife; but for all that I will not suffer an innocent woman to be abused." He immediately ordered Oates to be strictly confined, seized his papers, and dismissed his servants. But on an application to parliament, this daring informer recovered his liberty.

*Trial of
Coleman.*

Edward Coleman, secretary to the duke of York, was the first who was brought to trial, as being most obnoxious to those who pretended to fear the introduction
of

of popery. His letters being produced, contained, as himself confessed, much indiscretion; but nothing criminal, far less treasonable against him. But Oates and Bedloe deposed, that he had received a commission, signed by the superior of the Jesuits, to be papal secretary of state, and had consented to the poisoning, shooting, and stabbing of the king. The former swore that he had sent fourscore guineas to a ruffian, who undertook to kill the king. The date of the transaction he fixed in the month of August, but would not fix the particular day. Coleman could have proved that he was in the country the greater part of that month, and therefore the witness would not be particular. In consequence of these wild accusations, Coleman received sentence of death, which was soon after executed upon him. He suffered with calmness and constancy, and to the last persisted in the strongest protestations of his innocence.

The trial of Coleman was succeeded by those of Ireland, Pickering, and Grove. Ireland, a Jesuit, was accused by Oates and Bedloe, the only witnesses against him, of being one of the fifty Jesuits who had signed the resolution of murdering the king. Ireland proved that he was in Staffordshire the whole month of August, during which time Oates asserted that he was in London. The jury brought him in guilty, and the judge commended their verdict. It was in the same manner sworn, that Pickering and Grove had bound themselves by an oath to assassinate the king; and that they had provided screwed pistols, and silver bullets, for that purpose. They likewise were found guilty. All these unhappy men went to execution protesting their innocence; a circumstance which, as they were Jesuits, made no impression on the spectators.

*Trial of
Ireland,
Pickering,
and Grove.*

The animosities of the people, however, seemed a little appeased by the execution of these unfortunate men; but a new train of evidence was now discovered, which kindled anew the flame of hatred and revenge. One Miles Prance, a goldsmith, and a professed Roman catholic, had been accused by Bedloe of being an accomplice in Godfrey's murder; and upon his denial, had been thrown into prison, loaded with irons, and confined to the condemned hole, a place cold, dark, and full of nastiness. There the poor wretch lay, groaning and exclaiming that he was not guilty; but being next day carried before lord Shaftesbury, and threatened with severer punishment in case of obstinacy, he demanded if his confession

cession would procure his pardon. Being answered in the affirmative, he had no longer courage to resist, but confessed himself an accomplice in Godfrey's murder. He soon after, however, retracted his evidence before the king; but the same rigours being employed against him, he was induced once more to confirm his first information. The murder, he said, was committed in Somerset-house, by the contrivance of Gerrard and Kelly, two Irish priests: That Lawrence Hill, footman to the queen's treasurer, Robert Green cushion-keeper to her chapel, and Henry Berry, porter to the palace, followed sir Edmundsbury at a distance, from ten in the morning until seven in the evening; but that passing by Somerset-house, Green throwing around his neck a twisted handkerchief, he was soon strangled, and the body carried to a high chamber in Somerset-house; whence it was removed to another apartment, where it was seen by Bedloe.

Hill, Green, and Berry, were tried upon this evidence. Though Bedloe's narrative, and Prance's information, were totally irreconcilable, and were also invalidated by contrary evidence, all was in vain; the prisoners were condemned and executed. They all denied guilt at their execution; and as Berry died a Protestant, the circumstance was regarded as very considerable. But, instead of stopping the torrent of credulity, men were only surprised, that a Protestant could be induced at his death to persist in so manifest a falsehood.

*Trial of the
five Jesuits
and Lang-
horne.*

This horrible persecution continued some time; and the king, contrary to his own judgment, was obliged to give way to the popular fury. Whitebread, provincial of the Jesuits, Fenwick, Gavan, Turner, and Harcourt, all of them of the same order, were brought to their trial: Langhorne soon after. Beside Oates and Bedloe, Dugdale, a new witness, appeared against the prisoners. This man spread the alarm still farther, and even asserted, that two hundred thousand Papists in England were ready to take arms. The prisoners proved, by sixteen witnesses from St. Omer's, that Oates was in that seminary at the time he swore he was in London. But as they were Papists, their testimony would not be allowed any credit. All pleas in their favour availed them nothing. The Jesuits and Langhorne were condemned and executed, denying with their latest breath the crimes for which they suffered.

*Wakeman
acquitted.*

The informers were less successful on the trial of sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, who, though they

they swore with their usual animosity, was acquitted. His condemnation would have involved the queen in his guilt; and it is probable the judge and jury were afraid of venturing so far.

The earl of Stafford, near two years after, was the last man that fell a sacrifice to these bloody wretches. The witnesses produced against him were Oates, Dugdale, and Tuberville. Oates swore that he saw Fenwick, the Jesuit, deliver Stafford a commission from the general of the Jesuits, constituting him paymaster of the papal army. Dugdale gave testimony that the prisoner had endeavoured to engage him in the design of murdering the king. Tuberville affirmed, that the prisoner, in his own house at Paris, had made him the same proposal. The clamour and outrage of the populace against the prisoner was very great: he was found guilty, and condemned to be hanged and quartered; but the king changed the sentence into that of beheading. He was executed on Tower-hill, where even his persecutors could not forbear shedding tears at the serene fortitude displayed by this aged nobleman. Some other lords, who were imprisoned upon the former evidence, were tried and acquitted some time after, when the people began to recover from their infatuation.

*Trial of
Stafford.*

Men of infamous character and indigent circumstances, were now not the only informers; the practice was adopted even by persons of rank and condition. Montague, the king's ambassador at Paris, had procured a seat in the lower house; and without obtaining or asking the king's leave, he suddenly came over to England. Charles, suspecting his intention, ordered his papers to be seized; but Montague, who foresaw this measure, had taken care to secrete one paper, which he immediately laid before the house of commons. It was a letter from the treasurer Danby, written in the beginning of the year, during the negotiations at Nimeguen for the general peace. Montague was there directed to sell the king's good offices to the king of France for a certain sum of money; contrary to the general interests of the confederates, and even those of his own kingdoms. Danby was so unwilling to engage in this negociation, that Charles to satisfy him, subjoined with his own hand these words, "This letter is writ by my order, C. R." Montague, who revealed the secret correspondence, had even the baseness to sell his treachery at a high price to the French monarch.

*Accusation
of Danby.*

§ Appendix to Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs.

The

The house was kindled into a violent flame by this intelligence; and immediately voting an impeachment of high treason against that minister, sent up six articles to the house of peers: these were, that he had traiterously engrossed to himself regal power, by giving instructions to his majesty's ambassadors, without the participation of the secretaries of state, or the privy-council: that he had endeavoured to subvert the government, and introduce arbitrary power; and to that end, had levied and continued an army, contrary to act of parliament: that he had endeavoured to alienate the affections of his majesty's subjects, by negotiating a disadvantageous peace with France, and procuring money for that purpose: that he was popishly affected, and had concealed, after he had notice, the late horrid and bloody plot, contrived by the papists against his majesty's person and government: that he had wasted the king's treasure; and had, by indirect means, obtained several exorbitant grants from the crown.

The earl of Danby was extremely embarrassed by some of these articles, in regard to which he could not justify himself without accusing the king, who had desired that he would not divulge his secret negotiations. He recriminated upon Montague, as the person who had advised and set on foot those private treaties; and to prove this assertion, sent two of that minister's letters to the house of commons, which would not suffer them to be read. He observed in the house of lords, that the French ministry had always considered him as an enemy to the interest of their nation; that he had exerted uncommon diligence in tracing out the conspiracy; and that he had wasted no treasure, inasmuch as there was none to waste.

Admitting all the allegations in the impeachment to be true, there was not one that amounted to high treason; and therefore the lords refused to commit him to the Tower. The commons insisted upon his being taken into custody: a contest ensued; and the king, dreading some fatal consequence from the violence of the lower house, prorogued the parliament, which he afterwards dissolved.

30th Dec.
*Dissolution
of the
parliament.*

Thus came to a period a parliament, which had continued from the second year of the king's reign. Its conclusion was very different from its commencement. Being elected during the festivity which attended the Restoration, it consisted almost entirely of royalists; who were disposed to support the crown by all the liberality, which the

habits

habits of that age would permit. Their former complaisance and confidence, however, were changed into dissatisfaction and distrust. They were become not only unmanageable, but even dangerous to his government, and seemed to be treading fast in the footsteps of the last long parliament, on the conduct of which they had formerly thrown so much blame.

Charles exerted his utmost endeavours to influence the elections for the new parliament; but the prejudices of the times were such as rendered his efforts ineffectual. Almost all the active men in the kingdom were enemies to the court; and the people were so infatuated by the rumour of conspiracies formed by the Roman Catholics, that their resentment confounded the king with the adherents of that church, though, according to all the information hitherto published, the immediate purpose of the conspirators was to remove the king by assassination. In the new parliament, all the zealots of the former were re-chosen; and to the number were added others, who threatened the court with no less violent opposition. The presbyterians in particular bestirred themselves with incredible ardour on this occasion. That party, it is said, first began at this time the abuse of splitting their freeholds, in order to multiply votes for members.

The king, alarmed at the prospect of so dreadful a tempest likely to disturb his government, began to exert that vigour of mind; of which, on great occasions, he was not destitute; and without quitting in appearance his usual facility of temper, he collected an industry, firmness, and vigilance, of which he was believed to be incapable. The first step which he took, towards gratifying and appeasing his people and parliament, was desiring the duke to withdraw beyond sea, that no farther suspicion might remain of the influence of popish counsels. The duke readily complied; but first required an order for that purpose, signed by the king; lest his absenting himself should be interpreted as a proof of fear or of guilt. He also desired, that the king should satisfy him, as well as the public, by a declaration of the illegitimacy of the duke of Monmouth; and this request being granted, he retired with his duchess, and daughter Anne, to Brussels.

Charles, in his speech to the new parliament, mentioned the pains he had taken in punishing the conspirators, and the murderers of Godfrey. He made a merit of having removed his brother from the kingdom; and

A.D. 1679.

*New parliament**The duke of York retires to Brussels.*

he demanded supplies, as well for disbanding the army as for maintaining the navy. The commons having chosen Edward Seymour for their speaker, the king rejected their choice, and desired that they might appoint sir Thomas Meres. An obstinate dispute ensued. The commons maintained, that the king's approbation of their speaker was merely a matter of form; and that he could not, without giving a reason, reject the speaker chosen. The king, on the other hand, insisted, that, since he had the power of rejecting, he might, if he pleased, keep the reason in his own breast. At last, by way of compromise, it was agreed to set aside both candidates; and Gregory, a lawyer, being chosen, the election was ratified by the king. The house next proceeded to appoint a committee for preparing evidence against the lords who were in the Tower, and for receiving farther information with regard to the conspiracy, and the murder of Godfrey; and they then began to prepare new articles of impeachment against the earl of Danby.

*Danby's
impeach-
ment.*

Seymour, the speaker of the last parliament, had been deemed a great enemy to Danby; it was the influence of that nobleman, as commonly supposed, which had engaged the king to enter into this ill-timed controversy with the commons. The impeachment, therefore, of Danby was on that account the sooner revived. But the king had before-hand had the precaution to grant him a pardon; and, in order to screen the chancellor from all attacks by the commons, he had taken the great-seal into his own hands, and had himself affixed it to the parchment. He told the parliament, that, as Danby had acted in every thing by his orders, he was in no respect criminal; that his pardon, however, he would insist upon; and if it should be found any wise defective in form, he would renew it again and again, until it should be rendered entirely complete: but that he was resolved to deprive him of all employments, and to remove him from court.

The commons were far from being satisfied with this concession; and pretended, that no pardon of the crown could be pleaded in bar of an impeachment by them. They, therefore, still insisted on the impeachment of Danby. The peers, in compliance with them, departed from their former scruples, and ordered Danby to be taken into custody. Danby, after absconding for a little time, surrendered himself, and was immediately committed to the Tower.

Charles was now reduced to great perplexity. He saw his authority already disregarded, and ran the risque of being disgraced by the discoveries of Danby. In this emergency he consulted sir William Temple, who advised him to weaken the opposition, by admitting the chiefs of it into his council. The king assented to this expedient. The earl of Essex, a nobleman of the popular party, was created treasurer in the room of Danby: the earl of Sunderland, a man of intrigue and capacity, was made secretary of state: lord Halifax, celebrated for his genius, learning, and eloquence, was likewise admitted into the council; and these three, with sir William Temple, were first consulted in all affairs of importance. Shaftesbury was declared president of the council, contrary to the advice of Temple, who foretold the consequence of admitting a man of so dangerous a character into any part of the administration. The event confirmed the justness of this opinion; for Shaftesbury, finding that he possessed no share in the king's confidence, still adhered to the popular party, over which he retained all his former influence. Nor did he fail to employ all his art in keeping up the flame of animosity against the king and his brother. The commons soon proceeded so far as to vote unánimously, "that the duke of York's being a Papist, and the hopes of his coming to the crown, had given the highest countenance to the present conspiracies and designs of the Papists against the king and the protestant religion." It was expected, that a bill for excluding him the throne would soon be brought in. To prevent this bold measure the king concerted some limitations, which he proposed to the parliament. These were of the utmost importance, and deprived the successor of the chief branches of royalty. It was proposed, that, on every new reign, the king should not, for a certain time, have it in his power to dissolve the parliament: that in case of a popish successor, the prince was to forfeit the right of conferring any ecclesiastical preferments: that no member of the privy-council, no judge of the common law or in chancery, was to be put in or displaced but by consent of parliament: and the same precaution was extended to the military part of government, to the lord-lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants of the counties, and to all officers of the navy. The chancellor added, it would be difficult to conceive how the power of a popish successor could be more effectually limited, considering how much his revenues would depend upon the parliament.

*The king
changes his
council.*

*Proposes li-
mitations
on a popish
successor.*

But, if they could devise any thing else for the security of religion and liberty, without destroying the right of succession, the king would willingly assent to their proposal.

*Exclusion-
bill.*

So much were the commons actuated by the cabals of Shaftesbury and other malecontents, and such violent antipathy prevailed against popery, that these offers, though much more important than could reasonably have been expected, were not embraced. A bill was brought in for the total exclusion of the duke from the crown of England and Ireland. It was there declared, that the sovereignty of these kingdoms, upon the king's demise or resignation, should devolve to the person next in succession after the duke; that all acts of royalty, which that prince should afterwards perform, should not only be void, but be deemed treason; that if he so much as entered any of these dominions, he should be deemed guilty of the same offence; and that all who supported his title, should be punished as rebels and traitors. This important bill, which implied banishment as well as exclusion, passed the lower house by a majority of seventy-nine.

*Habeas
Corpus bill.*

The next step of the commons was to set on foot a severe enquiry against those members who received pensions from court, and eighteen were discovered. The standing army and the guards were voted illegal; and they brought in the bill of habeas corpus, which was passed into an act before the end of the session. By this act, which is one of the great bulwarks of British liberty, it was prohibited to send any one to a prison beyond sea. No judge, under severe penalties, must refuse to any prisoner a writ of habeas corpus, directing the jailor to produce in court the body of the prisoner, and to certify the cause of commitment.

During these zealous efforts for the protection of liberty, no complaisance for the crown was discovered by this parliament. Though the king's revenues lay under great debts and anticipations, and though he represented to them, in the most pressing terms, the decayed state of the navy, they shewed no indication of any design to relieve him; and grew only the more assuming on account of his complaints and uneasiness. Charles had for some time entertained thoughts of proroguing the parliament; but now his resolution was quickened by a hint that the commons intended to draw up a remonstrance upon the grievances of the nation, similar to that which was presented to his father before the commencement of the civil

civil

civil war. He, therefore, repaired to the house of peers on the 27th of May, and sending for the commons, prorogued the parliament to the 14th day of August. It was soon afterwards dissolved without advice of council; and writs were issued for a new parliament.

Prorogation and dissolution of the parliament 10th July.

In the latter end of August, the king was taken ill of an intermitting-fever at Windsor. This being thought dangerous by the physicians, Charles, with the privity of Essex, Sunderland, and Halifax, sent a courier for the duke of York, who returned privately to England; but before he reached Windsor, the king was recovered. The duke of Monmouth had resigned himself to the management of Shaftesbury, and seemed to aspire to the succession of the crown. He was highly favoured by the king, and idolized by the people. But the duke of York being supported with the interest of the earls of Essex and Halifax, refused to return to the continent, until Monmouth was deprived of his commission, and ordered to quit the kingdom. This great point being gained, the duke of York retired again to Brussels; but he soon obtained leave to reside in Scotland, that he might have an opportunity of conciliating the affections of that people, and be at hand, in case of his brother's decease.

The duke of York repairs to Scotland.

All the king's ministers, as well as himself, were extremely averse to the meeting of the new parliament, which they expected to find as refractory as any of the preceding. The king, therefore, resolved to prorogue the parliament; but not expecting the concurrence of the council in this measure, he only declared to his ministers the resolution which he had formed. Many of them in disgust threw up about this time; particularly lord Ruffel, a man extremely popular, not only from the mildness and integrity of his character, but from his zealous attachment to the religion and liberties of his country. Shaftesbury was removed from the office of president of the council; and the earl of Radnor substituted in his place.

It was the favour and countenance of parliament which had chiefly encouraged the rumour of plots; but the nation had gotten so much into that vein of credulity, and every necessitous villain was so much incited by the success of Oates and Bedloe, that, even during the prorogation, the people was not allowed to remain in tranquillity. There was one Dangerfield, a man who had been burned in the hand for crimes, transported, whipped, pilloried four times, fined for cheats, outlawed for felony, con-

Meal-tub-plot.

viſted of coining, and expoſed to all the infamy which the laws could inflict on the baſeſt enormities. The credulity of the people, and the humour of the times enabled even this man to become a perſon of conſequence. He was the author of a new incident, called the Meal-tub-plot, from the place where ſome papers relating to it were found. The bottom of this affair it is difficult, and not very material, to diſcover. It only appears, that Dangerfield, under pretence of betraying the conſpiracies of the preſbyterians, had been countenanced by ſome Catholics of condition, and had even been admitted to the duke's preſence and the king's. And that under pretence of revealing new popiſh plots, he had obtained acceſs to Shaftesbury and ſome of the popular leaders. Which ſide he intended to cheat, is uncertain, or whether he did not rather mean to cheat both: but he ſoon found, that the belief of the nation was more open to a popiſh than to a preſbyterian plot, and he reſolved to ſtrike in with the prevailing humour. Though no weight could be laid on his teſtimony, great clamour was raiſed; as if the court, by way of retaliation, had intended to load the preſbyterians with the guilt of a falſe conſpiracy.

A.D. 1680.

Great endeavours were now uſed to obtain the king's conſent for the meeting of the parliament. Seventeen peers preſented a petition to this purpoſe; and many of the corporations imitated the example. Notwithſtanding ſeveral marks of diſpleaſure, and even a menacing proclamation from the king, petitions came from all parts, earneſtly inſiſting on a ſeſſion of parliament. As Charles found no law by which he could puniſh thoſe importunate, and, as he deemed them, undutiful ſolicitations, he was obliged to encounter them by popular applications of a contrary tendency. Wherever the church and court party prevailed, addreſſes were framed, containing expreſſions of the higheſt regard to his majeſty, the moſt entire acquieſcence in his wiſdom, the moſt dutiful ſubmiſſion to his prerogative, and the deepeſt abhorrence of thoſe who endeavoured to encroach upon it, by preſcribing to him any time for aſſembling the parliament. Thus the nation became diſtinguiſhed into Petitioners and Abhorrrers. Beſides theſe appellations, which were ſoon forgotten, this year is remarkable for being the epoch of the well-known epithets of Whig and Tory. The court-party reproached their antagoniſts with their affinity to the fanatical conventiclers in Scotland, who were known by the name of Whigs. The country-party on the other hand

Whig and Tory.

hand, compared the courtiers to the Irish banditti, called Tories. From such beginnings were derived those foolish terms of reproach, which still serve to distinguish the factions of England, though they have strangely varied from their original signification.

The Whigs were headed by the earl of Shaftesbury, who was bent upon the ruin of the duke of York, in opposition to whom he espoused the party of the duke of Monmouth. In order to forward his design, he circulated a report, that the king had been actually married to Mrs. Walters, the duke's mother; and that the contract of marriage was in a box, entrusted to the care of Mr. Gilbert Gerard. The king, in a council assembled for the purpose, declared this rumour was false; and having desired that an enquiry should be made after the author of such slander, Giffard was summoned to appear. This person declared upon oath, that he never had any such contract in his hands, nor ever heard that any such writing existed. The king afterwards published a declaration, that he never was married, or contracted to Mrs. Walters, mother of the duke of Monmouth, nor to any other person but queen Catharine.

The king's declaration with regard to the illegitimacy of Monmouth.

The king used every art to encourage his partizans, and to reconcile the people to his government. Persevering in the great zeal, which he affected against popery, he even allowed several priests to be put to death, for no other crime than their having received orders in the Romish church. He had sent for the duke from Scotland; but desired him to return when the time of assembling the parliament should be near. As the kingdom was openly divided into two parties, Charles was not insensible that the majority of the new house of commons would be engaged in interests opposite to the court. But that he might leave no expedient untried, which might compose the unhappy differences among his subjects, he resolved at last, after a long interval, to assemble the parliament. The king, in his speech to both houses, informed them that he had concluded an alliance with Spain. He declared himself ready to concur with them in all reasonable expedients for the security of the protestant religion, provided the succession were preserved in its legal course. He exhorted them to prosecute the enquiry into the conspiracy; demanded a supply for the support of Tangier, which he could not maintain without their assistance; and above all things, recommended a strict union between them and him, as the only means which could

New parliament. Exclusion bill.

ensure the strength and prosperity of the nation. The commons, having chosen their speaker, began the session by expelling some of their own members, who had subscribed the petitions of the abhorers. Every step which they took, betrayed the zeal with which they were animated. They renewed the votes which had passed against the duke of York in the former parliament; and it was moved, that a committee should be appointed to bring in a bill for excluding him from the throne. This measure, so repugnant to the king's inclination, was supported by many considerable men of the party; who, having rendered themselves irreconcilable with the duke, could ensure their own safety no other way but by his ruin. Monmouth's friends still hoped, that the exclusion of that prince would make way for their patron; from whom though the king had withdrawn his countenance, he was known secretly to retain a great affection for him. On this occasion, even the duchess of Portsmouth, the king's beloved mistress, united herself with the popular party, either from lucrative views, or the hopes of making the succession fall on her own children.

The debates concerning this bill were carried on with great violence on both sides. The exclusionists asserted, that the king, lords, and commons of England, had a right to alter any part of the constitution: that the lineal succession to the crown had been often set aside; and that such an expedient was never so necessary as at the present juncture, when the duke's bigotry to the church of Rome, his connections with catholic princes, and his own arbitrary disposition, threatened the nation with the re-establishment of popery, and even the extinction of their liberties. Those who opposed the bill maintained, that the right of succession was deemed a fundamental principle in all European monarchies; and had never been set aside but by successful usurpation or absolute tyranny: that it never could be altered, without exposing the kingdom to the most violent convulsions, unless the whole nation concurred in approving the change: that a legislature which deviates from a fundamental rule of the constitution, subverts the very principle from which it derives its own authority: and that, though individuals acquiesce in common laws enacted by a majority in parliament, it was far from being probable that they would show the same compliance, should the lineal succession be altered: that a powerful party would oppose this violation of the constitution; and more terrible mischiefs ensue from such a

measure, than those which they imagined it would prevent: that the duke of York had solemnly promised his religion should never affect his public conduct; and that, if the consideration of his own interest could not restrain him from any attempt to violate his engagement, yet the limitations which the king had proposed, would effectually answer that purpose. Lastly, they observed, that the king was determined to risque every thing rather than sacrifice the right of succession; and therefore it would be prudent to consider the consequences of driving their sovereign to extremity.

Notwithstanding these arguments, the bill was carried in the house of commons by a great majority; but in the house of peers the king expected to oppose it with success. When it came to be debated, the contest was violent; and the king was present the whole time. It was defended by Shaftesbury, Essex, and Sunderland. The debate against it was chiefly conducted by Halifax, who displayed an extraordinary extent of capacity, and force of eloquence. At length the bill was thrown out by a considerable majority. All the bishops, except three, voted against it.

It passes the house of commons; but is rejected by the lords.

The commons were much exasperated at this disappointment; and immediately voted an address for the removal of Halifax from the king's councils and presence for ever, on pretence of his having advised the late prorogation of parliament. They voted, that, until the exclusion-bill was passed, they could not, consistently with the trust reposed in them, grant the king any supply; and to prevent his having recourse to other methods of obtaining money, they voted, that whoever should hereafter lend, by way of advance, any money upon any branches of the king's revenue, should be responsible to parliament for such conduct. They drew up a remonstrance, in eighteen articles, representing the danger to which the nation was exposed, from the favour shown to Papists, and insinuating that the king was engaged in a conspiracy against the protestant religion, and the liberties of his people. The king, therefore, finding that there were no hopes of extorting either money or obedience from the commons, formed the resolution of once more dissolving the parliament. The commons, having got intelligence of his design, immediately proceeded, in a tumultuous manner, to pass some extraordinary votes; which they had scarce accomplished, when

A.D. 1681. when the usher of the black rod summoned them to the house of peers, where the king put an end to the parliament.

10th Jan.
The parliament dissolved.

The national assembly being thus dissolved, it was considered as doubtful, whether the king would ever call another; but the desire he had of being supplied with money, surmounted the fears which he might entertain of exposing himself against the violence of parliament. As it had always been supposed, however, that the neighbourhood of London, at once both potent and factious, was an improper place for assembling a parliament that would be steadfast in the king's interests, he resolved not only to punish the Londoners, by shewing his suspicions of their loyalty, but to reward the inhabitants of Oxford, by convoking the new parliament at that city. Accordingly a parliament was ordered to assemble at Oxford; whither the members on both sides came armed and attended by their adherents, as if they expected an immediate rupture. The four London members were followed by great multitudes, wearing ribbons, in which were interwoven these words "No popery! No slavery!" The king was not behind them in the number and formidable appearance of his guards; so that the parliament rather bore the appearance of a military congress, than of a civil assembly.

21st Mar.
New parliament at Oxford.

The king, who had hitherto employed the most gracious expressions to all his parliaments, thought proper to address himself to the present in a more authoritative manner. He complained of the unwarrantable proceedings of the former house of commons; and said, that, as he never would use arbitrary government himself, neither would he ever suffer it in others. This new assembly, however, trod exactly in the steps of the last. The commons, having chosen the same speaker who filled the chair the last parliament, ordered the votes to be printed every day, that the public might be acquainted with the subject of their deliberations. The bill of exclusion was more fiercely urged than ever. Ernely, one of the king's ministers, proposed that the duke should be banished during life, five hundred miles from England; and that on the king's demise the next heir should be constituted regent with regal power. Yet even this expedient, which left the duke only the bare title of king, could not obtain the attention of the house. Nothing else than a total exclusion could satisfy them.

Each

Each party had now for some time reviled and ridiculed the other in pamphlets and libels ; and this practice, at last, became productive of an incident which merits notice. One Fitzharris, an Irish papist, dependent of the duchess of Portsmouth, used to supply her with these occasional publications. He employed one Everard, a Scotchman, to write a libel against the king and the duke of York. The Scot, who happened to be a spy for the opposite party, imagining this a trick to entrap him, discovered the whole transaction to sir William Waller, an eminent justice of the peace ; and to convince him of the truth of the information, posted him, and two other persons, privately, where they might hear the conference between Fitzharris and him. The libel which they had composed was replete with the utmost rancour and scurrility. Waller carried the intelligence to the king, and obtained a warrant for committing Fitzharris, who happened at that very time to have a copy of the libel in his pocket. Finding himself now delivered over to the law, he resolved to pay court to the popular party, which alone could protect him. He affirmed, that he had been employed by the court to write the libel, in order to throw the odium of it on the exclusionists. The more to enhance his services with the country-party, he invented a new popish plot, more tremendous than any of the preceding. He introduced the duke of York as a principal accomplice in this plot, and as a contriver of the murder of sir Edmundsbury Godfrey.

*The case of
Fitzharris.*

The king having imprisoned Fitzharris, and ordered him to be indicted, the commons took him under their protection, and, to prevent his trial and execution, voted against him an impeachment, which they sent up to the lords. The lords rejected the impeachment ; the commons asserted their right ; and a commotion was likely to ensue ; when the king, to break off the contest, went to the house, and dissolved the parliament, with a fixed resolution never to assemble another. He immediately set off for Windsor, whence he next day repaired to London, and there published a declaration, containing his reasons for dissolving the two last parliaments. He taxed the commons with having encouraged a spirit of cabal and sedition, the object of which was evidently to shake the foundations of the monarchy, and erect a democratical tyranny upon the ruins of the constitution.

*The par-
liament
dissolved.*

So sudden a dissolution of the parliament being an instance of vigour which the commons had never expected,

it

*Charles
triumphs
over all
opposition.*

it excited among them such astonishment as reduced them to absolute despair. Their insolence and presumption were immediately succeeded by fear and dejection; and they retired quietly to their own houses, without having concerted any measures for their future conduct. The court-party gathered strength from the dispersion of their antagonists, and adhered more firmly to the king, who, they now saw, had courage to protect those who served him against the prosecution of his enemies. His declaration was no sooner published, than addresses, filled with the warmest expressions of duty, were brought to him from all quarters of the kingdom. They inveighed against the presumption of the commons, applauded the dissolution of the parliament, and extolled the king's conduct in the most abject strain of adulation. Fitzharris was, notwithstanding the vote of the commons, brought to his trial, found guilty of writing the libel, and condemned as a traitor. He pretended that he had been suborned by Bethel and Cornish, the two sheriffs of London, and Treby the recorder, to forge discoveries about the popish conspiracy; and in this account, however small the credit that is due to a person so void of principle, he persisted even at his execution. The whole gang of spies, witnesses, informers, suborners, who had so long been supported and encouraged by the leading patriots, finding now that the king was entirely master, turned short upon their old patrons, and offered their service to the king's ministers. The king's ministers with a horrid satisfaction gave them countenance and encouragement; so that soon the same cruelties, and the same injustice, which had lately been practised against the Catholics, were retaliated on the presbyterians.

The first person that fell under the displeasure of the ministry, was one College, a London joiner, who had become extremely noted for his zeal against popery, and was much connected with Shaftesbury and the leaders of the country-party. He had attended the city members to Oxford, armed with sword and pistol; and had sometimes been heard to speak irreverently of the king. It was pretended that a conspiracy had been contrived to seize the king's person, and detain him in confinement, until he should make certain concessions, which were to be demanded of him. The sheriffs of London were in strong opposition to the court; and the grand jury, named by them, rejected the bill against College. The prisoner was therefore sent to Oxford, where the treason was said to have been committed. A jury was named, consisting
entirely

entirely of royalists. The prisoner was accused by Dugdale, Turberville, and others, who had prostituted their consciences against the Catholics; and when objections were made to their characters, it was answered by the prosecutors, that they were the same persons whom the Whigs had cherished and supported as evidences in the popish conspiracy. College defended himself with great presence of mind, and invalidated all their testimonies. The jury, however, after half an hour's deliberation, brought in a verdict against him; and the inhuman spectators testified their satisfaction with a shout of applause. He bore his fate with unshaken fortitude, and at the place of execution denied the crime for which he had been condemned.

*Trial and
execution
of College.*

Titus Oates, the original informer, was the only person of that stamp whose services were now rejected. He was, by an order of council, ignominiously expelled from Whitehall, and even forbid to come within a certain distance of that palace. But the king's resentment was chiefly directed, and not without reason, against Shaftesbury. No sums were spared to seek for evidence, and even to suborn witnesses against this intriguing and formidable nobleman. He was committed to prison, and his indictment was presented to the grand jury. Shute and Pilkington, the new sheriffs of London, were engaged as deeply as their predecessors in the country-party; and they took care, on this occasion, to name a jury devoted to the same cause. Witnesses were examined, who swore to such incredible circumstances, as must have invalidated their testimony, even if they had not been branded as perjured villains. Among his papers, indeed, was found a draught of an association, which might be construed into treason; but it was not in the prisoner's hand-writing, nor could his adversaries prove that he had ever communicated this scheme to any body, or signified his approbation of it. The grand jury, therefore, rejected the indictment; and the people, who attended the hall, testified their joy by the loudest acclamations.

*Trial of
Shaftesbury*

The king being now resolved to humble the presbyterians, the non-conformists were rigorously prosecuted, on the statute enacted in the reign of queen Elizabeth. All magistrates, justices of the peace, and lieutenants of counties, suspected of leaning towards republican principles, were divested of their employments, and their places filled with approved Tories. The clergy testified their devotion to the court, in their writings and sermons; the pulpits

pulpits resounded with the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance; and the king received a great number of addresses, professing the utmost abhorrence of the principles avowed in the association which had been found among Shaftesbury's papers.

A.D. 1612.

But though the king's authority made every day great advances, it still met with considerable obstacles from the city of London, which was entirely swayed by the malcontents, and the sheriffs of which influenced the grand jury in such a manner, as screened from oppression the presbyterians of that capital. Sir John Moor, the mayor, had been gained over to the court-interest; and he named for sheriffs two persons, who he knew would be agreeable to the ministry. The citizens, taking the alarm, insisted upon an election by liveries, and Papillon and Dubois were elected by a great majority. The mayor, however, carried on a separate poll, which he insisted was the legal one, and declared the election in favour of North and Rich, who were accordingly sworn in sheriffs for the ensuing year; but it was necessary to send a guard of the train-bands to protect them in entering upon their office. A new mayor of the court-party was soon after chosen, by means, as is pretended, still more violent and irregular. The king, having gained this advantage, had a prospect of obtaining full revenge on his enemies; and it was not long before the effects of these alterations were seen. When it was first reported, that the duke of York intended to leave Scotland, Pilkington, at that time sheriff, a very violent man, had said of him, "He has already burned the city; and now he is coming to cut all our throats." For this indiscreet expression the duke sued him, and he was cast in damages to the amount of a hundred thousand pounds. Sir Patience Ward, formerly mayor, who gave evidence for Pilkington, was sued for perjury, and condemned to the pillory.

A.D. 1683.

Quo Warranto.

Charles, though at this time secure of the magistracy of London, foresaw a strong opposition at the next election, and that he would be every year exposed to the same struggles, not only in that city, but in all the corporations which were under presbyterian government. He, therefore, formed the project of erecting a despotic authority over all the corporations of England; and began with London, against which he issued a writ of "Quo warranto" to inquire into the validity of its charter, which he pretended the corporation had forfeited in two instances. They were charged with having imposed a toll, in order

to defray the rebuilding of their markets after the fire of London; and of having presented to the king an address, containing a scandalous reflection upon his majesty and his administration. The cause was tried in the court of King's Bench, where the judges, who were entirely influenced by the ministry, declared, that the city of London had forfeited its privileges; and that its charter was at the king's disposal. The judgment, however, was not recorded until his majesty's pleasure should be known. This transaction threw the citizens of London into great consternation. A common-council being assembled, the majority agreed to submit to the king's pleasure, before the sentence should be recorded. They accordingly presented a petition to that effect; and the king offered to restore their charter on the following conditions: that no mayor, or other officer, should be admitted to the exercise of his office without his majesty's approbation; that if the king disapprove twice of the mayor or sheriffs elected, he may, by commission, appoint these magistrates; that the mayor and court of aldermen may, with his majesty's permission, displace any magistrate; and that no alderman, in case of a vacancy, shall be elected without consent of the court of aldermen, who, if they disapprove twice of the choice, may fill the vacancy.

Other corporations, seeing the fate of London, voluntarily surrendered their charters into the hands of the king, whence they were not retrieved but by the payment of considerable sums of money.

So arbitrary an administration, over a people who entertained even the most extravagant notions of liberty, could not fail of exciting discontents, and producing designs against government. The earl of Shaftesbury, even before the last parliament, had engaged the duke of Monmouth, with the lords Russel and Grey, to rise in arms, and oppose the duke's succession, at the death of Charles, who was at that time indisposed. They afterwards associated with them the earls of Essex and Salisbury, established correspondences, and planned insurrections, in different parts of the kingdom. The confederates depended chiefly on the city of London, which was devoted to Shaftesbury; who, fearing to trust himself in any other place, lurked among the citizens, meditating the most desperate schemes that blasted ambition and revenge could suggest. It was proposed, that their friends should rise in arms in London, Bristol, Devonshire, and Cheshire. But the enterprize being retarded, on account of some preparations,

rations, Shaftesbury was so enraged at the delay, as well as intimidated by the authority which the king had established in the city, that he retired to Amsterdam, where he died some time after.

*Rye-house
plot.*

The chiefs of the conspiracy were now the duke of Monmouth, the earl of Essex, the lords Ruffel and Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hambden, grandson to the parliamentary leader who opposed the tax of ship-money. All these were determined to prosecute the scheme of insurrection, but differed widely from one another in their motives. Monmouth aspired to the crown; Ruffel and Hambden proposed to exclude the duke of York from the succession, and redress the public grievances; Sidney was a professed republican; Essex seemed to cherish the same principles; and lord Howard was an abandoned nobleman, who sought only to gratify his own interest and ambition. There was likewise a set of subordinate conspirators, consisting of colonel Rumsey, an old republican officer; lieutenant-colonel Walcot, of the same stamp; Goodenough, under-sheriff of London; Ferguson, a hot-headed, factious, independent minister, who had been one of Shaftesbury tools; and several attorneys, merchants, and tradesmen of London: but of these none had access to the lords except Rumsey and Ferguson. The inferior order at their meetings embraced the most desperate resolutions. They proposed to assassinate the king in his way to Newmarket. Rumbald, one of their number, possessed a farm, on the road thither, called the Rye-house, whence the conspiracy was denominated "the Rye house plot." They deliberated upon stopping the king's coach, by overturning a cart in the highway at this place, and shooting him from the hedges: but the whole was little more than loose discourse, the overflowings of their zeal and rancour. The house in which the king lived at Newmarket taking fire accidentally, he was obliged to quit that place eight days sooner than he intended; and to this circumstance his safety was afterwards ascribed.

One of the conspirators, whose name was Keiling, finding himself in danger of a prosecution, for being concerned in arresting the mayor of London, at the suit of Papillon and Dubois, the two excluded sheriffs, resolved to earn his pardon by discovering this plot to the ministry. The conspirators had got some hint of the danger in which they were involved; and all of them concealed themselves. At length, colonel Rumsey, and West, a lawyer, determined to save their own lives at the expence of their com-

panions;

anions; and they surrendered themselves with an intention of becoming evidence. Shephard, being apprehended, confessed all he knew; and warrants were issued against the chiefs of the conspiracy. Monmouth absconded, Grey escaped from the messenger by whom he had been arrested, but Russel was committed to the Tower. Essex, Sidney, and Hambden, with many other conspirators, were also secured.

Walcot was first brought to trial, and condemned with Hone and Rouse, two associates in the conspiracy, upon the evidence of Rumsfy, West, and Shephard. At their execution, they acknowledged the justice of their sentence; a confession which served to impress the public with a thorough belief of the conspiracy, as well as a horror against it.

*Execution
of the con-
spirators.*

The next trial was that of lord Russel, a nobleman universally esteemed for his many amiable qualities. The witnesses produced against him were, Rumsfy, Shephard, and lord Howard. Rumsfy swore, that himself had been introduced to the cabal at Shephard's, where Russel was present; and had delivered them a message from Shaftesbury, urging them to hasten the intended insurrection. But he acquitted Russel, as did also Rumsfy and West, of being privy to the assassination. His own candour would not allow him to deny the design in which he really was concerned; but his own confession was not sufficient to convict him. To the fact which principally affected his life there was but one witness, and the law required two; but the jury, after a short deliberation, brought in the prisoner guilty. Earnest applications were made to the king for a pardon. Even money, to the amount of a hundred thousand pounds, was offered to the duchess of Portsmouth by the earl of Bedford, father to Russel. Lord Russel's lady, daughter of the earl of Southampton, threw herself at the king's feet, in a flood of tears, and pleaded the merits of her father in behalf of her husband. But Charles was inexorable. He had been extremely harrassed with the violence of the country-party; and he had observed, that the prisoner, beside his secret designs, had always been, in parliament, one of the most violent opponents of the court. The king, therefore, would go no farther than remitting the more ignominious part of the sentence, which the law requires to be pronounced against traitors. "Lord Russel (said he) shall find, that I am possessed of that prerogative which, in the case of lord Stafford, he thought proper to deny me." Lady Russel,

*Trial of
lord Russel.*

*His execu-
tion.**Trial of
Algernon
Sidney.**His execu-
tion.*

finding that all supplications were vain, took leave of her husband without shedding a tear; while, as he parted from her, he turned to those about him, "Now (said he), the bitterness of death is over." A little before the sheriffs conducted him to the scaffold, he wound up his watch. "I have now done with time (said he), and must henceforth think of eternity." The scaffold for his execution was erected in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. He laid his head on the block without the least change of countenance; and with two strokes it was severed from his body.

The celebrated Algernon Sidney, son to the earl of Leicester, was next brought to his trial. He had been formerly engaged in the parliamentary army against the late king, and was even named on the high court of justice that tried him, but had not taken his seat among the judges. He had ever opposed Cromwell's usurpation, and went into voluntary banishment upon the Restoration. His affairs however, requiring his return, he applied to the king for a pardon, and obtained his request. When the factions arising from the popish plot, began to run high, Sidney full of enthusiastic ideas of liberty, and of the principle of that republican government which he adored, joined the popular party. So obnoxious had he rendered himself to the court, that they even took illegal methods to procure his condemnation. The only witness that deposed against Sidney was lord Howard; but, as the law required two, a very extraordinary expedient was put in practice, to supply this deficiency. In ransacking the prisoner's closet, some discourses on government were found in his hand-writing; in which he maintained principles favourable to liberty, and in themselves no way subversive of a limited government. By overstraining some of these they were construed into treason. In vain did Sidney allege, that papers were no legal evidence; that it could not be proved they were written by him; and that, if proved the papers contained nothing criminal. His defence was over-ruled: the violent and inhuman Jefferies, who was now chief-justice, easily prevailed on a partial jury to bring the prisoner in guilty, and his execution followed soon after. He complained of the iniquity of his sentence; but, far from denying his connections with Ruffel and the other conspirators, he gloried in his sufferings for the good old cause, in which, from his early youth, he had been enlisted.

Howard being the sole evidence against Hambden, the latter was indicted for a misdemeanour only, and cast in

fin

fine of forty thousand pounds. Holloway, a merchant of Bristol, one of the conspirators, had fled to the West Indies, and was now brought over, condemned, and executed. Sir Thomas Armstrong also, who had fled to Holland, was brought over, and shared the same fate. Lord Essex, who had been imprisoned in the Tower, was found in an apartment with his throat cut; but whether he was guilty of suicide, or whether the bigotry of the times might not have induced some assassin to commit the crime, it is impossible now to determine.

Fatal catastrophe of the earl of Essex.

This was the last blood that was shed for an imputation of plots and conspiracies, which agitated the nation during the greater part of this reign; but other modes of vengeance were carried into execution, by the cruelty and gloomy suspicion of the duke of York, who, since the dissolution of the last parliament, daily came into power. Titus Oates, for calling him a popish traitor, was fined a hundred thousand pounds; and was adjudged to remain in prison until he should make payment, of which he was utterly incapable. A like illegal sentence was passed upon Dutton Colt, for the same offence. Sir Samuel Barnardiston was fined ten thousand pounds, for having, in some private letters, reflected on the government. Of all those who were concerned in the late conspiracy, hardly one escaped the severity of the court, except the duke of Monmouth, who yet was the most culpable of all.

At this period, the government of Charles was as absolute as that of any monarch in Europe; but, to gratify his subjects by an act of popularity, he judged it proper to marry the lady Anne, his niece, to prince George, brother to the king of Denmark. About the same time, the duke, contrary to law, was restored to the office of high-admiral, without taking the test. Soon after these events, it is supposed that the king began to meditate a new plan of administration: that he determined to send the duke to Scotland, to recall Monmouth, to summon a parliament, to dismiss all his unpopular ministers, and to throw himself entirely on the good-will and affections of his subjects. Amidst these laudable designs, he was suddenly seized with a fit, which resembled an apoplexy; and, though he was recovered from it by bleeding, he languished only for a few days, and then expired, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign. During his illness, some clergymen of the church of England attended him; but he discovered a total indifference to their devotions and exhortations. Catholic priests were

A.D. 1684.

Marriage of the lady Anne to prince George of Denmark.

A.D. 1685.

The king's sickness, and death.

brought to his bed-side, and from their hands he received the rites of the Romish communion. In his cabinet were found two papers, written with his own hand, and containing arguments in favour of that persuasion. These were soon after published by James, his successor, who thereby greatly injured his own popularity, as well as the memory of his brother.

J A M E S II.

THE first act of the duke of York, who succeeded his brother by the title of James II. was to assemble the privy-council; where he made professions of his resolution to maintain the established government, both in church and state. But his conduct soon manifested the falshood of this declaration. All the customs, and the greater part of the excise, which had been voted to the late king for his life only, were levied by James, without any new act for that purpose. He likewise went openly to mass, with all the ensigns of his dignity; and even sent Caryl to Rome, as his agent, to make submissions to the pope, and to pave the way for the re-establishment of the catholic church in England. The pope, Innocent XI. prudently advised the king not to be too precipitate in his measures; and the Spanish ambassador used the freedom to make like remonstrances; observing to the king, how busy the priests appeared at court, and advised him against being governed too much by the counsels of those men: "Is it not the custom in Spain (said James) for the king to consult with his confessor?" "Yes (replied the ambassador), and that is the reason why our affairs succeed so very ill."

The king goes openly to mass.

He sends an agent to Rome.

Notwithstanding the king's prejudices, all the chief offices of the crown still continued in the hands of Protestants. Rochester was treasurer; his brother Clarendon, chamberlain; Godolphin, chamberlain to the queen; Sunderland secretary of state; and Halifax, president of the council. The king's first parliament, which was mostly composed of zealous Tories, was strongly biassed to comply with all the measures of the crown. They voted unanimously to settle on the king, during life, all the revenue enjoyed by his predecessor until the time of his decease. For this favour, James assured them of his resolution to secure them in the full enjoyment of their laws; but no answer could be extorted from him with regard to religion.

To pave the way for his intended conversion of the kingdom, it was thought necessary to undeceive his subjects in what related to the late rumour of a popish plot; and Oates, the contriver, was the first object of royal indignation. He was tried for perjury, on two indictments: one, for swearing that he was present at a consultation of Jesuits, in London, the 24th of April, 1679; and the other, for swearing that father Ireland was in London on the beginning of September of the same year. On the former indictment, he was convicted on the evidence of twenty-two persons; and on the latter, of twenty-seven. His sentence was, to be fined a thousand marks on each indictment: to be whipped, on two different days, from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn; to be imprisoned during life; and to be pilloried five times every year. Though the whipping was so severe, that it was evidently the intention of the court to put him to death by that punishment, yet Oates survived it all, and lived to king William's reign, when he had a pension of four hundred pounds a-year settled on him. Thus Oates remains a stain upon the times, in every part of his history.

*Oates con-
victed of
perjury.*

Monmouth, who had been, since his last conspiracy, pardoned, but ordered to depart the kingdom, had retired to Holland; where, as it was known that he still enjoyed the favour of his indulgent father, great marks of distinction were bestowed upon him by the prince of Orange. But after the acclion of James, the prince thought it necessary to dismiss Monmouth, who, therefore, retired to Brussels. Finding himself still pursued by the king's severity, he resolved, more in consequence of the importunity of his followers than of his own judgment or inclination, to make an attempt upon the kingdom. He accordingly landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, with scarce a hundred followers. But so popular was his name, and so great was the aversion of the people both to the person and religion of James, that, in four days, he had assembled above two thousand men. They were, indeed, almost all of them the lowest of the people; and the declaration which he published was suited entirely to their prejudices. He called the king, duke of York; and denominated him, a traitor, a tyrant, an assassin, and a popish usurper. He imputed to him the fire of London, the murder of Godfrey and of Essex, and even the poisoning the late king.

*Mon-
mouth's in-
vasion.*

*He assumes
the title of
king.*

The parliament, which was then sitting, was no sooner informed of Monmouth's landing than they presented to the king an address, assuring him of their loyalty, zeal, and assistance. The duke of Albemarle, son to him who restored the royal family, assembled the militia of Devonshire, to the number of four thousand men, and advanced, in order to oppose the rebels; but, finding his troops disaffected to the king, he soon after retreated with precipitation. Meanwhile, the duke advanced to Taunton, where he was reinforced by considerable numbers. Here twenty young maids, of some rank, presented Monmouth with a pair of colours, their own handy-work, and a copy of the Bible. He was persuaded to assume the title of king, and was proclaimed with great solemnity. His numbers had now increased to six thousand men; and he was obliged, every day, for want of arms, to dismiss a great many who crowded to his standard. He entered Bridgewater, Wells, and Frome, in all which places he was proclaimed; but he wasted, in receiving these empty honours, the time which he ought to have vigorously employed in action. The king called over from Holland six regiments of British troops; the army was considerably augmented; and regular forces, to the number of three thousand men, were dispatched under the command of Feversham and Churchill, in order to check the progress of the rebels. They took post at Sedgemore, a village in the neighbourhood of Bridgewater, and were joined by the militia of the country in considerable numbers. Monmouth, finding that he was not joined by any man of rank or influence; learning also, that an insurrection, which was projected in the capital, had not taken place, and that Argyle, his confederate, was already defeated, and made prisoner; sunk into such despondency, that he had once resolved to withdraw himself, and leave his unhappy followers to their fate. At last, however, he assumed the resolution to make a desperate effort. The negligent disposition made by Feversham invited him to the attack; and his faithful followers tried what courage and principle could perform against discipline and superior numbers. They drove the royal infantry from their ground, and seemed upon the point of gaining the victory, when the misconduct of Monmouth, and cowardice of lord Gray, who commanded the horse, proved fatal to the enterprise, Gray fled at the first onset; and, after a combat of three hours, the rebels being charged in flank by the royal
army,

army, gave way, and were followed with great slaughter. About fifteen hundred were killed in the battle and pursuit; and thus ended an enterprize, no less rashly begun than feebly conducted. *Monmouth is defeated,*

Monmouth fled from the field of battle above twenty miles, until his horse sunk under him. In order to conceal himself, he changed cloaths with a peasant, who being discovered by the pursuers, they now redoubled the diligence of their search. At last, the unhappy Monmouth was found lying in the bottom of a ditch, and covered with fern. *and taken.* When seized by his enemies, he burst into tears, and implored for life. He wrote to the king the most submissive and penitential letters, conjuring him to spare the issue of a brother, who had ever been so strongly attached to his interests. James admitted him to an audience, in hopes of extorting a discovery of his accomplices. At this interview, the duke fell upon his knees, and begged for his life in the most abject terms; but the stern tyrant assured him, that his crime was of such a nature as could not be pardoned. The duke now, finding that he had nothing to hope from the clemency of his uncle, assumed courage from despair, and prepared himself for death with a spirit better suited to his rank and character. On his way to the scaffold, the populace manifested their compassion by a plentiful effusion of tears. He warned the executioner not to fall into the error which he had committed in beheading Russel, where it had been necessary to repeat the blow. But this precaution served only to throw the executioner into a trepidation. When the duke laid down his head, and made the signal, the man struck three times ineffectually, and then threw down the axe; but the sheriff compelled him to resume the work; and, at two blows more, the head was severed from the body. Thus perished, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, James, duke of Monmouth, the darling of the English people. He was brave, sincere, and good-natured, open to flattery, and thereby seduced into an enterprize which exceeded his capacity.

But the vengeance of the king was still unsatisfied by this atonement. His officers acted with the most savage inhumanity towards those who were made prisoners at Sedgmore. Feversham ordered above twenty to be hanged immediately after the action. Nineteen were put to death in the same manner at Bridgewater, by colonel Kirke, a brutal soldier, who had long served at Tangiers. As if to make sport with death, he ordered a certain number to *Cruelty of colonel Kirke,*

be executed, while he and his company should drink the king's health. Observing their feet to shake in the agonies of death, he said they should have music to their dancing, and ordered the trumpets to sound. All the inhabitants of that country, innocent as well as guilty, were exposed to the capricious cruelty of this barbarian. His own regiment, which was distinguished for its outrages, he used, by way of pleasantry, to call his Lambs; an appellation long remembered with horror in the West of England.

*and judge
Jefferies.*

But these military outrages were still inferior to the legal slaughters committed by judge Jefferies, who was sent down to try the delinquents. This man, who waned in cruelty, had already given a specimen of his character in many trials where he presided. The natural brutality of his temper was inflamed by continual intoxication. He told the prisoners, that, if they would save him the trouble of trying them, they might expect some favour; otherwise he would execute the law upon them with the utmost severity. Many poor wretches were thus seduced into a confession, which served only to hasten their ruin. No less than eighty were executed at Dorchester. He afterwards opened his commission at Exeter, Taunton, and Wells; and whither soever he proceeded, he carried consternation along with him. The juries were so intimidated by his menaces, that they gave their verdict with precipitation; and many innocent persons, it is said, were involved with the guilty. And on the whole, beside those who were butchered by the military commanders, two hundred and fifty-one are computed to have fallen by the hand of justice. Women were not exempted from the general severity, but suffered for harbouring their nearest kindred. Lady Lisle, though the widow of one of the regicides, was herself a loyalist. She was prosecuted for having sheltered in her house two fugitives from the battle of Sedgemoor. This aged prisoner proved, that she was ignorant of their crime when she had given them protection; and the jury seemed inclined to compassion. They twice brought in a favourable verdict; but they were as often sent back by Jefferies, with menaces and reproaches, and at last were constrained to give a verdict against the prisoner.

But the fate of Mrs. Gaunt was yet more terrible. She was an anabaptist, noted for her beneficence, which she had extended to persons of all persuasions. One of the rebels, knowing her humane character, had recourse to
her

her in his distress, and was concealed by her. The abandoned villain, hearing that an indemnity and reward was offered to such as informed against criminals, came in, and betrayed his protectress. He was pardoned for his treachery, and she burnt alive for her benevolence.

Goodenough, the seditious under-sheriff of London, who had been engaged in the most criminal part of the Rye-house conspiracy, was made prisoner after the battle of Sedgemore, and resolved to save his own life, by accusing Cornish, the sheriff, whom he knew to be extremely obnoxious to the court. The prosecution was carried on with such precipitation, that the prisoner was tried, condemned, and executed, in the space of a week. After his death, the perjury of the witnesses appeared so flagrant, that even the king expressed some regret, granted his estate to the family, and condemned the witnesses to perpetual imprisonment. Jefferies, on his return, was immediately created a peer, and was soon after vested with the dignity of chancellor.

The government of James was now so prosperous, that he began to undervalue even an English parliament, at all times formidable to his family. In his speech to that which he had assembled early in the winter, he seemed to think himself exempted from all rules of prudence, or necessity of dissimulation. He told the two houses, that the militia was found by experience to be of no use; and he required a new supply, in order to maintain the forces which he had levied to augment the standing army. He also informed them, that he had employed a great many catholic officers, in whose favour he had dispensed with the law, which required the test to be taken by every one that held any public office. He found them useful, he said, and was determined to keep them in employment.

When this speech was taken into consideration by the commons, many severe reflections were thrown out against the present measures; and the house was with seeming difficulty engaged to promise in a general vote, that they would grant some supply. But instead of finishing that business, they proceeded to examine the dispensing power; and they voted an address to the king against it. Before this address was presented, they resumed the consideration of the supply; and, as one million two hundred thousand pounds were demanded by the court, and two hundred thousand proposed by the country-party, a middle course was taken, and seven hundred thousand, after some dispute, were at last voted. The address against the dispensing

Nov 9.
A parliament.

ing power was expressed in the most respectful and submissive terms; but was, nevertheless, ill received by the king, whose answer contained a flat denial, uttered with great warmth and vehemence. The commons were so daunted with this reply, that they kept silence a long time; and when Coke, member for Derby, rose up and said, "I hope we are all Englishmen, and not to be frightened with a few hard words;" so little spirit appeared in the assembly, that they sent him to the Tower for these expressions. The king, in a few days, prorogued the parliament, which, after some other prorogations, was at length dissolved.

The parliament dissolved.

A.D. 1686.

The parliament being dismissed, the next step was to secure a catholic interest in the privy-council. Accordingly, four catholic lords were admitted; Powis, Arundel, Bellasis, and Dover. The king made no secret of his desires to have his courtiers converted to his own religion. Sunderland, who saw that the only way to preferment was by popery, made no hesitation to gain the royal favour at that price. Rochester, the treasurer, was displaced, because he refused to conform. In these schemes, James was entirely governed by the counsels of the queen, and of his confessor, father Peters, a Jesuit, whom he soon after created a privy counsellor. Even in Ireland, where the duke of Ormond had long supported the royal cause, this nobleman, on account of being a protestant, was superseded by the lord Tyrconnel, a violent partizan of the Romish church.

Breach between the king and the church.

The extraordinary favour shown by James to the Catholics, could not fail to excite the indignation of the clergy of the church of England; a body which had hitherto supported the king against his republican enemies, and to the assistance of which he was chiefly indebted for his crown. The pulpits now began to thunder out against popery; and the more that James attempted to impose silence on these topics, the more vehement were the protestant preachers in their controversial declamations. Among those who distinguished themselves on this occasion, was one Dr. Sharpe, a clergyman of London, who inveighed with great severity against those who had changed their religion. This conduct gave great offence at court; and positive orders were issued to the bishop of London to suspend Sharpe until his majesty's pleasure should be farther known. The bishop refused to comply; and the king resolved to punish him for his disobedience, by an expedient equally illegal and alarming. To effect his designs, he determined

determined to revive the high-commission court, which had been abolished by act of parliament in the time of his father. An ecclesiastical commission, therefore, was issued, by which seven commissioners were invested with unlimited authority over the whole church of England. Before this tribunal the bishop was summoned; and both he and Sharpe were suspended from the exercise of their clerical function.

James, finding himself deserted by the church-party, affected to care for the presbyterians; and with this view, he assumed the power of issuing a declaration of general indulgence, and of suspending at once all the penal statutes, by which a conformity was required to the established religion. But the king's intentions were so obvious, that it was impossible for him ever to gain the confidence of the nonconformists. They were sensible, that both the violence of his temper, and the maxims of his religion, were repugnant to the principles of toleration. They dissimbled, however, their distrust for some time; and the king went on silently applauding himself for the success of his schemes.

But the manner of conducting his scheme in Scotland, was sufficient to discover the secret. He there ordered his parliament to grant a toleration to the Catholics only, without ever attempting to intercede for the dissenters, who were much more numerous. Not content with this flagrant declaration of his partiality, he publicly sent the earl of Castlemaine, ambassador extraordinary to Rome, in order to express his obedience to the pope, and to reconcile his kingdom to the catholic communion. Never was an ambassador, on so important an errand, treated with such marks of disrespect. The pope, instead of being pleased with this precipitate measure, concluded, that a scheme, conducted with so much indiscretion, could never prove successful. The cardinals were even heard facetiously to declare, that the king should be excommunicated, for thus endeavouring to overturn the small remains of popery that yet subsisted in England. The only proof of complaisance, which James received from the pontiff, was his sending to England a nuncio, in return for the embassy. By act of parliament, any communication with the pope was made treason; but so little regard did the king pay to the law, that he gave the nuncio a public reception at Windsor; and this envoy resided openly in London during the subsequent part of the present reign,

Court of ecclesiastical commission.

The bishop of London is suspended.

Declaration for liberty of conscience.

A.D. 1687.

The king sends an ambassador to Rome.

The pope's nuncio is received at Windsor.

But

But these transactions were only a prelude to the innovations which James had projected. The Jesuits were soon after permitted to erect colleges in different parts of the kingdom. They exercised the catholic worship in the most public manner; and four catholic bishops, consecrated in the king's chapel, were sent through the kingdom to exercise their episcopal functions, under the title of apostolic vicars. Their pastoral letters were printed by the king's printer, and distributed through all parts of the kingdom. The monks appeared at court in the habits of their respective orders; and a great number of priests and friars arrived from abroad. Nothing now remained but to open the door of the church and the universities to the intrusion of the Catholics, and this effort was soon after begun.

Father Francis, a Benedictine monk, was recommended by the king's mandate to the university of Cambridge for the degree of master of arts. They perceived all the dangerous consequences of such an admission, and therefore presented a petition, beseeching the king to revoke his mandate. But James, so far from complying with their request, would not even admit their deputies to his presence. The vice-chancellor was summoned to appear before the high-commission court, and deprived of his office. The university however persisted, and the father was refused. The king, thus foiled, thought proper at that time to drop his pretensions; but he carried on his attempts upon the university of Oxford with greater vigour.

*The king
prosecutes
Magdalen
college at
Oxford.*

The place of president of Magdalen-college, one of the richest foundations in Europe, being vacant, the king sent a mandate in favour of one Farmer, a new convert to the catholic religion, and likewise a man of a bad character. The fellows of the college made very submissive applications to the king for recalling his mandate; but before they received an answer, the day came, on which, by their statutes, they were obliged to proceed to an election. They therefore chose Dr. Hough, a man of learning, virtue, and resolution. The king was incensed at the disregard which they had shewn to his authority; and in order to punish the college, an inferior ecclesiastical court was sent down, which, finding Farmer a man of scandalous character, issued a mandate for a new election. The person now recommended by the king, was Dr. Parker, lately created bishop of Oxford, a man of prostitute character, but who atoned for all his vices, by his willingness to embrace the catholic religion. The fellows refused to comply

comply with this injunction; and their conduct so incensed the king, that he repaired in person to Oxford, and ordered them to be brought before him. He reproached them with their disobedience in the most imperious terms; and commanded them to choose Parker without delay. The college represented, that, having already made a regular election of a president, they could not deprive him of his office, and, during his life-time, substitute any other in his place: that, even if there were a vacancy, Parker, by the statutes of their founder, could not be chosen: that they had all of them bound themselves by oath to observe those statutes; and never on any account to accept of a dispensation. They farther represented, that the college had at all times so much distinguished itself by its loyalty, that nothing but invincible necessity could now induce them to oppose his majesty's inclinations. All these reasons availed them nothing. The president and all the fellows, except two who complied, were expelled the college; and Parker was put in possession of the office. The college was immediately filled with Catholics; and Charnock, one of the two that remained, was made vice-president.

This flagrant violation of the laws and religion of the kingdom proved one of the most unpopular acts of James's reign; but notwithstanding the general alarm which it spread over the nation, he proceeded to violate, without reserve, the most sacred ecclesiastical and civil privileges of the people. A second declaration of liberty of conscience was published, almost in the same terms with the former; but with this peculiar injunction, that all divines should read it after service in their churches. The clergy were known universally to disapprove of the suspending power; and they were now resolved to disobey an order dictated by the most bigotted motives. In order to encourage them in this resolution, six prelates, namely, Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, Ken, of Bath and Wells, Turner, of Ely, Lake, of Chichester, White, of Peterborough, and Trelawny, of Bristol, met privately with San-croft the primate, and concerted the form of a petition to the king. With the warmest expressions of zeal and submission, they remonstrated, that they could not read his declaration consistently with honour or conscience, and therefore besought his majesty to excuse them. This modest address only served the more to inflame the king's resentment. He immediately formed a resolution of punishing the bishops; and as the petition had been delivered

A.D. 1683.

*Six bishops
present a
petition to
the king.*

him

him in private, he summoned them before the council, and questioned them whether they would acknowledge it. The bishops, perceiving his intention, declined for some time giving an answer; but being urged by the chancellor, they at last avowed the petition. On their refusing to give bail, an order was immediately issued for their commitment to the Tower; and the crown lawyers received instructions to prosecute them for a seditious libel.

*They are
committed
to the
Tower.*

The king gave orders that they should be conveyed to the Tower by water, as the whole city was in commotion in their favour. No sooner was this measure publicly known, than the river-side was lined with an incredible multitude of spectators. As the reverend prisoners passed, the people kneeled in veneration, craving their blessing, calling upon heaven to protect them, and encouraging them to suffer nobly in the cause of religion. The bishops were not wanting, by their modest and humble deportment, to increase the attachment of the spectators; whom they exhorted to fear God, honour the king, and maintain their loyalty. The very soldiers, by whom they were guarded, kneeled down before them, and implored their forgiveness. Upon landing, the bishops immediately went to the Tower-chapel, to render thanks for those afflictions which they suffered in the cause of truth.

*Their trial,
and ac-
quittal.*

The 29th day of June was fixed for their trial; and their return was yet more splendidly attended than their imprisonment. Twenty-nine peers, a great number of gentlemen, and an immense crowd of the populace, waited upon them to Westminster-hall. The dispute was learnedly argued by the lawyers on both sides. Two of the judges, though their seats were held during pleasure, declared in favour of the bishops. The jury withdrew into a chamber, where they passed the whole night; but next morning they returned into court, and gave their verdict, Not guilty. Immediately the hall resounded with loud acclamations, which were communicated to the whole extent of the city. They even reached the camp at Hounslow, where the king was at dinner in Lord Feversham's tent. His majesty demanding the cause of those rejoicings, and being informed that it was nothing but the soldiers shouting at the delivery of the bishops, "Call you that nothing!" cried he; "but so much the worse for them."

The king, though he knew that all orders of men, except a handful of Catholics, were discontented, and even enraged at his measures, was determined to proceed with unremitting

unremitting violence in the prosecution of them. He displaced two of the judges, Powel and Holloway, who had appeared to favour the bishops. He issued orders to prosecute all those clergymen who had not read his declaration, and all had refused it, except two hundred. He sent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he had obtruded on Magdalen-college, to elect for president, in the room of Parker, lately deceased, one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and titular bishop of Madura.

A few days before the acquittal of the bishops, the queen was delivered of a son, who was baptized by the name of James. This event was highly agreeable to the Catholics, but increased the disgust of the Protestants, by depriving them of that pleasing, though not immediate prospect, of the succession of the prince of Orange to the crown. Calumny even went so far as to ascribe to the king the design of imposing on the world a supposititious child, who might be educated in his principles, and after his death support the catholic religion in his dominions. The present occasion was not the first, when that calumny has been invented. In the year 1682, the queen, then duchess of York, had been pregnant; and rumours were spread that an imposture would at that time be obtruded upon the nation: but the infant proving a female, the party was thereby spared the trouble of supporting their improbable fiction.

June 10.
*Birth of
the prince
of Wales.*

The fleet and the army, as well as the people, betrayed every day the most evident symptoms of discontent. The fleet had begun to mutiny, because Stricland, the admiral, a Roman Catholic, introduced the mass a-board his ship, and dismissed the protestant chaplain. The king had intended to augment his army with Irish recruits, and he resolved to try the experiment on the regiment of the duke of Berwick, his natural son; but Beaumont, the lieutenant-colonel, refused to admit them; and to this opposition five captains steadily adhered. They were all cashiered; and had not the discontents of the army on this occasion become very manifest, it was resolved to have punished those officers for mutiny. The king, however, made a trial of the dispositions of the army, in a manner still less disguised. His intention was to engage all the regiments, one after another, to give their consent to the repeal of the test and penal statutes. Accordingly, one of them was drawn up in presence of the king by its major, who desired that such of the soldiers as were against the late declaration of liberty of conscience, should lay down their arms,

arms: James was surpris'd to find, that, two captains and a few popish soldiers excepted, the whole battalion grounded their arms.

The prince of Orange, ever since his marriage with lady Mary, had made it a maxim to concern himself little with English affairs, and never by any measure to disgust any of the factions, or give umbrage to the prince who fill'd the throne. How little soever he might approve of James's administration, he always kept a total silence on the subject, and gave no countenance to those discontents, which were so industriously propagated throughout the nation. It was from the application of James himself, that the prince first openly took any part in English affairs. Notwithstanding the lofty ideas which the king entertained of his prerogative, he found that the edicts which he emitted still wanted much of the authority of laws, and that the continuance of them might in the issue become dangerous, both to himself and to the Catholics, whom he desired to favour. An act of parliament alone could ensure the indulgence or toleration, which he had laboured to establish; and he hoped, that, if the prince would declare in favour of that scheme, the members, who had hitherto resisted all his own applications, would at last be prevailed with to adopt it. The consent, therefore, of the prince to the repeal of the penal statutes and of the test was strongly solicited by the king; and in order to engage his concurrence, hopes were given him, that England would second him in all those enterprizes, which he had planned on the continent.

*Political
conduct of
the prince
of Orange.*

But the prince of Orange was too politic to accede to James's proposals, a concurrence with which would draw upon himself all the odium that had already been experienced by the king. He would, therefore, go no farther than to promise his consent to the repeal of the penal statutes, by which the nonconformists as well as the Catholics were exposed to punishment. He even began secretly to foment the discontents in England. For this purpose, he gave instructions to Dykevelt, his envoy, to apply in his name to every sect and denomination in the kingdom. To the church-party he sent assurances of favour and regard; and protested that his education in Holland had no ways prejudiced him against episcopacy. To the nonconformists he sent exhortations not to be deceived by the insidious caresses of their known enemy; but to wait for the good offices of a sincere and zealous protector. Dykevelt executed his commission with such dexterity, that all orders

orders of men cast their eyes towards Holland, and expected thence a deliverance from those dangers, with which their religion and liberty were so strongly threatened.

Many of the most considerable persons in the kingdom made secret applications to Dykevelt, and through him to the prince of Orange. Admiral Herbert, and admiral Ruffel, assured him in person of their own and the national attachment. Henry Sidney, brother to Algernon, and uncle to the earl of Sunderland, went over under pretence of drinking the waters at Spa, and conveyed still stronger assurances of a universal combination against the measures of the king. Lord Dumblaine, son of the earl of Danby, being master of a frigate, made several voyages to Holland, and carried from many of the nobility tenders of duty, and even considerable sums of money to the prince of Orange*. Soon after the bishop of London, the earls of Danby, Nottingham, Devonshire, and Dorset, with several other lords, gentlemen, and principal citizens, united in addresses to him, and intreated his speedy descent.

The prince of Orange is applied to by the English.

The people of England, though long divided between Whig and Tory, were unanimous in their measures against the king; and William therefore determined to accept of the invitations that were offered him. The time at which he entered upon his enterprize, was just when the nation was in a ferment on account of the imprisonment of the bishops. He had previously made considerable augmentations to the Dutch fleet, and the ships were then lying ready in the harbour. Some additional troops were also levied, and sums of money, which had been raised for other purposes, were applied to the advancement of this expedition. The Dutch had always reposed an entire confidence in him; and many of the neighbouring princes regarded him as their guardian and protector. He was sure of the protection of his native government, while he should be employed in England; and the troops of some of the German powers were actually marched down to Holland for that purpose. Every place was in motion. All Europe expected the descent, except the unfortunate James himself, who, secure in the piety of his intentions, thought nothing could injure his schemes calculated to promote the cause of heaven.

The prince's preparations.

* D'AVAUX, 14th and 24th of September, 8th and 15th of October, 1688.

The French king offers James his assistance, but he rejects it.

The king of France was the first who apprized him of his danger, and offered to assist him in repelling it. He was willing to join a squadron of French ships to the English fleet; and to send over any number of troops, which James should think requisite for his security. James, however, could not be convinced that his son-in-law intended an invasion. Fully persuaded himself of the sacredness of his authority, he imagined that a like belief possessed the minds of his subjects. He therefore declined the French king's proposal, unwilling perhaps to call in foreign aid, when he had at home an army which he thought sufficient. When this offer was rejected, Lewis again offered to march down his numerous army to the frontiers of the Dutch provinces, and thus to detain their forces at home for their own protection. But this proposal met with no better reception. Lewis, however, still unwilling to abandon a friend and ally, whose interest he regarded as closely connected with his own, remonstrated with the Dutch against the preparations which they were making to invade England. The Dutch considered this remonstrance as an officious impertinence, and even James hardly viewed it in any better light.

The king receives intelligence of an invasion. He is alarmed.

He takes some steps for the satisfaction of the people.

James, having thus rejected the assistance of his friends, was astonished with advice from his minister in Holland, that an invasion was not only projected, but avowed. When he first read the letter containing this information, he grew pale, and the letter dropt from his hand. He now perceived the extreme danger of his situation, and knew not by what means it was possible to extricate himself. His only resource was in retreating from those imprudent measures, by which he had created himself so many enemies, at home and abroad. He paid court to the Dutch, and offered to enter into any alliance with them for common security. He replaced in all the counties the deputy-lieutenants and justices, who had been deprived of their commissions for their adherence to the test and the penal laws: he restored the charters of London, and of all the corporations: he annulled the court of ecclesiastical commission: he removed the bishop of London's suspension: he re-instated the expelled president and fellows of Magdalen-college; and he was even reduced to caress the bishops, whom he had so lately persecuted and insulted. But all his concessions were now too late, and were regarded only as the effects of fear. The bishops, instead of suggesting comfort, recapitulated to him all the instances of his mal-administration. Intelligence

gence having arrived of a great disaster, which had befallen the Dutch fleet, it is commonly believed, that he recalled those concessions which he had made in favour of Magdalen-college; and, to shew his attachment to the Romish church, at the baptism of the young prince, he appointed the pope one of the sponsors.

Meanwhile, the prince of Orange's declaration was industriously dispersed over the kingdom. In this he enumerated all the grievances of which the nation complained. He promised his assistance in redressing them; he affirmed, that his only purpose was to procure the people a lasting settlement of their liberty and religion; and that he had no other motive for coming over, but to learn the sense of the nation in a full and free parliament.

*Prince of
Orange's
declara-
tion.*

So well concerted were the prince's measures, that, in three days, above four hundred transports were hired. The army quickly fell down the rivers and canals from Nimeguen, with all necessary stores; and the prince set sail from Helvoet-Sluis, with a fleet of near five hundred vessels, and an army of above fourteen thousand men. He first encountered a storm, which drove him back; but his loss being soon repaired, he again put to sea under the command of admiral Herbert, and made sail with a fair wind towards the West of England. The same wind detained the king's fleet in its station near Harwich, and enabled the Dutch to pass the streights of Dover without opposition; so that, after a voyage of two days, the prince landed his army at the village of Broxholme, in Torbay, on the fifth of November, which was the anniversary of the gunpowder-treason.

*The prince
embarks.*

*Nov. 5,
and lands
in England.*

Though the invitation from the English was very general, the prince for some time had the mortification to find himself joined by very few. The Dutch army marched first to Exeter, where the country-people had been so lately terrified with the executions which had ensued on Monmouth's rebellion, that they continued to observe a strict neutrality. He continued for ten days in expectation of being joined by the malcontents, and at last began to despair of success. But just as he deliberated on re-imbarking his forces, he was joined by several persons of consequence, and the whole country soon after came flocking to his standard. The first person who joined the prince was major Burrington; and he was quickly followed by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerset. Sir Edward Seymour made proposals for an association, which every one signed. By degrees, the earl

*He is
joined by
many per-
sons of di-
stinction.*

of Abingdon, Mr. Ruffel, son of the earl of Bedford, Mr. Wharton, Godfrey, and Howe, all came to Exeter. The whole kingdom was in commotion. Lord Delamere took arms in Cheshire; the earl of Danby seized York; the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince; the earl of Devonshire made a like declaration in Derby; the nobility and gentry of Nottinghamshire embraced the same cause; and every day there appeared some effect of the general combination, into which all ranks of people had entered against the measures of the king.

But the most dangerous symptom was the disaffection of the army, which seemed universally tinged with the spirit of the times. Lord Colchester, son of the earl of Rivers, was the first officer that deserted to the prince; and he was attended by a few of his troops. Lord Lovelace attempted to follow the example; but was intercepted by the militia, under the duke of Beaufort. Lord Cornbury, son to the earl of Clarendon, carried over to the prince the greater part of three regiments of cavalry. Several officers of distinction informed Feversham, the general, that they could not in conscience fight against the prince of Orange. The defection of the officers was followed by that of the king's own servants and creatures. Lord Churchill had been raised from the rank of a page, had been invested with a high command in the army, had been created a peer, and owed his whole fortune to the king's bounty; even he deserted his royal master in this extremity, and carried with him the duke of Grafton, natural son to the late king, colonel Berkeley, and some others.

In this universal defection, the unfortunate James, not knowing where to turn, and on whom to rely, began to think of requesting assistance from France, when it was become too late. He wrote to Leopold, emperor of Germany, but in vain. The king was by this time arrived at Salisbury, the head-quarters of his army; and he found that this body amounted to twenty thousand men. It is possible that had he led those to battle, without granting them time for deliberation, they might have fought in his favour, and secured him on the throne. But he was immersed in fears, suspicions, and perplexity, which prevented him from forming any bold resolution. It was no small addition to his present distress, that Anne, his favourite daughter, and the prince of Denmark, perceiving the desperate state of his affairs, resolved to abandon him, and take part with the prevailing side. When the

*James is
abandoned
by his own
daughter,*

king

king was told that the prince and princess had followed the example of the rest of his favourites, he was stung with the most bitter anguish. "God help me," cried he, in the extremity of his agony, "my own children have forsaken me!"

In the midst of this distraction and perplexity, he embraced a sudden resolution of drawing off his army, and retiring towards London; a measure which could only serve to betray his fears, and provoke farther treachery. Thus driven to the precipice of his fortunes, invaded by one son-in-law, abandoned by another, despised by his subjects, and hated by those who had suffered from his cruelty, he assembled the few noblemen that still adhered to his interests. In this forlorn council, he demanded the advice of those in whom he most confided. Addressing himself to the earl of Bedford, father to lord Russell, who had been executed in the preceding reign, by the intrigues of James, "My lord," said the king, "you are an honest man; you have credit, and can do me signal service." "Ah, sir," replied the earl, "I am old and feeble; I can do you but little service—I had, indeed, a son!" James was so struck with this reply, that he was not able to speak for some minutes.

The king's fortune now exposed him to the contempt of his enemies; and his behaviour was not such as could gain him the esteem of his friends and adherents. He seemed in this emergence as much depressed with adversity, as he had before been vainly elated with prosperity. He was prevailed upon to issue writs for a new parliament, and to send Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, as commissioners to treat with the prince of Orange. But these were the last acts of royal authority which he exerted. He even hearkened to imprudent counsel, by which he was prompted to desert the throne, and to gratify his enemies beyond what their fondest hopes could have promised them.

The news received by the king from all quarters served to continue the panic, into which he was fallen, and which his enemies expected to improve to their advantage. He now precipitately embraced the advice of escaping into France; and he sent off before-hand the queen and the infant prince, under the conduct of count Lauzun, an old favourite of the French monarch's. Himself disappeared in the night-time, attended only by sir Edward Hales; and assuming the disguise of a plain dress, went down to Feverham, where he embarked on board a

He attempts to fly the king's dom.

*He returns
to London,*

small vessel for France. But his misfortunes continued to pursue him. The vessel in which he had embarked was detained by the populace, who, not knowing the person of the king, robbed, insulted, and abused him. He was now, therefore, persuaded by the earl of Winchelsea to return to London, where again the populace, moved by his distresses, and guided by their natural levity, received him, contrary to his expectation, with shouts and acclamations. During his abode at Whitehall, little attention was paid to him by the nobility or any persons of distinction. Himself showed not any symptom of spirit, nor discovered any intention of resuming the reins of government, which he had once thrown aside.

*whence
he retires
to Rochef-
ter.*

Though the prince of Orange was secretly embarrassed by James's return to the capital, he determined to dissimble, and received the news of it with a haughty air. His aim from the beginning was to push James by threats and severities to relinquish the throne. The king having sent lord Feversham on a civil message to the prince, desiring a conference previous to the settlement of the throne, that nobleman was put under an arrest, on pretence of his coming without a passport. The Dutch guards were ordered to take possession of Whitehall, where James then resided, and to displace the English. The king was soon after commanded by a message, which he received in bed at midnight, to quit his palace next morning, and to depart for Ham, a seat of the duchess of Lauderdale's. He desired permission to retire to Rochester, a city not far from the sea-coast. This request was readily granted him; and it was now perceived that the harsh measures of the prince had taken effect, and that James was meditating an escape from the kingdom.

While James lingered at Rochester, he seemed desirous of an invitation to keep possession of the throne; but observing that he was entirely neglected by his own subjects, and oppressed by his son-in-law, he resolved to seek safety from the king of France, the only friend he had now remaining. He therefore privately embarked on board a frigate which waited for him; and he arrived safe at Ambleuse, in Picardy, whence he proceeded to St. Germain, where he still enjoyed the empty title of a king.

After this manner, the courage and abilities of the prince of Orange, seconded by surprising fortune, had effected the deliverance of the kingdom. But the more difficult task remained of obtaining for himself that crown, which had fallen from the head of his father-in-law. Previously, therefore,

therefore, to any regular authority, he continued in the management of all public affairs. By the advice of the house of lords, the only remaining member of the legislature, he was desired to summon a parliament by circular letters. But the prince, unwilling to act upon so imperfect an authority, convened all the members who had sat in the house of commons during any parliament of Charles II. and to these were added the mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common-council. This was regarded as the most proper representative of the people, that could be summoned during the present emergency. They unanimously voted the same address with the lords; and the prince, being thus supported by legal authority, wrote circular letters to the counties and corporations of England, to choose a new parliament. His orders were universally complied with; government was conducted in the most regular peaceful manner, and the prince became possessed of all authority, as if he had regularly succeeded to the throne.

On the meeting of the house, which was mostly composed of the Whig party, after thanks were voted to the prince of Orange for the deliverance which he had brought them, they proceeded to the settlement of the kingdom. In a few days they passed, by a great majority, a vote, which was sent up to the house of lords for their concurrence. It was contained in these words: "That king James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people; and having, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." This vote, when brought into the upper house, met with great opposition, and was at length carried by a majority of two voices only.

The throne being thus declared vacant, the next consideration was the appointing a successor. Some declared for a regent; others that the princess of Orange should be invested with regal power; and the young prince considered as supposititious. The debates ran high on this subject. A conference was demanded between the lords and commons; while the prince, with his usual prudence, entered into no intrigues either with the electors or members; but kept a total silence, as if he had been no way concerned in the transaction. At last, perceiving that

A.D. 1689

22d Jan.
Convention
summoned.

The prince
of Orange
assumes the
reins of go-
vernment.

The com-
mons vote
that king
James had
abdicated
the throne.

The lords
concur in
the vote of
the com-
mons.]

*Private
declaration
of the
prince of
Orange.*

his own name was little mentioned in these disputes, he called together the lords Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Danby, with a few more; and told them, that having been invited over to restore their liberty, he had happily effected his purpose; that he had heard of several schemes proposed for establishing the government; that if they chose a regent, he thought it incumbent on him to inform them that he never would accept of that office, the execution of which, he knew, would be attended with insuperable difficulties; that he would not accept of the crown under the princess his wife, though he was convinced of her merits: that therefore, if either of these schemes were adopted, he could give them no assistance in the settlement of the nation, but would return home to his own country, satisfied with his endeavours to secure the freedom of the British dominions. This declaration produced the intended effect. After a long debate in both houses, a new sovereign was preferred to a regent, by a majority of two voices. It was agreed that the prince and princess of Orange should reign jointly as king and queen of England, but the administration of government be placed in the hand of the prince only. That the princess of Denmark should succeed after the death of the prince and princess of Orange; her posterity after those of the princess, but before those of the prince by any other wife. The convention annexed to this settlement of the crown a declaration of rights, where all the points, which had of late years been disputed between the king and people, were finally determined; and the royal prerogative was both more narrowly circumscribed, and more exactly defined, than in any former period of the English government. The marquis of Halifax, as speaker of the house of lords, made a solemn tender of the crown to their highnesses, in the name of the peers and commons of England. The prince accepted the offer in terms of acknowledgement; and that very day William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen of England.

*Settlement
of the
crown.*

*William
and Mary
proclaimed
king and
queen of
England.*

C H A P. X.

From the Revolution to the Accession of the Family of Hanover.

WILLIAM was no sooner elected to the throne than he began to experience the difficulty of governing a people, who were more ready to examine the commands of their superiors, than to obey them. His reign commenced with a proclamation, for confirming all Protestants in the offices which they enjoyed on the 1st day of December. He then chose the members of his council, who were generally well affected to his interest, except the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Nottingham; and these were admitted in complaisance to the church-party, which it was not thought adviseable to provoke. Nottingham and Shrewsbury were appointed secretaries of state; the privy-seal was bestowed upon the marquis of Halifax; and the earl of Danby was created president of the council. D'Auverquerque was made master of the horse, Zuylestain of the robes, and Schomberg of the ordnance. The chief favourite, however, was Bentinck, who was appointed groom of the stole, and privy-purse. The treasury, admiralty, and chancery, were put in commission; twelve able judges were chosen; and the diocese of Salisbury having become vacant, the king bestowed it on Burnet, who had been, in a particular manner, instrumental in effecting the Revolution.

The new ministry.

The first resolution taken in the new council, was to change the convention into a parliament, that the late settlement of the crown might be confirmed by a legal sanction, which was now supposed to be wanting, as the assembly had not been convoked by the king's writ of summons. The experiment of a new election was deemed too hazardous; and therefore the council determined that the king should, by virtue of his own authority, effect the proposed transmutation, by going to the house of peers with the usual state, and pronouncing a speech from the throne to both houses. This expedient was accordingly practised.

The convention converted into a parliament.

William was no sooner seated on the throne than he made an attempt, similar to that which had been the principal cause of all the disturbances in the preceding reign. Being naturally biased to Calvinism, he was desirous of repealing those laws which enjoined uniformity

William's efforts in favour of the dissenters.

of

of worship; and though he could not entirely succeed in his design, a toleration was granted to such dissenters as should take the oaths of allegiance, and hold no private conventicles. Even the Papists experienced the lenity of his government; and notwithstanding the laws against them were not repealed, they were seldom executed with any rigour.

But though William was acknowledged king in England, Scotland and Ireland were still undetermined. The revolution in England had been brought about by a coalition of Whigs and Tories; but in Scotland it had been effected by the Whigs almost alone. They soon came to a resolution, that James had, to use their own expression, forfeited his right to the crown; a term which, in the law-language of that country, excluded not only himself, but all his posterity. They therefore quickly recognized the authority of William, and took that opportunity to abolish episcopacy, which had long been disagreeable to the nation.

The Scots recognize king William.

Nothing now remained to the deposed king of all his former possessions but Ireland; where he had still some hopes of maintaining his ground, by the assistance which he was promised from the French monarch, who had long been at variance with William, and took every opportunity to form confederacies against him. From Lewis, therefore, James obtained a fleet and some troops, to assert his pretensions in Ireland, the only part of his dominions that had not openly declared against him.

The king of France assists James in maintaining possession of Ireland.

James lands in Ireland.

James, in consequence of this support, set sail from Brest on the 7th of May, and arrived at Kinsale on the 22d; soon after which he made his public entry into Dublin, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. He was met at the castle gate by a procession of popish bishops and priests in their pontificals, bearing the host, which he publicly adored. Tyrconnel, the lord-lieutenant, was devoted to his interests, and his army amounted to near forty thousand men. The Protestants over the greater part of Ireland were disarmed; the Catholics universally received him with the most sincere congratulations; and Ulster was the only province that denied his authority.

Great hardships of the Irish Protestants.

The Protestants of Ireland now underwent the most oppressive and cruel indignities. Most of those who were attached to the Revolution, were either obliged to retire into Scotland or England, or hid themselves, or submitted to accept of written protections from their enemies. The bravest of them, however, to the number of ten thousand men,

men, assembled at Londonderry, where they resolved to make their last stand, in defence of their religion and liberty. A few also gathered into a body at Inniskilling, where their number was soon increased by the accession of others.

Many of them take refuge in Londonderry and Inniskilling.

James continued for some time irresolute what course to pursue; but as soon as the season would permit, he opened the campaign with the siege of Londonderry, a town of small importance in itself, but rendered famous by the obstinate resistance which it made on this occasion.

Siege of Londonderry.

Though colonel Lundie had been appointed governor of the town by William, he was secretly attached to James; and at a council of war, prevailed upon the officers and townsmen, to send messengers to the besiegers with an offer of surrender the day following. But the inhabitants being apprised of the design, rose in a fury against the governor and council, shot one of the officers whom they suspected, and boldly resolved to maintain the place to the last extremity. They chose for their governors one Walker, a dissenting minister, and major Baker, with joint authority. The town was weak in its fortifications, and still weaker in its artillery, there being not upon the works above twenty serviceable guns. The batteries of the besiegers soon began to play upon the town with great fury; and several assaults were made, but always repulsed with resolution. The besieged, after some time, found themselves exhausted by continual fatigue. They were afflicted also by a contagious distemper, which reduced their numbers; and, in addition to their distress, they suffered greatly from want of provisions. They had even the mortification to see some ships, which had arrived with supplies from England, prevented from sailing up the river by the batteries of the enemy, and a boom by which they had blocked up the channel. At length a reinforcement arrived in the Lough, under the command of general Kirke, who had deserted his master, and been employed in the service of William. But all he could do, was to promise them speedy relief, and to exhort them to bear their miseries a little longer, with assurances of a happy termination. They had now consumed the last remains of their provision; and supported life by eating horses, dogs, and all kinds of vermin, while even this loathsome food began to fail them. Their misery was increased by seeing above four thousand of their fellow-protestants, from different parts of the country, driven by Rosene, James's general, under the walls of the town, where they were

*The siege
is raised.*

were kept three whole days without provision. Kirke had hitherto lain inactive, debating with himself between the prudence and necessity of his assistance; but receiving intelligence that the garrison, exhausted with fatigues and famine, had sent proposals of capitulation, he resolved upon an attempt to throw provisions into the place by means of three victuallers, and a frigate to cover them. One of these broke the enemy's boom; and all the three, after having sustained a very hot fire from both sides of the river, arrived in safety at the town, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants. The army of James was so dispirited by the success of this enterprize, that they abandoned the siege in the night, and retired with precipitation, after having lost above nine thousand men before the place. Kirke no sooner took possession of the town, than Walker was prevailed on to embark for England, with an address of thanks to king William, for the seasonable relief which they had received.

*Oppression
of the Pro-
testants.*

The Inniskilliners were no less remarkable than the people of Londonderry for the valour and perseverance with which they espoused the interests of William. Indeed the cruelty of the Papists was sufficient to excite the tamest into opposition. The Protestants, by an act of the popish parliament, under James, were divested of those lands, which they had occupied ever since the Irish rebellion. Three thousand of that persuasion, who had sought safety by flight, were found guilty of treason and attainted. Soldiers were permitted to live upon free quarter; the people were plundered, the shops of tradesmen, and the kitchens of citizens, were pillaged, to supply a quantity of brass, which was converted into coin, and passed, by royal mandate, for above forty times its real value. Not content with this, the abdicated king imposed, by his own authority, a tax of twenty thousand pounds a month on personal property, and levied it by a commission under the great-seal. All vacancies in public schools were supplied by popish teachers. The pension allowed from the exchequer to the university of Dublin was withdrawn, and that institution converted into a popish seminary. Brigadier Sarsfield commanded all Protestants of a certain district to retire to the distance of ten miles from their habitations, on pain of death. Many perished with hunger, and still more from being forced from their homes, during the severest inclemencies of the season.

*Arbitrary
conduct of
James.*

Though the affairs of Ireland were extremely pressing, and the Protestants made repeated applications for relief,
the

the succours from England had been so unaccountably retarded, that James had been six months in arms before any troops were embarked for that kingdom. William, dreading the consequence of employing the late king's forces to fight against him, ordered twenty-three new regiments to be raised for that purpose. These, with two Dutch battalions, and four of French refugees, with the Inniskilliners, were allotted for the reduction of Ireland; and next to king William, Schomberg was appointed to command. This officer was a Dutchman, who had long been the faithful servant of that prince, and had now passed a life of eighty years almost continually in the field. The method of carrying on the war in Ireland, however, was a mode of operation with which he was entirely unacquainted. He reflected not on the dangers to which his troops were exposed by being confined to one place; and he kept them in a low moist camp, near Dundalk, without fuel almost of any kind; so that the men fell into fevers and fluxes, which carried off great numbers. The enemy, however, was no less afflicted with similar disorders. Both camps remained for some time in sight of each other; and at last the rainy season approaching, they both, as if by mutual agreement, broke up at once, and retired into winter-quarters, without attempting any hostilities on either side.

Duke of Schomberg is sent with an army to Ireland.

William, induced by the bad success of the campaign, and the miserable situation of the Protestants in Ireland, at length resolved to attempt their relief in person, at the opening of the ensuing spring; and accordingly landed at Carrickfergus, where he found himself at the head of an army of six and thirty thousand effective men; which was more than a match for the forces of James, though they exceeded this number by about ten thousand men.

A.D. 1690.

William lands in Ireland.

William, having received intelligence that the French fleet was sailed for the coast of England, hastened to advance against James, who he heard had quitted Dublin, and had stationed his army at Ardee and Dundalk. All the measures pursued by William were dictated by prudence and valour, while those of his opponent seemed to be guided by obstinacy and infatuation. The adherents of the latter neglected to harraß William in his difficult march from the North; they neglected to oppose him at the strong pass at Newry. As he advanced, they fell back, first from Dundalk, and then from Ardee; until at last, they fixed their camp in a strong station, on the other side of the Boyne. William marched up to the opposite side of the river, to reconnoitre their

situation;

situation; and being perceived by the enemy, some field-pieces were brought out, and planted against his person immediately. The shot killed a man and two horses close by him, and himself was wounded in the shoulder. This accident creating some confusion among his attendants, the enemy concluded he was killed, and their whole camp resounded with acclamations. The report was instantly communicated to Dublin, and thence to Paris, where the event was celebrated with great demonstrations of joy. At night William called a council of war, and declared his resolution to attack the enemy in the morning. The duke of Schomberg attempted to expostulate with him upon the danger of the undertaking; but finding the king inflexible, retired to his tent with the appearance of dissatisfaction, as if he had a prescience of his own misfortune.

30th June.
*Battle of
the Boyne.*

Early in the morning, William gave orders to force a passage over the river. This the army undertook in three different places; and, after a furious cannonading, the battle began with great vigour. The Irish troops, though reckoned inferior to none in Europe, when out of their own country, have always fought indifferently at home. After an obstinate resistance, they fled with precipitation; leaving the French and Swiss regiments, which came to their assistance, to make the best retreat they could. William led on his cavalry in person, and contributed by his activity and vigilance to the success of the day. James was not in the action, but stood aloof on the hill of Dunmore, surrounded with some squadrons of horse; and at intervals was heard to exclaim, when he saw his own troops repulsing those of the enemy, "O! spare my English subjects." The Irish lost about fifteen hundred men, and the English about one-third of that number; among whom was the duke of Schomberg. He was killed by a discharge from his own troops, who, not knowing that he had been accidentally hurried into the midst of the enemy, fired upon the body of men by whom he was encompassed, and mortally wounded him. This old soldier of fortune, who had distinguished himself by his bravery under almost every power of Europe, was descended from a noble family in the Palatinate, and his mother was an Englishwoman, daughter of lord Dudley.

*The duke of
Schomberg
killed.*

James, while his troops were yet fighting, quitted his station; and leaving orders to defend the pass at Duleek, made the best of his way to Dublin, despairing of any farther success. He no sooner arrived in that capital, than he assembled the magistrates, and advised them to secure

secure

secure the best terms they could from the victor ; after which he set out for Waterford, where, in a vessel fitted for his reception, he embarked for France. Had he possessed either conduct or spirit, he might still have headed his troops, and fought with advantage ; but prudence forsook him with good fortune, and he returned to retrieve his affairs abroad, while he deserted them in the only place where they might have been maintained.

James embarks for France.

His adherents, however, were determined to support those interests which himself had abandoned. Limerick, a strong city in the province of Munster, still held out for the late king, and braved all the efforts of William's army to reduce it. Sarsfield, a popular and experienced general, put himself at the head of the army which had been routed at the Boyne, and went farther into the country to defend the banks of the river Shannon, where he resolved to await the enemy. But James, while he would not defend the country himself, determined that none but such as were agreeable to him should defend it. He therefore appointed St. Ruth, a French general, who had signalized himself against the Protestants in France, to command over Sarsfield ; a measure which gave the Irish universal discontent, as it showed the king could neither rely on their skill nor fidelity.

William being gone over to England, general Ginckle, who commanded in his absence, led his army towards the Shannon, in order to pass that broad and dangerous river. The only place where it was fordable, was at Athlone, a strong walled town, built on both sides of the river, and defending that important pass. The part of the town on the hither-side of the river was quickly taken sword in hand by the English ; but that on the opposite bank being defended with great vigour, was for some time thought impregnable. At length it was resolved, in a council of war, that a body of troops should ford the stream in the face of the enemy. This service being performed with great resolution, the forces of the enemy were driven from their works, and the town surrendered at discretion. St Ruth marched his army to their assistance ; but receiving intelligence of what had happened, he instantly changed his course, and took post at Aughrim, at the distance of ten miles ; where he determined to await the English army, and decide the fate of Ireland at one blow.

Ginckle, having put Athlone in a posture of defence, passed the Shannon, and marched towards the enemy,
with

with the resolution of giving them battle, though his forces, which amounted to eighteen thousand men, were inferior by seven thousand. The Irish were posted in a very advantageous situation, upon a rising ground, having in their front a morass, which, to appearance, was passable only in two places. Their right was fortified by entrenchments, and their left secured by the castle of Aughrim. Ginckle, having observed their position, gave the necessary orders for the attack; and, after a furious cannonading, the English army at twelve o'clock began to force the two passages of the morass, in order to occupy the ground on the other side. The enemy received them with great intrepidity, and the horse were several times repulsed; but at length the troops on the right, by the help of some field-pieces, were enabled to force their passage. At six o'clock in the evening the left wing of the English army was advanced to the right of the Irish, and at length obliged it to give way. Meanwhile, a more general attack was made upon the centre, where St. Ruth being killed by a cannon-ball, his troops were so dispirited that they also gave way on all sides, and after having lost above five thousand of the flower of their army, retreated to Limerick. Here they for some time made a brave defence; but seeing the enemy advanced within ten paces of the bridge, and that themselves were entirely surrounded, they determined to capitulate. A negotiation was immediately begun, and soon after concluded. By this capitulation the Roman catholics were restored to the enjoyment of those liberties in the exercise of their religion, which they had possessed in the reign of Charles II. All persons were indulged with free leave to remove with their families and effects to any other country, except England and Scotland. In consequence of this, about fourteen thousand of those who had fought for king James, went over into France, having transports provided by government for conveying them thither. On their arrival in France, they were thanked for their loyalty by James, who told them that they should still fight for their old master; and that he had obtained an order from the king of France for their being new clothed, and put into quarters of refreshment.

Ireland now submitted peaceably to the English government, and James was to look for other assistance to support his declining pretensions. His chief hopes lay in a conspiracy among his English adherents, and in the succours which were promised him by the French king. The conspiracy was originally hatched in Scotland by sir James

Montgomery,

A. D. 1691.

*Ginckle
defeats the
Irish
at Augh-
rim.*

*Limerick
capitulates
with the
king's
forces.*

*Fourteen
thousand
Irish emi-
grate to
France.*

Montgomery, a person who from being an adherent to William, now opposed his interests; but as the project was ill conceived, it was as lightly discovered by the instigator. To this plot succeeded another, which, being chiefly the work of the Whig party, now the most formidable in the kingdom, seemed to threaten more serious consequences. A number of this class joined themselves to the Tory party, and both made advances to the adherents of the late king. The plan which they concerted was, that the restoration of James should be entirely effected by foreign forces; that he should sail for Scotland, and be there joined by five thousand Swedes, who, because they were of the protestant religion, it was thought, would remove a part of the odium which attended an invasion by foreigners; that assistance should at the same time be sent from France, and that full liberty of conscience should be proclaimed throughout the kingdom. To hasten the execution of the project, it was resolved to send over to France two trusty persons, to consult with the exiled king; and for this dangerous embassy, lord Preston and Mr. Ashton were appointed. Ashton having hired a small vessel for the purpose, the two conspirators went secretly on board; but while they thought themselves secure of accomplishing their errand, information had been given of their intentions, and by means of lord Carmarthen they were both seized. The two conspirators were soon after tried at the Old-Bailey, and condemned. Ashton was executed without making any confession; but lord Preston had not the same resolution. Upon an offer of a pardon, he discovered a number of associates, the principal of whom were, the duke of Ormond, lord Dartmouth, and lord Clarendon.

Conspiracy against the government.

The conspiracy is discovered.

The reduction of Ireland, and the unfortunate issue of the late conspiracy, made the French at last sensible of their impolitic parsimony in the cause of the fugitive king; and it was therefore resolved to make a descent upon England in his favour. In pursuance of this scheme, the French king supplied James with an army, consisting of a body of French troops, some English and Scottish refugees, and the Irish regiments, which had been transported from Limerick into France. This army was assembled between Cherbourg and La Hogue, and was commanded by James in person. More than three hundred transports were provided for landing it on the opposite English coast; and Tourville, the French admiral, at the head of sixty-three ships of the line, was appointed to favour the descent,

Preparations for a descent upon England.

with orders, at all events, to attack the enemy, in case they should oppose him.

Intelligence of these preparations being soon brought to the English court, every precaution was taken by the government for a vigorous opposition. All the secret machinations of the exiled king's adherents were discovered to the English ministry by spies; and by these they had the mortification to find that the Tories were better affected than even the Whigs, who had been the instruments of placing William on the throne. The duke of Marlborough, lord Godolphin, and even the princess Anne, were violently suspected of favouring the pretensions of James. Preparations, however, for resisting the growing storm, were made with resolution and diligence.

*Admiral
Ruffel puts
to sea.*

Admiral Ruffel was ordered to put to sea with all possible expedition; and, being joined by the Dutch, he soon put himself at the head of ninety-nine ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships. With this immense force he set sail for the coast of France, and at last, near La Hogue, discovered the enemy under the command of Tourville, who prepared to give him battle. Accordingly the engagement

A.D. 1692.

*19th May.
Battle off
La Hogue.*

began between the two admirals with great fury; and the rest of the fleet on each side soon followed the example. This memorable engagement lasted ten hours, and all James's hopes depended on the event. Victory at last declared on the side of the confederates; and the French, having lost four ships in the action, fled towards Conquet-road. The pursuit continued for two days following: three French ships of the line were destroyed the next day, and eighteen more, which had taken refuge in the bay of La Hogue, burned by sir George Rooke. Thus the preparations made by the French, were entirely frustrated; and so decisive was the blow, that from that time France seemed to relinquish all claims to the dominion of the sea.

James was now reduced to the lowest ebb of despondence, and nothing was left his friends but the hopes of assassinating the monarch on the throne. Those base attempts, however, all proved unserviceable to his cause, and only ended in the ruin of those who attempted to execute them. From this time until he died, which was about eight years after, James continued to reside at St. Germain, a pensioner on the bounty of Lewis, and assisted by occasional liberalities from his daughter and friends in England. He died on the 16th day of September, in the year 1700, after having laboured under a tedious sickness.

In the latter part of life he subjected himself to acts of uncommon penance and mortification. He frequently visited the poor monks of La Trappe, who were edified by his humble and pious deportment. His pride and arbitrary temper seemed to have vanished with his greatness: he became affable, kind, and easy to all his dependents; and in his last illness, conjured his son to prefer religion to every worldly consideration. He died with great marks of devotion, and was interred, at his own request, in the church of the English Benedictines at Paris, without any funeral solemnity.

The defeat of the French at La Hogue secured William on the throne; for the adherents of James, who were before a feeble party, broke out afterwards into dissensions among themselves. But the tranquillity of William was molested by others than those who entered into hostile designs against him. His chief motive for accepting the crown was to engage England more deeply in the concerns of Europe. It had ever been the object of his ambition to humble the French, at that time formidable on the continent; and all his politics consisted in forming alliances against them. Many of the English, on the other hand, had neither the same animosity against the French, nor the same apprehensions of their increasing power. These, therefore, considered the interest of the nation as sacrificed to foreign connections; and complained, that the war on the continent fell most heavily on them, though they had the least interest in its success. To these motives of discontent were added the king's partiality to his own countrymen, with his reserved and even sullen behaviour, so unlike that of all their former kings. William, however, accustomed to opposition, heard their complaints with the most phlegmatic indifference; and while he diligently attended to the schemes of contending kings and nations, he neglected the cultivation of internal polity. Every new alliance abroad increased the influence of party at home; and patriotism beginning to be ridiculed as an ideal virtue, the practice of bribing a majority in parliament was openly countenanced; while the example of the great communicating itself to the vulgar, principle, and even decency, were gradually banished the nation.

*Unpopular
conduct of
the king.*

William, upon accepting the crown, was resolved to preserve, as much as he was able, that share of prerogative which still was left him. Being as yet unacquainted with

*Bill for
triennial
parlia-
ments.*

the nature of a limited monarchy, he often controverted the views of his parliament, and suffered himself to be directed by weak and arbitrary counsels. He first discovered this conduct by the opposition he gave to a bill for limiting the duration of parliaments to the space of three years. This bill had passed the two houses, and was sent up to receive the royal assent as usual; but the nation was surpris'd to find the king refuse his concurrence to an act which was then considered as beneficial. Both houses took the alarm. The commons came to a resolution, that whoever advised the king to this measure was an enemy to his country. The bill thus reject'd lay dormant for another season; but being again brought in, the king found himself oblig'd, though reluctantly, to comply.

*A 7 rela-
tive to
high trea-
son.*

The same opposition, and the same issue, attended a bill for regulating trials, in cases of high-treason, by which the accused was allowed a copy of his indictment, and a list of the names of his jury, two days before his trial, with counsel to plead in his defence. It was farther enacted, that no person should be indicted but upon the oaths of two creditable witnesses; a law which gave the subject a perfect security from the rigours which had been exercised in the late reigns.

A.D. 1695.

*Conspiracy
to assassi-
nate the
king.*

While these jealousies and discontents subsisted between the king and parliament, the adherents of James were not without hopes of seeing their fallen monarch restored to his abdicated throne. While one party of them proceeded against William in the bolder manner, by attempting to excite an insurrection, another, consisting of the most desperate conspirators, formed a design of assassinating. Sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, who had served as an officer in James's army, a man of undaunted courage, and zealous attachment to the church of Rome, undertook the bold task of seizing or assassinating the king. This project he imparted to Harrison, Charnock, Porter, and sir William Perkins, by whom it was approved. After various consultations, it was resolv'd to attack the king on his return from Richmond, where he commonly hunted on Saturdays; and the scene of their ambuscade was a lane between Brentford and Turnham-Green. To secure success, it was agreed that their number should be encreas'd to forty horsemen; and the conspirators began to engage proper persons to assist in this dangerous enterprize. When their number was complete, they waited with impatience for the hour of action; but,

but, in the mean time, some of the under-actors, prompted by fear or remorse, resolved to prevent the execution by a timely discovery. One Pendergraft, an Irish officer, gave information of the plot, but refused to name the persons who were concerned as associates in the undertaking. His information was at first disregarded; but it was soon confirmed by one Le Rue, a Frenchman, and still more by the flight of sir George Barclay. The night, subsequent to the intended day of assassination, a number of the conspirators was apprehended, and the whole discovery was communicated to the privy council. Pendergraft became an evidence for the crown, and the conspirators were brought to their trial. The first who suffered were Robert Charnock, one of the two fellows of Magdalen college, who, in the reign of James, had renounced the protestant religion, lieutenant King, and Thomas Keys. They were found guilty of treason, and executed at Tyburn. Sir John Freind and sir William Perkins were next arraigned; and, notwithstanding they made a very good defence, lord chief-justice Holt influenced the jury to find them guilty. They both suffered at Tyburn with great constancy, denying their charge, and testifying their abhorrence of the assassination. In the course of the month, Rookwood, Cranbourne, and Lowic were tried by a special commission as conspirators; and being found guilty, shared the fate of the former. But the case of sir John Fenwick was considered as one of the greatest stretches of power exhibited during this reign. This gentleman, whose name had been mentioned among the conspirators, was apprehended in his way to France. There was little evidence against him, except an intercepted letter which he wrote to his wife. It is true, he offered to discover all he knew of a conspiracy against the king; but when he came to enter into the detail, he so managed his information, that it could affect no individual concerned. William, therefore, sent over word from Holland, where he then was, that, unless the prisoner would make more material discoveries, he should be brought to his trial. The only essential evidences against him was one Porter and Goodman; but of these lady Fenwick having secreted the latter, there remained only a single witness, which, by the late law, was insufficient to affect the life of the prisoner. The house of commons, however, resolved to inflict upon him that punishment which the laws were unable to execute. As he had in his narrative

The conspiracy is discovered.

Execution of sir John Freind and others.

*Bill of attainder
against sir
John Fenwick.*

made very free with the names of many persons in that house, one of them in particular, admiral Ruffel, insisted that he might have an opportunity of vindicating his own character. Sir John Fenwick was ordered to the bar of the house, and there exhorted by the speaker to make an ample discovery. On his refusal they preferred against him a bill of attainder, which was passed by a large majority. He was furnished with a copy of the indictment, allowed counsel at the bar of the house, and the counsel of the crown was called upon to open the evidence. After much disputation, in which passion and revenge was rather attended to than reason, the bill was committed, and sent up to the house of lords, where sir John Fenwick was found guilty, by a majority of only seven voices. The prisoner solicited the intercession of the lords in his behalf, while his friends implored the royal mercy. The lords gave him to understand, that the success of his suit would depend on the fullness of his discoveries. He would have previously stipulated for pardon, and they insisted on his trusting to their favour. He hesitated some time between the fears of infamy and the terrors of death. At last, he chose to undergo the latter, and suffered beheading on Tower-hill with great composure.

He is beheaded.

This stretch of power in the parliament was, in some measure, compensated by their diligence in restraining the universal corruption which seemed at that time to prevail over the kingdom. They were assiduously employed in bringing to justice those who had grown wealthy by public plunder, and increasing the number of those laws which restrained the arts of speculation. Nor were they less active in their endeavours for restraining the prerogative of the crown. William, on his part, became at length fatigued with opposing the laws, by which the parliament circumscribed his authority; and he gave up the contest, upon the condition of being properly supplied with the means of humbling the power of France. For the prosecution of the war with that kingdom, the sums of money granted him were incredible. The nation, not contented with furnishing such subsidies as could be raised by the taxes of the year, mortgaged those taxes, and laid the foundation of debts, which it has never since been able to discharge.

A. D. 1697.

*Treaty of
Ryswick.*

The war with France continued during the greater part of this king's reign, but was at length terminated by the treaty of Ryswick. In the general pacification the interests

interests of England seemed to be entirely deserted; and, for all the expence of blood and treasure which she lavished on the continent, the only equivalent she received was the empty reward of military glory in Flanders, and an acknowledgement from France of William's title to the crown.

The king, now freed from a foreign war, applied himself towards rendering his authority at home more secure; and for this purpose he was desirous of still preserving the army undiminished. The commons, however, regardless of his inclination, passed a vote, that all the forces in English pay, exceeding seven thousand men, should be forthwith disbanded, and that those retained should be natural born subjects of England. William was highly displeased with this proceeding of the commons; and his indignation was kindled to such a pitch, that he actually conceived a design of abandoning the government. His ministers, however, diverted him from this resolution, and even persuaded him to consent to passing the bill.

The number of standing forces reduced.

Altercations between the king and parliament continued during the remainder of this reign. William considered the commons as a body of turbulent men, averse to subordination, and therefore bent upon obstructing all his projects for securing the liberties of Europe. He seemed but little attached to any particular party in the house, all of whom he found at times deserted or opposed him. He therefore veered to Whigs and Tories indiscriminately, as interest, or the immediate exigence required. If he had any time for amusement or relaxation, he retired to Loo, in Holland, where, among a few friends, he gave loose to those coarse festivities which alone he was capable of relishing. It was in this recess he planned the different succession of the princes of Europe, and laboured to undermine the schemes and the power of Lewis, his rival in politics and in fame.

Peace had scarce been concluded between William and France, when he began to think of resources for carrying on a new war, and for inlisting his English subjects in a confederacy against that nation, the perpetual object of his animosity. Several arts were used for inducing the people to second his aims; and the whole nation seemed at last to join in desiring a war with that kingdom. He had been in Holland, concerting with his allies operations for a new campaign. He had engaged in a negociation with the prince of Hesse, who assured him, that if he would

besiege and take Cadiz, the admiral of Castile, and many other grandees of Spain, would declare for the house of Austria. The elector of Hanover had resolved to give his assistance in the prosecution of those measures; the king of the Romans, and prince Lewis of Baden, undertook to invest Laudan; and the emperor promised to send a powerful reinforcement into Italy; but while William was flattering himself with the most sanguine hopes of success from this confederacy, death put a period to his projects.

A.D 1701.

*Death of
the king.*

William was naturally of a very feeble constitution, which was, towards the close of his life, almost exhausted by a continual series of disquietude and action. He had endeavoured to repair his health by suitable exercise; and, on the 21st day of February, in riding, from Kensington to Hampton-court, his horse fell under him, and he was thrown with such violence, that his collar-bone was fractured. He was conveyed by his attendants to the palace of Hampton-court, where the fracture was reduced, and in the evening he returned to Kensington in his coach. The jolting of the carriage disunited the fracture, and the bones were again replaced. For some time he appeared in a fair way of recovery; but falling asleep in his coach he was seized with a shivering: this was succeeded by a fever and diarrhoea, which soon became desperate. Perceiving his end approaching, the objects of his former care lay still next his heart, and he seemed to entertain a greater concern for the fate of Europe than his own. The earl of Albemarle arriving from Holland, he conferred with him in private on the posture of affairs abroad. Two days after, having received the sacrament from archbishop Tension, he expired, in the fifty-second year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign. He was in his person of a middle stature, and a thin habit of body. He had an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a solemn aspect. His deportment was grave, phlegmatic, and sullen; nor did he ever discover any fire but in the time of battle. He left behind him the character of a great politician, though he had never been popular; and of a formidable general, though he was seldom victorious.

William left no issue. His only wife was Mary, daughter of James the Second; a princess distinguished for her devotion and the calmness of her temper. She died of the small-pox, on the 28th of December, 1694.

ANNE.

A N N E.

WILLIAM was succeeded as sovereign by Anne, princess of Denmark, who ascended the throne in the thirty-eighth year of her age, to the general satisfaction of all parties. She was the second daughter of James by his first wife, the daughter of chancellor Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon. She had sustained a variety of mortifications in the late reign, during which she conducted herself with great prudence. She was, like her sister, zealously devoted to the church of England, from which her father had used some endeavours to detach her before the Revolution; and she lived in great harmony with her husband, to whom she bore six children, all of whom she had already survived.

The late king, whose whole life had been spent in one continued opposition to the king of France, had left England at the eve of a war with that monarch. The present sovereign was upon this occasion urged by opposing counsels; a part of her ministry being inclined for war, while the other no less ardently declared for pacific measures. At the head of those who opposed a war with France, was the earl of Rochester, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and first cousin to the queen. He proposed in council that the English should avoid a declaration of war with France, and at most act only as auxiliaries. In support of his opinion he urged the impossibility of England's reaping any advantage by the most distinguished success upon the continent; and exposed the folly of involving the nation in debts to increase the riches of its commercial rivals.

*State of
parties in
the council.*

The chief of those who declared for prosecuting the late king's intentions of going to war with France, was the earl, since better known by the title of the duke of Marlborough. This nobleman, though he had deserted James at the Revolution, had still a secret partiality for the Tories, and, during the whole of the preceding reign, had paid the utmost attention to the present queen; to whose favour and esteem he had also farther pretensions. He married a lady who was the queen's particular confidante, and who had an unbounded influence over her. By this canal Marlborough directed the queen in all her
resolu-

resolutions, and was enabled successfully to oppose the measures of his rivals in the cabinet.

Marlborough was not without private motives for wishing the prosecution of the war. It not only afforded him an opportunity of opposing the counsel of Rochester, whose influence he desired to lessen; but he had hopes of being appointed general of the forces which should be sent over to the continent; a command of a nature most flattering to his ambition and other views. He therefore observed in council, that the honour of the nation was concerned to fulfil the late king's engagements; and that France could never be reduced within due bounds unless England would engage as a principal in the confederacy. The queen, therefore, embracing his advice, communicated her intention to the house of commons, by which being approved, war was proclaimed accordingly.

A.D. 1702.

*War with
France.*

Lewis XIV. upon the death of William, expected again to enter upon a field, in which he should recover the glory that had once accompanied his arms. At the news of William's death, therefore, the French monarch could not suppress his joy; and his court of Versailles seemed to have forgotten their usual decency in the effusions of their satisfaction. The king of France was, in the queen's declaration of war, taxed with having taken possession of a great part of the Spanish dominions; with designing to invade the liberties of Europe; to obstruct the freedom of navigation and commerce; and with having offered an unpardonable insult to the queen and her throne, by acknowledging the title of the pretender. He was accused of attempting to unite the crown of Spain to his own dominions, by placing his grandson upon the throne of that kingdom, and thus of endeavouring to destroy the equality of power so necessary for the general safety of the states of Europe.

The declaration of war on the part of the English was seconded by similar declarations of the Dutch and Germans, all on the same day. The French monarch, on receiving intelligence of all these declarations, could not suppress his resentment, which, however, fell chiefly on the Dutch. He said, with great emotion, that as for those gentlemen pedlars, the Dutch, they should one day repent their insolence and presumption, in declaring war against one whose power they had formerly felt and dreaded.

Marl-

Marlborough was immediately appointed general of the English forces, as he was likewise soon afterwards of the allied army. He repaired to the camp at Nimeguen, where he found himself at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, well provided with necessaries, and long disciplined by the best officers of the age. He was opposed on the side of France, by the duke of Burgundy, grandson to the king, a youth more qualified to grace a court than to conduct an army; but the real acting general was the marshal Boufflers, an officer of courage and activity.

Marlborough is appointed general of the allied army.

Wherever Marlborough advanced, the French were obliged to retreat before him, leaving all Spanish Guelderland at his discretion. The duke of Burgundy, unable to brook the mortification of this indignity, returned to Versailles, and left Boufflers to assume the nominal, as well as continue the real command. This general, confounded at the rapidity of the enemies progress, retired towards Brabant, whither Marlborough had no design to pursue. The latter was contented with ending the campaign by taking the city of Liege, in which was found an immense treasure, and a great number of prisoners.

Progress of Marlborough in Flanders.

Marlborough, upon his return to London, was received with every mark of public approbation. He was thanked for his services by the house of commons, and created a duke by the queen. The glory which he had acquired on the continent seemed to console the nation for some unsuccessful expeditions at sea. Sir John Munden had permitted a French squadron of fourteen ships to escape him by taking shelter in the harbour of Corunna, for which he was dismissed the service by prince George. An attempt was also made upon Cadiz by sea and land, sir George Rooke commanding the navy, and the duke of Ormond the land forces; but this enterprise likewise miscarried. The English arms, however, were crowned with success at Vigo, where the duke of Ormond landed with five and twenty hundred men, at the distance of six miles from the city. While the fleet forced their way into the harbour, the French fleet, which had taken refuge in it, was burned by the enemy, to prevent its falling into the hands of the English. Eight ships were thus destroyed or ran ashore; but ten ships of war were taken, besides eleven galleons, and above a million of money in silver.

He is created a duke.

Fruitless expedition to Cadiz.

Success of the English at Vigo.

The advantage, acquired by this expedition, was counterbalanced by the base conduct of some officers in the West Indies. Admiral Bembow had been detached thither the preceding year with a squadron of ten sail, to distress

Admiral Bembow's engagement with Du Cassé in the West Indies.

the

the enemies trade. At Jamaica, he received intelligence, that M. Du Cassé, the French admiral, was in those seas, with a force not inferior to his own. Benbow, therefore resolved to attack him; and soon after discovered the enemies squadron near St. Martha, steering along the shore. He immediately formed the line of battle, and the engagement began. The rest of his fleet, having taken some disgust at his conduct, permitted him, almost alone, to sustain the whole fire of the enemy. The engagement, however, continued until night, and he determined to renew it next morning; when he had the mortification to perceive that all his ships had fallen back except one, which joined him in urging the pursuit of the enemy. For four days successively did this intrepid seaman, assisted only by one ship, pursue and engage the enemy, while his cowardly officers, at a distance behind, remained spectators of his activity. His last day's battle was more furious than all the former. While alone, and unsupported, he engaged the whole French squadron, his leg was shattered by a cannon-ball. He then ordered that they should place him in a cradle upon the quarter-deck, where he obstinately maintained the fight as before, until at last his ship being quite disabled, was unfit to continue the chase any longer. When one of his lieutenants expressed his sorrow for the loss of the admiral's leg, "I am sorry for it too," said Benbow, "but I had rather have lost both my legs, than see the dishonour of this day. But do you hear, if another shot should take me off, behave like brave men, and fight it out." This valiant admiral soon after died of his wounds. His cowardly associates, Kirby and Wade, were tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be shot. Hudson died before his trial. Constable, Vincent, and Fogg, escaped with slighter punishment. Kirby and Wade were sent home in the Bristol man of war, and on their arrival at Portsmouth, shot on board the ship, by virtue of a warrant for their immediate execution, which had lain there for some time.

*The queen
assembles a
new par-
liament.*

During these transactions, the queen seemed to enjoy the utmost confidence and affection of her subjects. Though the continuance of the parliament was limited to six months after the king's decease, she dissolved it by proclamation before that term was expired; and issued writs for electing another, in which the Tory interest predominated. The new parliament meeting on the 20th day of October, Mr. Harley was chosen speaker. The commons voted forty thousand seamen, and the like number of land-

forces, to act in conjunction with those of the allies. It was never considered how little necessary these great efforts were, either to the happiness or protection of the people: They were exerted against the French; and that, in the present disposition of men's minds, was a circumstance sufficient to justify them. A short time after, the queen gave the house of commons to understand, that she was pressed by the allies to augment her forces. The commons were as ready to grant as she to demand, and it was resolved that ten thousand more men should be added to the army on the continent; but upon condition that the Dutch should break off all commerce with France and Spain; a request with which the former complied without hesitation.

The duke of Marlborough crossed the sea in the beginning of April, and assembling the allied army, resolved that the campaign should commence with the siege of Bonne, which was accordingly invested. The place held out but a short time against the successive attacks of the prince of Hesse Cassel, the celebrated Coehorn, and general Fagel. The duke next retook Huy, the garrison of which, after a vigorous defence, surrendered prisoners of war. Then followed the siege of Limburg, which also surrendered in two days. By the conquest of this town, the allies secured the country of Liege, and the electorate of Cologne from the designs of the enemy. Such was the progress of the campaign in the Netherlands; which, in all probability, would have produced events of greater importance, had not the duke of Marlborough been restrained by the Dutch, who began to be influenced by the Lovestein faction, ever averse to war with France.

The duke resolved in his next campaign to act more offensively; and, being furnished with powers from the queen, he informed the Dutch that it was his intention to march to the relief of the empire, which had been for some time oppressed by the French forces. The states-general, either willing to second his efforts, or fearing to weaken the alliance by distrust, gave him full power to march as he thought proper, with assurances of their assistance in all his endeavours.

Boufflers being now thought unequal to the enterprising duke, the marshal Villeroy was appointed to the command of the French army. He was son to the king of France's governor, and had been educated with that monarch. He was brave, generous, and polite, but not qualified for conducting an army; and still less proper, when opposed to so formidable a rival.

*Marlborough
rough
marches
into Ger-
many;*

It was a peculiar talent of Marlborough to study the disposition and abilities of the general against whom he acted; and having, therefore, no great fears from his present antagonist, instead of going forward to meet Villeroy, he flew to the succour of the emperor, as had been agreed at the commencement of the campaign. He took with him about thirteen thousand English troops, traversed extensive countries by hasty marches, arrived at the banks of the Danube, defeated a body of French and Bavarians, stationed to oppose him, then passed the Danube with his victorious army, and laid under contribution the dukedom of Bavaria, which had sided with the enemy. Villeroy at first attempted to follow his motions, but all at once lost sight of his enemy; nor was he apprised of what route the duke had taken, until he was informed of his successes. Marshal Tallard, with an army of thirty thousand men, proposed to obstruct Marlborough's retreat. He was soon after joined by the duke of Bavaria's forces, so that the French army in that part amounted to sixty thousand veterans, and commanded by two generals the most distinguished at that time in France. Tallard had established his reputation by many former victories. He was active and penetrating; but his ardor often rose to impetuosity; and he was so short-sighted as to be incapable of seeing objects at a very small distance. The duke of Bavaria was equally experienced in the field, and had stronger motives for activity. His country was ravaged before his eyes, and nothing remained of his possessions, but the army which he commanded. It was in vain that he sent entreaties to the enemy to stop the fury of their incursions, and to spare his people. The only answer he received was, that it lay in his own power to conciliate his enemies, by alliance or submission. To oppose these

*where he is
joined by
prince Eu-
genc.*

powerful generals, the duke was now joined by a body of thirty thousand well disciplined men, under the command of prince Eugene. This prince had been bred up from his infancy in camps; he was almost equal to Marlborough in intrigue, and his superior in the art of war. But instead of any mean jealousy between such eminent persons, they always concurred in the same designs.

This allied army, commanded by Eugene and Marlborough, amounted to about fifty-two thousand men, troops that had long been familiar with victory, and that had seen the French, the Turks, and the Russians fly before them. The French, as was already observed, amount-
ed

ed to sixty thousand, who had shared in the conquests of their great monarch. Both armies, after many marches and counter-marches, approached each other. The French were posted on a hill near the town of Hochstet; their right covered by the Danube; and the village of Blenheim; their left by the village of Lutzingen; and their front by a rivulet, the banks of which were steep, and the bottom marshy. It was in this advantageous position that the allied army resolved to attack them. As this engagement, which has since been known by the name of the battle of Blenheim, not only from the talents of the generals, but the improvements in the art of war, and the number and discipline of the troops, is reckoned the most remarkable that has happened in the present century, it may be entitled to a particular description.

The right wing of the French, was commanded by marshal Tallard; their left, by the duke of Bavaria, and under him general Marfin, an experienced Frenchman. Their position being advantageous, they were willing to await the enemy, rather than offer battle. On the other hand, Marlborough and Eugene were stimulated to engage them at all events, in consequence of an intercepted letter from Villeroy, intimating that he was preparing to cut off all communication between the Rhine and the allied army. The dispositions, therefore, being made for the attack, and the orders communicated to the general officers, the allied forces advanced into the plain, and were ranged in order of battle. The cannonading began about nine in the morning, and continued to about half after twelve. The troops then advanced to the attack; the right under the direction of prince Eugene, the left headed by Marlborough, and opposed to marshal Tallard.

Marlborough, at the head of the English troops, having passed the rivulet, attacked the cavalry of Tallard with great bravery. This general being then reviewing the disposition of his troops to the left, his cavalry fought for some time without the presence of their commander. Prince Eugène had not yet attacked the forces of the elector; and it was near an hour before he could bring up his troops to the engagement.

Tallard was no sooner informed that his right was attacked by the duke, than he flew to its head, where he found a furious encounter already begun; his cavalry being thrice driven back, and rallying as often. He had posted a large body of forces in the village of Blenheim; and

*Battle of
Blenheim.*

*Marshal
Tallard
made pri-
soner.*

and he made an attempt to bring them to the charge. They were attacked by a detachment of Marlborough's troops so vigorously, that instead of assisting the main body, they could hardly maintain their ground. All the French cavalry being thus attacked in flank, was totally defeated. The English army now penetrated between the two bodies of the French, commanded by the marshal and elector, while the forces in the village of Blenheim were separated by another detachment. In this distressed situation, Tallard flew to rally some squadrons; but from his short sightedness mistaking a detachment of the enemy for his own, he was made prisoner by the Hessian troops, who were in the allied army. Meanwhile, prince Eugene on his part, after having been thrice repulsed, at last put the enemy into confusion. The rout then became general, and the flight precipitate. The consternation of the French soldiers was such, that they threw themselves into the Danube, without knowing whither they fled.

*The allies
obtain a
complete
victory.*

The allies being now masters of the field of battle, surrounded the village of Blenheim, where a body of thirteen thousand men had been posted in the beginning of the action, and still maintained their ground. These troops seeing themselves cut off from all communication with the rest of the army, and despairing of being able to force their way through the allies, threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Thus ended the battle of Blenheim, one of the most complete victories that ever was obtained. Twelve thousand French and Bavarians were slain in the field, or drowned in the Danube, and thirteen thousand were made prisoners of war. Of the allies about five thousand men were killed, and eight thousand wounded or taken. The loss of the battle was imputed to two capital errors committed by marshal Tallard; namely, his weakening the centre by placing a large body of troops in the village of Blenheim, and his suffering the English to cross the rivulet, and form on the other side.

Next day, when the duke of Marlborough visited his prisoner, the marshal, the latter assured him that he had overcome the best troops in the world. "I hope, sir," replied the duke, "you will except those troops by whom they were conquered."

The allies, in consequence of this victory, became masters of a country a hundred leagues in extent. After finishing this campaign, the duke repaired to Berlin, where he procured a reinforcement of eight thousand Prussians

to serve under prince Eugene in Italy. He thence proceeded to negotiate for succours at the court of Hanover, and soon after returned to England, where he found the people in a transport of joy at the glorious victory which he had obtained. The parliament and the nation in general were ready to second him in all his designs. The manor of Woodstock was conferred upon him by both houses; and, as he entered the house of lords, a eulogium was pronounced upon his important services by the lord-keeper. The queen, not contented with these marks of respect shewn him, ordered the comptroller of her works to build in Woodstock-park for the duke, a magnificent palace, which remains to this day a monument of her own munificence, and the extraordinary merit of her general.

Marlborough obtains the manor of Woodstock, where a palace is built for him at the public expence.

Meanwhile, the arms of England were not less fortunate by sea than they had been upon the Danube. The ministry, understanding that the French were employed in equipping a strong squadron at Brest, sent out sir Cloudesly Shovel and sir George Rooke, to watch their motions. Sir George, however, had farther orders to convoy a body of forces, under the prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, in transport ships to Barcelona, upon which a fruitless attack was made by the prince. But sir George finding no hopes from this expedition, the troops were reembarked in two days after; and being now joined by sir Cloudesly, he called a counsel of war on board the fleet, as they lay off the coast of Africa. In this they resolved to make an attempt upon Gibraltar, which the Spaniards, never apprehending such an attempt, had left it ill provided with a garrison. The town of Gibraltar stands upon a rock, projecting into the sea, and inaccessible on every side but one. The prince of Hesse landed his troops, to the number of eighteen hundred, on the isthmus, and summoned the town to surrender, but without effect. Next day the admiral gave orders for cannonading the town; and perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at a place called the South-mole-head, ordered all the boats to be armed, and to assault that quarter. Those officers who happened to be nearest the Mole, immediately manned their boats, and entered the fortification sword in hand. But the Spaniards springing a mine, two lieutenants and about a hundred men were killed and wounded. Two captains, however, took possession of a platform, and kept their ground, until they were joined by the rest of the seamen, who

The English take Gibraltar.

took a redoubt between the Mole and town by storm. The governor immediately capitulated, and the prince of Hesse, amazed at his own success, took possession of the fortrefs.

When the news of this conquest was brought to England, it was for some time in debate whether the capture was such as merited any thanks to the admiral. It was at last considered as unworthy of public gratitude; and while the duke of Marlborough was extolled for usefess services, sir George Rooke was treated with neglect, and displaced from his command.

Soon after the taking of this important fortrefs, the English fleet, now become mistress of the seas, to the number of fifty-three ships of the line, came up with the French fleet of fifty-two, commanded by the count de Thoulouse, off the coast of Malaga, a little after ten in the morning. A battle began with equal fury on both sides, and continued until two in the afternoon, when the van of the French gave way. For two successive days the English admiral endeavoured to renew the engagement; but the French fleet declined it, and at last disappeared.

The Spaniards make a fruitless attempt to retake Gibraltar.

Although the English seemed ignorant of the value of Gibraltar, the Spaniards were sensible of its loss; and Philip, therefore, sent the marquis of Villadurias with a large army to retake it. France also sent a fleet of thirteen ships of the line; but a part of this was dispersed by a tempest, and part was taken by the English. Nor were the land-forces more successful. The siege continued four months; during which time the prince of Hesse, who commanded the town for the English, displayed many proofs of valour. At length, the Spaniards, having attempted in vain to scale the rock, and finding no hopes of taking the place, were content to abandon the enterprise.

Amidst these successes of the English arms, a new scene of contention was opened on the side of Spain, where the ambition of the European princes exerted itself with the same fury that had filled the rest of the continent. Philip, the fourth grandson of Lewis XIV. had been placed upon the throne of that kingdom, and had been received with the joyful concurrence of the greater part of the nation. He had also been nominated successor to the crown by the late king of Spain's will. But in a former treaty among the powers of Europe, Charles, son of the emperor of Germany, was appointed heir to that crown; and this treaty had been guaranteed by France her-

self,

self, though she now determined to reverse that consent in favour of a descendant of the house of Bourbon. Charles was farther encouraged in maintaining his pretensions, by an invitation from the Catalonians, who declared in his favour, and by the assistance of the English and Portuguese, who promised to arm themselves in his cause. Upon his way to his newly acquired dominion, he landed in England, where he was received on shore by the dukes of Somerset and Marlborough, who conducted him to Windsor. The queen's behaviour towards him was equally noble and obliging, while, on his side, he gave general satisfaction, by his politeness and affability. He was furnished with two hundred transports, thirty ships of war, and nine thousand men, for asserting his succession to the Spanish crown. To conduct this armament, the earl of Peterborough, a man of romantic bravery, offered his assistance; and his service was accordingly accepted with equal gratitude and approbation. This nobleman was one of the most extraordinary characters of the age in which he lived. When but fifteen years old he fought against the Moors in Africa, at twenty he assisted in effecting the Revolution, and he now carried on the war in Spain almost at his own expence; his friendship for the duke Charles being one of his chief motives for this great undertaking. He was deformed in his person; but of a mind the most generous, honourable, and active. His first attempt upon landing in Spain, was to besiege Barcelona, a strong city, with a garrison of five thousand men, while his own army amounted to little more than nine thousand. The operations were begun by a sudden attack on fort Monjuic, strongly situated on a hill that commanded the city. The outworks were taken by storm, with the loss of the gallant prince of Hesse, who was shot through the body, and in a few hours expired. The besiegers then directed their bombardment against the body of the fort; when a shell chancing to fall into the powder-magazine, blew it up, and with it destroyed the governor and some of the best officers. This accident struck the garrison with such consternation, that they surrendered without farther resistance. The town still remained unconquered; but batteries were now erected against it, and after a few days the governor capitulated. The surrender of this important fortress was succeeded by the conquest of all Valencia. The party that acknowledged Charles became every day more powerful. He soon found himself master of Arragon, Carthage, and Granada. The earl of Gal-

A.D. 1705.

The king of Spain lands in England

The earl of Peterborough besieges Barcelona, which is obliged to surrender.

The garrison surrenders.

way, entering Madrid in triumph, proclaimed Charles king of Spain, without opposition. Though such was the beginning of the war in Spain, as conducted by the allies, its end was unfortunate and indecisive.

A.D. 1706.

*War in
Flanders*

*Battle of
Ramilies.*

But the splendor of the English transactions in Spain continued to be eclipsed by Marlborough's victories in Flanders. He had early in the spring opened the campaign, and brought into the field an army of eighty thousand men, which was greater than he had ever before assembled. Still, however, he expected reinforcements from Denmark and Prussia. Villeroy, who commanded the French army, consisting likewise of eighty thousand men, near Tirelemont, had orders to act upon the defensive; but if compelled, to hazard an engagement. The duke had received a slight repulse by the defection of prince Lewis of Baden; and he resolved to retrieve his credit by some signal action. Villeroy had posted his army in a strong camp: his right was flanked by the river Me-haigne; his left was defended by a marsh; and the village of Ramilies lay in the centre. Marlborough, with his usual prudence, accommodated his plan to this disposition. Knowing that the left wing of the enemy could not pass the marsh to attack him, but at a great disadvantage, he weakened his troops in that quarter, and greatly increased his numbers in the centre, with which he made a furious attack. The enemies centre was soon obliged to yield, and at length gave way on all sides. Their cavalry was so closely pursued, that almost the whole was cut to pieces. The elector of Bavaria and the marshal de Villeroy saved themselves with the utmost difficulty. Several waggons of the French vanguard breaking down in a narrow pass, obstructed the way in such a manner, that the baggage and artillery could not proceed; nor could their troops defile in order. The victorious horse being informed of this accident, pressed on them so vigorously, that great numbers threw down their arms and submitted. The confederates took the whole of the enemies baggage and artillery, about one hundred and twenty standards, six hundred officers, and six thousand private soldiers. About eight thousand were killed or wounded. The loss of the allies did not exceed three thousand men. The French general retired with precipitation to Brussels, while the allies took possession of all Brabant. The city of Paris was thrown into the utmost consternation. Lewis, who had long been flattered with conquest, was now humbled to such a degree, as almost to excite the compas-
sion

from of his enemies. He entreated for peace, but in vain. The allies carried all before them, and even his capital began to dread the approach of the conquerors. France seemed now to totter on the brink of ruin, when an unexpected change in the politics of England at last proved the means of her deliverance.

The counsels of the queen had hitherto been governed by a Whig ministry, who pursued the schemes of the late king; and, impressed with a republican spirit of liberty, strove to humble despotism in every part of Europe. But a series of prosperous events had changed the dispositions of the people. The queen's personal virtues, her successes, her deference for the clergy, and consequently their great veneration for her, began to have a prevailing influence over the whole nation. Her subjects of all denominations were not ashamed to defend the most servile tenets, when they tended to flatter or increase the power of the sovereign. They argued in favour of strict hereditary succession, divine right, and non-resistance to the regal power. The spirit of Toryism began to prevail; and the Whigs, who had raised the queen into greatness, were the first that were likely to fall by their own success.

The Tories, though they joined in vigorous measures against France, were however never ardently the enemies of that nation. They secretly entertained a greater aversion to the Dutch, as a people which held principles very different from their own; and they longed for an opportunity of withdrawing from an alliance with the republic. They began to meditate schemes of opposition to the duke of Marlborough, whom they considered as a self-interested man, who sacrificed the real interests of the nation, in protracting a ruinous war, for his own emolument and glory. They saw their country oppressed with an increasing load of taxes, which, by a continuance of the war, must become an intolerable burden to the nation. All those motives excited discontents; and the Tories only wanted a few determined leaders to conduct them in supplanting the present ministry.

Meanwhile, the public intoxication being abated by a succession of unprosperous events, the people began to wish for peace. The army under Charles in Spain, was then commanded by lord Galway. This nobleman, having received intelligence that the enemy, under the command of the duke of Berwick, was posted near the town of Almanza, advanced thither to give him battle. The

*Disaster of
the English
and Dutch
troops in
Spain.*

action began about two in the afternoon, and the whole front of each army was fully engaged. The centre, consisting chiefly of English and Dutch battalions, seemed at last victorious; but the Portuguese cavalry, by which they were supported, betaking themselves to flight on the first charge, the English troops were flanked, and surrounded on every side. In this emergency they formed themselves into a square, and retired to an eminence, where, being ignorant of the country, and destitute of all supplies, they were obliged to surrender prisoners of war, to the number of ten thousand men. This victory proved decisive; and all Spain, except the province of Catalonia, acknowledged obedience to Philip their native sovereign.

*Miscar-
riage of the
enterprize
against
Toulon.*

An attempt was made upon Toulon, by the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene by land, and the English fleet by sea, but with as little success as in the preceding instance. The prince, with a body of thirty thousand men, took possession of the eminences that commanded the city, while the fleet attacked and reduced two forts at the entrance of the mole. But the French king sending an army to the relief of the place, and the duke of Savoy perceiving no hopes of compelling the city to a speedy surrender, the latter resolved to abandon his enterprize. Having, therefore, embarked his artillery, he retreated by night without any molestation.

*Disasters
at sea.*

The fleet under sir Cloudesly Shovel, was yet more unfortunate. Having set sail for England, and being in foundings, a violent storm arising, his ship was dashed upon the rocks of Scilly, and the whole crew perished. The like fate befel three ships more, while three or four others were saved with the utmost difficulty. The admiral's body being cast ashore, was stript and buried in the sand. But this being thought too humble a funeral for so brave a commander, it was afterwards dug up, and interred with great solemnity in Westminster Abbey.

The allies were not more prosperous on the Upper Rhine, in Germany. Marshal Villars, the French general, carried all before him, and was upon the point of restoring the elector of Bavaria. The only hopes of the people lay in the activity and conduct of the duke of Marlborough, who opened the campaign at Underluch, near Brussels, about the middle of May. But even here, as in all other quarters, the public expectation was disappointed. Marlborough, either really willing to protract the war, or receiving intelligence that the French army was superior in numbers, declined an engagement; and

and rather endeavoured to secure himself than annoy the enemy. Thus, after several marches and counter-marches, both armies retired into winter-quarters, at the latter end of October. The French prepared for the next campaign with redoubled vigour, while the duke of Marlborough, who returned to England, met there with a reception which he had little expected.

During these transactions, a measure of the greatest importance to the nation took place in parliament. This was the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; which, though governed by one sovereign ever since the accession of James the First, yet were still ruled by their separate legislatures, and often pursued different interests. A union of the two nations had been passionately desired by James. Charles, his son, took some steps towards accomplishing this measure; but the completion of it was reserved for the present reign, when both nations were in good humour at their late successes, and the queen had attained great popularity among all her subjects.

The attempt towards the union was begun at the commencement of this reign; but upon some dispute arising concerning the trade to the East, the conferences were broke off, and there appeared little probability of the scheme being ever brought to a happy issue. It was, however, revived by an act of each parliament, empowering commissioners named on the part of both nations, to treat on the preliminary articles of a union, which should afterwards undergo a more thorough discussion by the legislative body of both kingdoms. The nomination of the commissioners was left to the queen; who took care that none should be employed, but such as heartily wished to promote that desirable measure.

The commissioners on both sides being accordingly appointed, they met in the council-chamber of the Cockpit, near Whitehall, the place fixed upon for holding the conferences. Their commissions being opened, and introductory speeches being pronounced by the lord-keeper of England, and the lord-chancellor of Scotland, the conference began. The Scottish commissioners were inclined to a federal union, like that of the United Provinces; but the English were bent upon an incorporation, so that no Scottish parliament should ever have power to repeal the articles of the treaty. The lord-keeper, Cowper, proposed, that the two kingdoms of England and Scotland should be for ever united into one, by the name of Great Britain; that it should be represented by one and the same

A.D. 1707.

*Treaty of
union be-
tween Eng-
land and
Scotland.*

parliament, and governed by the same hereditary monarch. The Scottish commissioners, on their side, insisted that the subjects of Scotland should for ever enjoy the same rights and privileges with those of England, and that all statutes, contrary to the tenor of these privileges in either kingdom should be repealed. As the queen frequently exhorted the commissioners to dispatch, the articles of this famous union were soon agreed to, and signed by the commissioners. It therefore only remained to lay them before the parliament of each nation.

In this famous treaty it was stipulated, that the succession to the united kingdoms should be vested in the house of Hanover; that the united kingdoms should be represented by one and the same parliament; that all the subjects of Great Britain should enjoy a communication of privileges and advantages; that the laws concerning public right, civil government, and policy, should be the same throughout the united kingdoms; but that no alteration should be made in the laws concerning private right, except for the evident benefit of the subjects of Scotland; that the court of session, and all other courts of judicature in Scotland, should remain, as constituted by the laws of that kingdom, with the same authority and privileges as before the union; that Scotland should be represented in the parliament of Great Britain, by sixteen peers, and forty-five commoners, to be elected in such a manner, as should be settled in the present parliament of Scotland; that all peers of Scotland should be considered as peers of Great Britain, and rank immediately after the English peers of the like degrees at the time of the union, and before such as should be created after it; that they should enjoy all the privileges of English peers, except that of sitting and voting in parliament, or sitting upon the trial of peers; that all the insignia of royalty and government should remain as they were; that all laws and statutes in either kingdom, so far as they might be inconsistent with the terms of those articles, should be declared void by the respective parliaments of the two kingdoms.

These were the principal articles of the union; and it only remained to obtain the sanction of the legislature of both kingdoms to give them authority; but this was a much more difficult undertaking than was at first imagined. In the parliament of Scotland, all the popular members were averse to the union; in that of England, the

the treaty met with great disapprobation, except from the ministry who had proposed it.

To induce the Scottish parliament to adopt the measure, it was alleged by the ministry, and their supporters, that a union of the two kingdoms would be the solid foundation of a lasting peace. It would secure their religion, liberty, and property, remove the animosities that prevailed among themselves, and the jealousies that subsisted between the two nations. It would increase their strength, riches, and commerce; and entirely free both nations from all apprehension of different interests. It was urged, that the taxes which, in consequence of this union, they were to pay, were by no means so great, proportionably, as their share in the legislature. That their taxes did not amount to a seventieth part of those supplied by the English; and yet their share in the legislature was not a tenth part less.

Such were the arguments in favour of the union, addressed to the Scottish parliament. In the English it was observed, that a powerful and dangerous nation would thus for ever be prevented from giving them any disturbance. That in case of any future rupture England had every thing to lose, and nothing to gain, in her contests with a nation signalized for courage, and which had not attained such a degree of riches as to invite depredation.

The Scots, in general, were fired with indignation at the thoughts of losing their ancient and independent government. The nobility found themselves degraded in point of dignity and influence, by being excluded from their seats in the legislature. The trading part of the nation beheld their commerce loaded with heavy duties, which were but precariously compensated by their new privilege of trading to the English settlements in the West Indies.

In the English houses of parliament it was observed, that the union of a rich with a poor nation would be always beneficial to the latter; and that the former could only hope for a participation of their necessities. It was said that the Scots reluctantly yielded to this coalition; that it might be likened to a marriage with a woman against her consent; and that the land-tax paid by the Scots was extremely disproportioned to their share in the legislature.

Notwithstanding all opposition, the party for the union at last prevailed, and the measure was solemnly ratified by the legislature of both kingdoms.

It is remarkable, that, through all the proceedings relative to the union, this celebrated transaction was chiefly opposed by the Tories. They considered the Scots in a body as Whigs, and supposed that the interest of that party would become more powerful by this association. But never were men more agreeably disappointed than the Tories were in this particular. The majority of the Scots was so much dissatisfied with the union, as immediately to join in opposing the ministry, by which the measure had been effected. The English Tories were not displeased with a union, of which they had not the sagacity to discover the advantages. They were for some time become the majority of the kingdom, but found themselves opposed by a powerful coalition at court. The duchess of Marlborough had long been in possession of the queen's confidence and favour; and turned the easiness of her mistress's temper to her own advantage, as well as that of her party. The duke, her husband, had no less influence over the army, at the head of which he had been ever since the commencement of the war. Lord Godolphin, his son-in-law, was at the head of the treasury, which he managed so as entirely to co-operate with the ambition of the duke. But an unexpected alteration in the queen's affections, owing entirely to their own mismanagement, was now going to take place. In the number of those whom the duchess had introduced to court, to contribute to the queen's private amusement, was one Mrs. Masham, her own kinswoman, whom she had raised from indigence and obscurity. The duchess having gained the ascendant over the queen, relaxed in those arts which had been the means of her elevation, and even became insolent to her sovereign. Mrs. Masham, on the other hand, was more dutiful and assiduous. She flattered the foibles of the queen, and entered zealously into her prepossessions and prejudices. She soon perceived the queen's predilection to the Tory principles of divine right and passive obedience; and instead of attempting to oppose her, as the duchess had done, she affected to coincide entirely with the royal will and opinions. She began to insinuate to the queen, that the Tories were by far the majority of the people: that they were displeased with a ministry which had attempted to rule their sovereign, and had lavished the treasures of the nation on foreign wars, maintained with no other view than that of continuing their own power. But though Mrs. Masham seemed to act from herself alone, she was in fact the tool

Mrs. Masham possesses great favour with the queen.

of Mr. Harley, secretary of state, who also, some time before, had insinuated himself into the queen's good graces. This minister, better known afterwards by the title of earl of Oxford, was a man possessed of uncommon learning, great knowledge of business, and as great ambition. His aim was to supplant, if possible, the credit of Godolphin and Marlborough, as well as of the other Whigs, who had long enjoyed the exclusive influence in government, and to introduce in their room the Tory party, under his own peculiar patronage.

*Intrigues
of Harley,
afterward
created
earl of
Oxford.*

In his career of ambition, he chose for his coadjutor Henry St. John, afterwards the famous lord Bolingbroke, a man of great eloquence and greater ambition, restless, active, and haughty, with a considerable share of wit, and little principle. Bolingbroke was at first contented to act in an inferior capacity, subservient to Oxford's designs; and it was not until afterwards, when he understood the full extent of his own parts and influence, that he aspired to the distinction of being the first in the state, and used every art to depress the interest of his patron.

To this confederacy was added sir Simon Harcourt, a lawyer, a man of eminent abilities. These three statesmen uniting, endeavoured to procure an association of the Tories, to whom they gave the strongest assurances that the queen would no longer submit to be directed by a Whig ministry. She had ever been, they said, a friend in her heart to the Tory and high-church party, by which appellation this faction now chose to be distinguished; and to convince them of the truth of these assertions, the queen shortly bestowed two bishopricks on clergymen who had openly condemned the Revolution.

Notwithstanding the popularity which the Whig administration had hitherto enjoyed, the people, it is certain, now began to be weary of measures, which, however productive of public triumph, had loaded the nation with great burdens. The merchants had lately sustained heavy and repeated losses, for want of proper convoys; the coin of the nation was so much diminished as to cause a general alarm; and the public credit every where began visibly to decline.

Amidst these unfavourable circumstances the first parliament of Great Britain assembled. The complaints of the nation first found vent in the house of lords, where the earl of Wharton, seconded by lord Somers, expatiated upon the scarcity of money, the decay of trade, and the mismanagement of the navy. A day being fixed

*24th Oct.
Meeting
of the first
British par-
liament.*

for

for this examination, the house received a petition from the sheriffs and merchants of London, aggravating their losses by sea for want of convoys; and these complaints were proved by witnesses.

The ministry at first pretended to despise those complaints, and instead of endeavouring to soften the virulence of their opponents, continued to tease the queen with remonstrances against her conduct; and even taxed her with ingratitude for those services which had thrown so much lustre on her reign. At length, the Whig part of them began to open their eyes to the intrigues of Harley. The duchess of Marlborough perceived, when it was too late, that she was supplanted by her insidious rival; and her husband, in order to re-establish his own credit, was obliged openly to oppose Harley, whom he could not otherwise displace. The secretary had lately incurred some suspicion, from the treachery of one Gregg, an under-clerk in his office, who was detected in a correspondence with Chamillard, the French king's minister. Gregg was executed; and the duke of Marlborough, desirous of taking the advantage of this opportunity for removing Harley, wrote to the queen, that he and lord Godolphin could serve her no longer, should the present secretary be continued in his place. The queen, willing to preserve her ministers in mutual friendship, endeavoured to appease the duke's resentment by every art of persuasion; but the latter, too confident of his own power, refused all accommodation. With the earl of Godolphin he went so far as to retire from the court; and the queen saw herself in danger of being deserted by her whole ministry. She now, for the first time, perceived the power which these two ministers had assumed over her councils; and though in the present exigence she was obliged to dissemble her resentment, she secretly resolved to remove them. Next day, therefore, she sent for the duke, and telling him that Harley should immediately resign his office, conferred it on Mr. Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer. Bolingbroke, resolving to share his friend Harley's disgrace, resigned his employment; as did likewise sir Simon Harcourt, attorney-general, and sir Thomas Mansell, comptroller of the household. Mr. St. John's place of secretary at war was conferred upon Mr. Robert Walpole, a man who was now rising into eminence in the house of commons, and who afterwards made such a figure in the two succeeding reigns.

*Discontent
of Marl-
borough and
Godolphin.*

Marlborough seemed to triumph in the success of his resentment, not considering that by this step he entirely lost the confidence of the queen. He returned soon after to prosecute the war on the continent, where his glory was increased by new victories, which had not, however, the effect of re-establishing his power.

The displacing of Harley, though a measure which seemed at first favourable to the Whig ministry, laid the foundation of its ruin. That statesman, who now threw off the mask of friendship, was thereby enabled to prosecute with greater vigour the accomplishment of his designs; and though he had at present no visible concern in the administration, he was not the less distinguished by the secret confidence of his sovereign. The queen's partiality for the Tories appeared soon after, in a transaction which, though in itself of little importance, was productive of essential consequences.

The animosity between the opposite parties in the nation, had now risen to a great height, and they only waited an opportunity of displaying their disposition towards each other. Such an occasion was given them by Sacheverel, a man of mean talents, and whose name would never have been mentioned in a history of the times, were it not for the political purposes of which he was rendered an instrument. This person, who was a clergyman, had received his education at Oxford. Though possessed of narrow intellects, he had acquired some popularity among those who distinguished themselves by the name of high-church men, and had embraced all occasions of venting his animosity against the dissenters. At the summer-assizes at Derby he had declaimed in that strain before the judges. On the 5th of November, in St. Paul's Church, he vehemently defended the doctrine of non-resistance, inveighed against the toleration to dissenters, and affirmed that a dangerous conspiracy was formed for the destruction of the national church. He sounded the trumpet for a religious insurrection, and exhorted the people to put on the whole armour of God. Sir Samuel Gerrard, the lord-mayor, countenanced this harangue, which, though extremely weak both in matter and style, was published under his protection, and extolled by the Tories as a masterpiece of composition.

Mr. Dolben, son to the archbishop of York, presented to the house of commons a complaint against these rhapsodies, and by this conduct gave them an importance which they would not otherwise have obtained. The most

A.D. 1709.

*Account of
Dr. Sacheverel.*
Historical.

most violent paragraphs were read, and the sermons voted scandalous and seditious libels. Sacheverel was brought to the bar of the house, where he gloried in what he had done, and mentioned the encouragement which the publication of his sermons had received from the lord-mayor; who was then present. Being ordered to withdraw, it was resolved to impeach him at the bar of the house of lords, of high crimes and misdemeanors; and Mr. Dolben was appointed to conduct the prosecution, in the name of the commons of all England. A committee was chosen to draw up articles of impeachment; Sacheverel was taken into custody; and a day was appointed for his solemn trial before the lords.

Meanwhile the Tories, to whom Sacheverel's principles were highly acceptable, failed not to exert themselves in his defence. They boldly affirmed that the Whigs had formed a design to pull down the church, and that this prosecution was intended as a trial of their strength, before they should proceed openly to the execution of their project. The clergy made use of all their influence to alarm and inflame their hearers; while emissaries were employed to work upon the minds of the populace, who were already prone to discontent, from a scarcity of provisions, which was at that time felt in almost every country in Europe. It was urged, that the church was exposed to the most imminent peril, from Dissenters, Whigs, and luke-warm prelates; a set of men whom they represented as the authors of the ruinous war, and ultimately of the terrible famine, which threatened to desolate the nation. So powerful a party having espoused the cause of Sacheverel, after the articles were exhibited against him, the lords thought proper to admit the prisoner to bail.

The eyes of the whole kingdom were turned upon this extraordinary trial, which during the space of three weeks entirely excluded all other business. The queen was every day present as a private spectator; and when the culprit proceeded to Westminster-hall, he was daily attended by a multitude of the populace, who expressed their attachment for him in the loudest acclamations. The managers for the commons were sir Joseph Jekyl, Mr. Eyre, solicitor-general, sir Peter King, recorder, general Stanhope, sir Thomas Parker, and Mr. Walpole. Sacheverel was defended by sir Simon Harcourt, and Mr. Phipps; and assisted by Dr. Atterbury, Dr. Smallridge, and Dr. Friend. While the trial continued, every day was signalized by some fresh tumult of the populace. They surrounded the

queen's

queen's sedan, exclaiming, " God bless your majesty and the church ! We hope your majesty is for Dr. Sacheverel." *Tumult in London.* They destroyed several meeting-houses, plundered the dwelling of many eminent dissenters, and even proposed to attack the Bank. The queen, in compliance with the request of the commons, published a proclamation for suppressing the riots ; and several persons being apprehended, were tried for high-treason. Two were convicted, and received sentence of death, but neither suffered.

When the commons had finished their charge, the managers for Sacheverel undertook his defence with great art and eloquence. Himself afterwards recited a speech, which, from the strong contrast between it and his sermons, seems evidently the work of another person. In this he solemnly justified his intentions towards the queen and her government ; and spoke in the most respectful terms both of the Revolution, and the Protestant succession. He maintained the doctrine of non-resistance as a tenet of the church, in which he was brought up ; and he endeavoured, in a pathetic conclusion, to excite the pity of his audience. He was surrounded by the queen's chaplains, who encouraged and extolled him as the champion of the church ; and he was favoured by the queen herself, who could not but entertain a partiality for a doctrine so auspicious to the royal prerogative.

The lords, when they retired to consult upon his sentence, were divided, and continued undetermined for some time. At length, after violent altercation, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of seventeen voices ; but a protest was entered against this decision by no less than thirty-four peers. He was prohibited from preaching for three years ; and his two sermons were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, in the presence of the lord-mayor and the two sheriffs.

The lenity of this sentence, which was chiefly owing to the dread of popular resentment, was regarded by the Tories as a victory over the opposite faction. They celebrated their triumph by bonfires and illuminations ; and Sacheverel was soon after presented to a benefice in North Wales, whither he was conducted with great pomp and magnificence. On his way, he was sumptuously entertained by the university of Oxford, and many noblemen, who, while they worshipped him as the idol of their faction, secretly held him in contempt. He was received in several towns by the magistrates, in their formalities,
and

and was often attended by a body of a thousand horse. At Bridgenorth, he was met by one Mr. Creswell, at the head of four thousand men on horseback, and as many on foot, wearing white knots, edged with gold. The hedges were for two miles dressed with garlands, and the steeples covered with streamers, flags, and colours. The church and Dr. Sacheverel was refounded in every quarter, and a spirit of religious enthusiasm spread through the whole nation.

A.D. 1710.

A new parliament.

In these circumstances, the queen thought proper to summon a new parliament, in which very few were returned, but such as had distinguished themselves by their zeal against the Whig administration, who were no longer able to keep their ground in opposition to the power of the queen, and the united voice of the people.

Marlborough had some time before gone back to Flanders, where he led on the allied army to great, but dear bought victories. The king of France made proposals of peace, by which he offered to give up either Spain and its dominions, or the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, to Charles of Austria, and to give a barrier to the Dutch in the Netherlands. The Dutch, however, being intoxicated with success, and Marlborough being prompted both by interest and ambition to continue the war, these terms were rejected. The duke resolved to push his good fortune; and at the head of a numerous army came up to the village of Oudenarde, where the French, in equal numbers, were posted. There ensued a furious engagement, in which the French were obliged to retire, and took the advantage of the night to secure their retreat. About three thousand were slain on the field of battle, seven thousand were made prisoners, and their army besides was considerably reduced by desertion. This victory was followed by the surrender of Lisle, the strongest town in Flanders. Ghent shared the same fate soon after; while Bruges, and the other less towns in French Flanders, were abandoned by their garrisons.

The repeated successes of the allies once more induced the French king to offer terms of peace, in which he was resolved to sacrifice all considerations of pride and ambition, as well as the interests of his grandson in Spain, to a measure which was now become indispensable. In a conference which ensued, the allies rose in their demands, but without stipulating any thing in favour of the English. The demands were rejected by France, which, notwithstanding

withstanding its exhausted state, made preparations for another campaign.

The allied army now amounted to one hundred and ten thousand fighting men, and began with directing their operations against Tournay, a place which was strong both by art and nature, and contained a garrison of twelve thousand men. This siege was conducted in a manner particularly terrible. As the besiegers proceeded by sapping, their troops that were conducting the mines frequently met with those of the enemy under ground, and furiously engaged in subterraneous conflicts. At length, after an obstinate resistance, the town capitulated, and the troops in the citadel were made prisoners of war. This event was in a short time followed by the battle of Malplaquet, in the neighbourhood of which place, behind the woods of La Merte and Taniers, was posted the French army, amounting to a hundred and twenty thousand men, under the command of the great marshal Villars. They had fortified their camp in such a manner with lines, hedges, and trees laid across, that it seemed to be quite inaccessible. What were the duke's motives for attacking them at such a disadvantage to himself have not been clearly ascertained; but, on the 11th of September, early in the morning, the allied army, favoured by a thick fog, began the operation. Their fury was chiefly directed against the left of the enemy, where the French, notwithstanding their lines and barricadoes, were in less than an hour driven from their entrenchments: but on the enemy's right, the combat was maintained with greater obstinacy. The Dutch, who carried on the attack, drove them from their first line; but were repulsed from the second with great slaughter. At last, however, the French were obliged to quit the field, Villars being dangerously wounded, the command was assumed by Boufflers, under whom they made an excellent retreat, and took post near Guesnoy and Valenciennes. The allied army remained masters of the field of battle, which, however, they had the mortification to find strewed with the bodies of twenty thousand of their best troops. The city of Mons surrendered soon after; and with this transaction the allies concluded the campaign.

*Battle of
Malpla-
quet.*

Notwithstanding the slaughter which had been made in the allied army in this battle, Lewis continued desirous of peace; and resolved once more to solicit a conference. To negotiate upon this subject, he employed one Peckum, the duke of Holstein's resident at the Hague; and himself

even submitted to request privately the duke's good offices. But as his affairs were now in a less desperate situation than they had been in the beginning of the campaign, he would not adhere to those conditions which he had at that time offered as preliminaries to a conference. Though the Dutch had already rejected those conditions, they inveighed against his insincerity in thus retracting them; and the duke endeavoured, with all his art, to confirm them in the resolution of prosecuting the war. The French king, however, tired of maintaining a contest which, besides entailing misery on his subjects, he could not much longer support, continued to deprecate the vengeance of the allies; and, by means of Petkum, implored the Dutch, that the negotiation might be resumed. At length, a conference was opened at Gertruydenburgh, under the influence of Marlborough, Eugene, and Zinzendorff, who were all, from private motives, entirely averse to the treaty. Upon this occasion, the French ministers experienced every species of mortification that the insolence of victory could suggest. Spies were placed upon all their conduct; and even their letters were opened. The Dutch deputies would listen to no expedient for removing the difficulties which retarded the negotiation. The French commissioners offered to satisfy every complaint that had given rise to the war. They agreed to grant the Dutch a large barrier; they consented to abandon Philip of Spain, and even were willing to furnish a supply towards the dethroning of that prince. But these offers, however great and flattering, were treated with contempt. The deputies were, therefore, obliged to return home, after having sent the States a letter, in which they warmly remonstrated against the unworthy treatment which they had received. Lewis, seeing all his efforts for obtaining peace entirely frustrated, resolved to hazard another campaign, not without hope that some lucky incident in the prosecution of the war, or some happy change in the ministry of England, might procure him more favourable terms.

Though the continuance of the war prolonged Marlborough's power on the continent, all his influence at home was at an end. The members of the new parliament were almost universally Tories. From every quarter of the kingdom, addresses, confirming the doctrine of non-resistance, were presented to the queen, by whom they were received with evident marks of satisfaction. The conferences being broke off at Gertruydenburgh, the designs of the Dutch and English commanders were too obvious not to

be perceived. The writers of the Tory faction, who were men of the first eminence for literary talents, displayed, in vehement declamations, the avarice of Marlborough, and the self-interested conduct of the Dutch. They insisted, that while England was exhausting her strength in foreign conquests, for the benefit of other nations, she was losing her liberty at home; and that the members of the administration, not contented with sharing the plunder of an impoverished state, were resolved on controlling, with their influence, even the constitutional exertion of the royal authority.

These complaints, though exaggerated, were not destitute of foundation. The insolence of the duchess of Marlborough, who had hitherto possessed more power than the whole privy-council united, was become insupportable to the queen, who was resolved to seize the first opportunity of displaying her resentment.

Upon the death of the earl of Essex, who was colonel of a regiment under Marlborough, the queen resolved to bestow that preferment on a person whom she knew was obnoxious to the duke. She, therefore, sent word to the latter, that she wished he would give that regiment to Mr. Hill, brother to her favourite Mrs. Masham, as a person every way qualified for the command. The duke was struck with this request, which he considered as a previous step to his own disgrace. He represented to the queen, the prejudice that would result to the service from the promotion of so young an officer. He expostulated on this extraordinary mark of partiality for the brother of Mrs. Masham, who had treated him with peculiar ingratitude. To these remonstrances the queen made no other reply, but that he would do well to consult his friends. He retired in disgust, and sat down to meditate a letter, in which he begged leave of her majesty to resign all his employments.

Meanwhile, the queen, who was conscious of her own popularity, went to the council, where she seemed not to take the least notice of the duke's absence. The whole band of his friends, of whom the council almost entirely consisted, failed not to alarm her with the consequences of disobliging so useful a servant. She, therefore, dissembled her resentment; and went so far as to send the duke a letter, empowering him to dispose of the regiment as he thought proper; insisting also, for the present, on his retaining the command of the army, though she was too sensibly provoked at many parts of his conduct not to wish for his removal.

The duchess of Marlborough, concluding, from these apparent tokens of returning favour, that the queen was willing to be reconciled, resolved once more to practise the long-neglected arts by which she had first obtained the royal confidence. She, therefore, on pretence of vindicating her character from some aspersions, demanded an audience of her majesty. She hoped to work upon the queen's tenderness by tears and supplications; which, however, were productive of no effect. The queen, who heard her without exhibiting the least emotions of tenderness or pity, gave no other answer to her supplications than by repeating an insolent expression, formerly used in a letter to herself from this lady, "You desired no answer, and you shall have none."

A. D. 1711.

The queen resolves to change the ministry.

To depose at once a ministry, so long established in power, required a degree of courage which was hardly to be expected in the breast of a female sovereign; and, though Harley, who still shared the queen's confidence, did not fail to enforce the security of such a measure, she would agree to proceed in their removal only by insensible degrees. She began by transferring the post of lord-chamberlain from the duke of Kent to the duke of Shrewsbury, who had lately sided with the Tories, and maintained an intimate correspondence with Mr. Harley. The earl of Sunderland, secretary of state, and son-in-law to the duke of Marlborough, was soon after displaced, and the earl of Dartmouth put in his room.

The queen, finding that these changes were not unacceptable to the nation, resolved to rid herself entirely of a ministry which had, for years, kept even herself in a state of subjection to their power. In this resolution she was confirmed by the duke of Beaufort, who, coming to court, informed her majesty, that he came once more to pay his duty to the "queen." The whole Whig party was thrown into consternation, and exerted their united efforts to prevent, if possible, the ruin which threatened their authority. They influenced the directors of the bank so far as to assure her majesty, that public credit would be annihilated by this extraordinary change in her councils. The Dutch moved heaven and earth with memorials and menaces, if the apparent designs of the court should be carried into execution. In spite of all these remonstrances, however, the queen proceeded in her plan. Lord Godolphin being divested of his office, the treasury was put in commission, subjected to the direction of Harley, who was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, and under-treasurer.

Dissolution of the Whig ministry.

farer. The earl of Rochester was declared president of the council, in the room of lord Somers. The staff of lord-steward, being taken from the duke of Devonshire, was given to the duke of Buckingham; and Mr. Boyle was removed from the secretary's office, to make way for Mr. Henry St. John. The lord chancellor having resigned the great-seal, it was first put in commission, and afterwards given to sir Simon Harcourt. The earl of Wharton, who resigned his commission of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, was succeeded in that employment by the duke of Ormond. Mr. George Granville was appointed secretary of war, in the room of Mr. Robert Walpole. Of the whole Whig party, Marlborough alone remained in office; but, though still general of the army, he considered his fall as extremely near.

The parliament meeting soon after, the queen, in her speech, recommended a vigorous prosecution of the war. Both houses expressed their satisfaction with zeal and unanimity. They exhorted her majesty, to discountenance all such principles and measures as were lately maintained to the derogation of the dignity of the crown. Marlborough, who but a few months before had been so highly extolled by the representatives of the people, was now become the object of their hatred and reproach. He was upbraided with avarice, as the motive from which he had industriously protracted the war. Various instances of his fraud and extortion were specified; and so intemperate was the spirit of party, that even his courage and conduct were called in question. To increase the duke's mortification, the thanks of the house of commons were voted to the earl of Peterborough, for his services in Spain, when they were refused to Marlborough, for those in Flanders; and the lord-keeper, in delivering them to Peterborough, took occasion to drop some reflections against the mercenary disposition of his rival.

Harley, during this ferment, still maintained the appearance of moderation; and was even suspected, by his more violent associates, as a lukewarm friend to the cause in which they had embarked. An accident, however, had the effect not only of procuring him the confidence of his own party, but of establishing his credit with the queen. One Guiscard, a French officer, who had communicated some useful intelligence relative to the affairs of France, had received from the crown a precarious pension of four hundred pounds a-year, which he considered as a reward extremely disproportioned to his services. He had often
X 3 endeavoured

endeavoured to procure admittance to the queen, but was still prevented either by Harley or St. John. He then attempted to make his peace with France; and, in a letter to Moreau, a banker in Paris, offered his services as a spy. But his letters being intercepted, a warrant was issued to apprehend him for high treason. Conscious of his guilt, and certain that the charge could be proved against him, he sought not to avoid his fate, but resolved, though at the expence of new criminality, to satiate his revenge. Being carried before the council, convened at a place called the Cock-pit, he perceived a pen-knife lying upon the table, and took it up without being observed by any of the attendants. When questioned by the members of the council, he endeavoured to evade his examination, and desired permission to speak in private to Mr. Secretary St. John. His request, however, being refused, he said, "That's hard! not one word!" Upon which, as St. John was out of his reach, he stepped towards Mr. Harley, and crying out, "Have at thee then!" stabbed him in the breast with the pen-knife which he had concealed. By good fortune, the blade of the knife broke upon the rib, without entering the cavity of the breast; but he repeated the blow with such violence that Harley fell to the ground. St. John exclaimed, "The villain has killed Mr. Harley!" and instantly drawing his sword, while others followed his example, Guiscard was wounded in several places. He still, however, continued to strike and defend himself, until, being overpowered by the messengers and servants, who, on hearing the noise, had rushed in, he was conveyed from the council-chamber, which he had filled with terror and confusion. His wounds, though dangerous, were not mortal; but he died of a gangrene, occasioned by the contusions which he had sustained. This attempt upon the life of Harley, by a person who was proved an enemy to the state, extinguished the suspicions of those who began to doubt of that minister's integrity.

The two houses of parliament, in an address to the queen, declared their belief, that Mr. Harley's fidelity to her majesty, and zeal for her service, had drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction. After his recovery, when he appeared in the house of commons, he was congratulated upon it by the speaker, in a premeditated speech, full of panegyric and adulation. The earl of Rochester dying, Harley became sole minister, was created baron of Wigmore, and raised to the rank of earl by the titles of Oxford and Mortimer.

*Guiscard
attempts to
stab Harley.*

*Harley is
appointed
minister.*

The favourable disposition of the ministers to the church was confirmed by an act now passed, for building fifty new churches in the city and suburbs of London; for which purpose, they appropriated a duty on coals.

The first doubts of the expedience of continuing the war were introduced in the house of commons. The members voted an address to the queen, in which they complained loudly of the former administration; affirming, that irreparable mischief would have ensued from the prosecution of their measures, and thanking her majesty for their dismissal.

It now remained only to remove the duke of Marlborough from his post; and this being a step which could not be taken without giving offence to the Dutch, it was necessary to wait for some convenient opportunity. Meanwhile, the duke headed the army in Flanders, and led on his forces against marshal Villars, who seemed resolved to hazard a battle. The former contrived his measures so, that by marching and counter-marching, he induced the enemy, without striking a blow, to quit a strong line of entrenchments, of which he immediately took possession. This enterprize was followed by the surrender of Bouchain, which, after a siege of twenty days, capitulated, and formed the last military atchievement of this celebrated general. Upon his return from this campaign, he was accused of having taken a bribe of six thousand pounds a-year from a Jew, who contracted to supply the army with bread; and the queen now thought proper to dismiss him from all his employments. The desire of accumulating money is acknowledged to have been a passion which actuated this general through the whole of his conduct, and has cast upon his character such a stain, as all his military talents have not been able to obliterate. At the time when he received this gratuity, of six thousand a-year, from Medina, the Jew, he was allowed ten thousand pounds a-year from the queen. He also reserved for himself a deduction of two and a half per cent. from the pay of the foreign troops maintained by England, and all this exclusive of his ordinary pay as general of the British forces.

*Dismission
of Marlbo-
rough.*

For some time before the dismissal of Marlborough, a negotiation for peace had been carried on between the court of France and the new ministry. The latter hoped to obtain, for the subjects of Great Britain, such advantages in point of commerce, as would silence all the clamours of the Whig party. In order, therefore to terminate the war as soon as possible, the earl of Jersey, who

Negotiations for peace.

acted in concert with Oxford, sent to the court of France a private message, importing the queen's earnest desire for peace, and her wish for a renewal of the conference. This information was delivered by one Gualtier, an obscure priest, who was chaplain to the imperial ambassador, and a spy for the French court. The message was received by Lewis with great pleasure, and an answer, ardently professing the same inclinations, was returned. This led the way to a reply, and soon after the court of France sent a more definitive memorial, which was immediately approved.

The States-general having perused the French memorial, assured queen Anne that they were ready to join with her in contributing towards the establishment of a general peace; but they expressed a desire that the French king would be more explicit in his declaration for settling the repose of Europe. To give the Dutch some satisfaction on this head, a conference took place between the ministers of the British and French courts. Prior, better known as a poet than as a statesman, was sent over with proposals to France; and, in his return, he was accompanied to London by Menager, who was vested with full powers to treat upon the preliminaries. These, after long debates, were agreed on, and signed by the English and French minister, in consequence of a written order from her majesty.

The next object of the administration was to make the terms of peace agreeable to all the confederates. The earl of Stafford, who had been lately recalled from the Hague, where he resided as ambassador, was now sent back to Holland, with orders to communicate to the pensionary, Heinsius, the preliminary proposals, and to fix upon a place where the plenipotentiaries should assemble. The Dutch, upon examining the preliminaries, were very averse to beginning the conference. They sent over an envoy to endeavour to dissuade the queen from her resolution; but not succeeding in this attempt, they fixed upon Utrecht as the place of general conference, and accordingly granted passports to the French ministers.

The Dutch and the Germans, who were alike indisposed to an accommodation, had recourse to various expedients for frustrating the negotiations of this congress. The emperor wrote circular letters to the princes of the empire, exhorting them to persist in their former engagements. His ambassador in London getting a copy of the preliminary articles, had them inserted in a common newspaper, in order to throw blame upon the ministry,

and

and render their proceedings odious to the people. The Dutch also laboured to excite discontents in England against the measures of the government. The Whigs in London failed not to co-operate with their foreign confederates in diffeminating clamours over the nation. Reproaches, libels, and lampoons, were every day published by one faction, and the next day were answered by the other. At this period prince Eugene arrived in England, with the design, as was suspected, of intriguing among the discontented party, who opposed the peace. Though his visit was far from being agreeable to the ministry, he was treated with that respect which was due to his rank and eminent talents; and he was admitted to an audience of the queen, who received him with great complacency.

Many of the motives which had first incited the confederates and French to take up arms, no longer existed. Charles of Austria, in whose cause England had spent so much blood and treasure, was, by the death of his elder brother, the emperor Joseph, placed on the imperial throne. Every reason, therefore, concurred for not supporting his pretensions to the Spanish monarchy; the acquisition of which, though at first an object of the confederates was become incompatible with the general liberties of Europe. The elector of Bavaria, who had been intimately connected with the French, was now detached from them; and the Dutch, who had trembled for their own barrier, were encroaching upon that of the enemy. Though it was the interest of England, therefore, that her allies should be reinstated in their rights, it was inconsistent with good policy that they should be rendered too powerful.

In the month of January the conferences were opened at Utrecht, under the conduct of Robinson, bishop of Bristol, lord privy-seal, and the earl of Stafford, on the side of the English; of Buys and Vanderdussen, on the part of the Dutch; and of the marshal d'Uxelles, the cardinal Polignac, and M. Menager, in behalf of France. The ministers of the emperor and Savoy assisted, and the other allies sent also plenipotentiaries, though with the utmost reluctance. England and France being the only powers that were sincerely inclined to peace, the deputies of the other confederates served rather to retard than advance its progress. The emperor insisted obstinately on his claim to the Spanish monarchy; while the Dutch adhered to the old preliminaries which Lewis had formerly rejected.

A.D. 1712.

The conferences opened at Utrecht.

The queen's measures obstructed by the allies.

The

The English ministers were sensible of the difficult task they had to sustain; opposed, as they were, by the confederates abroad, and a desperate party in the kingdom. By adopting a bold measure of creating twelve peers in one day, they secured a majority in the house of lords. But in their present situation dispatch was requisite. The queen's health was visibly declining, and, in case of her death, they foresaw the ruin of all their schemes. They therefore set on foot a private negotiation with France. They stipulated certain advantages for the subjects of Great Britain in a concerted plan of pacification. These articles were privately regulated between the two courts; but being the result of haste and necessity, they were not so favourable to the English interests as the sanguine part of the nation had been taught to expect.

During these transactions the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht delivered their proposals in writing, under the title of Specific Offers. These were treated with great contempt by the confederates, who, on the other hand, drew up their own Specific Demands, which were considered as highly extravagant by the ministers of France. After many conferences there appeared no prospect of an accommodation, until the English ministers, willing to include their allies, if possible, in the treaty, departed from some of their secret pretensions, in order to gratify the Dutch with the possession of some towns in Flanders. They consented to admit the republic into a participation of some advantages in commerce. At last the queen, finding the confederates still determined to adhere to their first preliminaries, gave them to understand, that as they failed to co-operate with her openly and sincerely, she looked upon herself as entirely released from all her former engagements. The queen's displeasure soon became manifest from an order transmitted to the English army in Flanders not to act upon the offensive. Upon the dismissal of the duke of Marlborough, the duke of Ormond had been invested with the supreme command of the British forces; but with particular directions that he should not hazard an engagement. He joined, however, prince Eugene, who, not being let into the secret, advised the attacking the French army, but was soon made acquainted with the instructions received by his coadjutor. Ormond felt himself extremely uneasy in his present situation; and, in a letter to the secretary in England, desired permission to return home. The confederates were loud in their complaints against the English ministry. They
expo-

expostulated with the deputies at Utrecht upon so perfidious a conduct. But they were answered, that the States-general not having paid proper regard to the advances made by the queen, she considered herself at liberty to enter into separate measures to obtain a peace for her own advantage.

The Dutch, however, were not disposed to acquiesce in the force of this argument; and their cause being supported by a powerful party among the lords, it was resolved to arraign in that house the conduct of the ministry. In a speech made by Lord Halifax, he expatiated on the ill consequences of the duke of Ormond's refusing to co-operate with prince Eugene, and moved for addressing her majesty to loosen the hands of the English general. The earl of Paulet replied, that though none could doubt of the duke of Ormond's courage, yet he was not like a certain general, who led troops to the slaughter, in hopes that a great number of officers might be knocked on the head, and that, by disposing of their commissions, he might increase his own treasures. The duke of Marlborough, who was present, was so exasperated at this insinuation, that he sent the earl a challenge the next day; but this transaction coming to the queen's ears, the duke received orders to proceed no farther in the quarrel.

The allies, though deprived of the assistance of the English, were still superior in force to the enemy; but soon felt the importance of the loss which they sustained by that defection. Villars attacked a body of their troops, encamped at Denain, under the command of the earl of Albemarle. Their entrenchments were forced, and seventeen battalions either destroyed or made prisoners. Among the latter were the earl and the surviving officers.

The negociations of the deputies at Utrecht were hastened by these successes. The great obstacle to the completion of the treaty was settling the succession to the kingdoms of France and Spain. The interests of Europe might be endangered, should both kingdoms be united under one sovereign; and Philip, who was now king of Spain, stood next in succession to the crown of France, failing one child (afterwards Lewis XV.) who was then sickly. After many expedients, however, Philip at last resolved to wave his pretensions to the French monarchy, and the treaty went forward without any farther delay.

In the beginning of August, secretary St. John, now created lord viscount Bolingbroke, was sent over to the

court of Versailles to remove all obstructions to the separate treaty. He was accompanied by Mr. Prior and the abbé Gualtier, and was treated with the most distinguished marks of respect. The negotiation being finished in a few days, Bolingbroke returned to England, leaving Prior as resident at the court of France.

Meanwhile the articles of the intended treaty were warmly canvassed among all ranks of people in London; and the duke of Hamilton having been appointed ambassador extraordinary to the court of France, the Whigs were alarmed on the supposition that this nobleman favoured the Pretender. Some dispute arising between the duke and lord Mohun on the subject of a law-suit, furnished pretence for a quarrel. Mohun, who had twice been tried for murder, and was accounted a mean tool of the Whig party, sent a message by general Macartney to the duke, challenging him to a duel. The principals met by appointment in Hyde Park, attended by Macartney and colonel Hamilton. They fought with such fury that Mohun was killed upon the spot, and the duke expired before he could be conveyed to his own house. Macartney disappeared, and escaped in disguise to the continent. Colonel Hamilton declared upon oath, before the privy council, that when the principals engaged, he and Macartney followed their example; that Macartney was immediately disarmed; but the colonel seeing the duke fall upon his antagonist, threw away the swords, and ran to lift him up; that while he was employed in that office, Macartney, having taken up one of the swords, stabbed the duke over colonel Hamilton's shoulder, and immediately retired. This event served to exasperate the Whigs and Tories against each other. Mobs now began to be hired by both factions, and the city was filled with riot and uproar. The duke of Marlborough hearing himself accused as the secret author of these mischiefs, thought proper to retire to the continent, whither he was followed by his duchess.

The duke of Hamilton and lord Mohun killed in a duel.

Marlborough retires to the continent.

A.D. 1713.

At length the treaties of peace and commerce between England and France being agreed on by the plenipotentiaries on either side, and ratified by the queen, she communicated to the parliament the steps she had taken. She informed them of her precautions to secure the succession of a protestant prince; and desired them consider by her actions, whether she meant to oppose the pretensions of the house of Hanover. She left it to the commons to determine what forces, and what supplies might be necessary for the defence of the kingdom. "Make yourselves safe
said

(said she), and I shall be satisfied. The affection of my people, and the providence of heaven, are the only guards I ask for my protection." Both houses presented her warm addressees; and the ratifications of the treaty being exchanged, peace was proclaimed on the 5th of May, to the inexpressible joy of the greater part of the nation, which had ardently desired that event.

*Peace is
Proclaimed.*

The articles of this famous peace were more minutely examined, and more warmly debated, than those of any other that ever was concluded between nations. The first stipulation was, that Philip, now acknowledged king of Spain, should renounce all right to the crown of France. It was agreed that the duke of Berry, Philip's brother, and next to him in succession, should also renounce his right to the crown of Spain, in the event of his becoming king of France. It was stipulated that the duke of Savoy should possess the island of Sicily, with the title of king; and that Fenestrelles, with other places on the continent, should be added to his dominions. The Dutch obtained the barrier for which they had so long been solicitous, and were put in possession of the strongest towns in Flanders. With regard to England, her honour and her interests were secured. The fortifications of Dunkirk, a harbour which in time of war might prove dangerous to her commerce, were ordered to be demolished, and its port destroyed. Spain resigned all pretensions to Gibraltar, and the island of Minorca. France renounced Hudson's Bay, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland; but was left in possession of Cape Breton, and the liberty of drying their fish upon the shore. Among the articles glorious to the British nation, was that of setting free the French Protestants confined in the prisons and galleys on account of their religion. For the emperor it was stipulated, that he should possess the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands. The king of Prussia was to have Upper Guelder; and a time was fixed for the emperor's acceding to these articles, as he had for some time obstinately refused to assist at the negotiation. The English ministers, upon the whole, discovered themselves to have been not only attentive to the interests of their own, but of foreign nations; and it was owing entirely to the faction and animosity of the times, that a treaty so reasonable and worthy of praise did not give universal satisfaction.

*Substance
of the
treaty
between
Great
Britain
and
France.*

After this event the Dutch and the Imperialists, though they seemed resolved to hold out for some time, soon concluded

concluded

cluded a peace with their enemy; one by the barrier treaty, and the other by that of Rastadt; in each of which the treaty of Utrecht was confirmed.

The parties which had lately agitated the nation now proceeded in their dissensions with redoubled animosity. Whether it was at this time the wish of the ministers to transfer the succession of the crown from the house of Hanover to the Pretender, cannot now be known with any certainty. The Whigs, however, suspected such a design, and the Tories but faintly denied it. The former were all in commotion, either really apprehending, or affecting to apprehend that intention. It was even reported that the Pretender was actually concealed in London, and that he had held several conferences with the ministers of state. The principal men among the Whigs, at the same time, held secret conferences with baron Schutz, resident from the court of Hanover; and they communicated their apprehensions to the elector, who therefore, before his arrival in England, contracted a prejudice against the Tories. In return to their declarations of attachment, they received his instructions, and were assured of his particular favour in case of his succession.

The spirit of discontent was industriously raised by party-writings, among the authors of which, Mr. Steele, afterwards known as the celebrated sir Richard Steele, was not a little active. In a pamphlet called the Crisis, which he wrote, he inveighed against the ministry, and urged the immediate danger of bringing in the Pretender. The commons considered this as a scandalous and seditious libel, and Steele, who was one of the members, was expelled the house.

*Mr. Steele
expelled
the house of
commons.
A.D. 1714.*

*Dissensions
of the mi-
nisters.*

But while the ministers were thus attacked by their opponents, their union was weakened by their own internal dissensions. Both Harley and St. John were now called up to the house of lords; the former by the title of Oxford, and the latter by that of Bolingbroke. Though at first they pursued the same interests, they were at this time become competitors for power. The treasurer's parts were deemed more solid; but the secretary's more brilliant; and each of them equally ambitious. Oxford was bent on supporting the same rank which he had obtained upon the dissolution of the last ministry; while Bolingbroke disdained to act in a station subordinate to that of the man whom he thought he excelled in abilities. They began, therefore, to form separate interests, and to adopt different principles. Oxford, it was imagined, was

no enemy to the Hanover succession; Bolingbroke, on the contrary, it was alleged, had some hopes of bringing in the Pretender.

The queen, whose health was fast declining, was sensibly affected with these dissensions, which she endeavoured to appease, both by her advice and authority. The council-chamber was, for some time, turned into a scene of altercation. Even in the queen's presence the treasurer and secretary gave vent to mutual reproaches. As Oxford foresaw that the Whig ministry would again force themselves into power, he was for pursuing moderate measures. Bolingbroke, however, was for setting the Whigs at defiance, and made his court to the queen, by giving way to all her attachments. At length their animosities coming to a height, Oxford wrote the queen a letter, containing a detail of public transactions; in the course of which he endeavoured to justify his own conduct, and expose the turbulent spirit of his rival; who, on the other hand, accused the treasurer with having invited the duke of Marlborough to return from his voluntary exile, and of maintaining private correspondence with the house of Hanover. In consequence of this charge, joined to the intrigues of lady Masham, who seconded the aims of Bolingbroke, Oxford was removed from his employment, and his rival seemed, for a short time, to triumph in the victory he had obtained.

Oxford is dismissed.

The fall of the treasurer was so sudden, that no plan was established for supplying the vacancy occasioned by his dismissal; and the queen, from her weak state of health, was so much overwhelmed with anxiety, and harrassed with the perplexing state of affairs, that her strength proved insufficient to support the fatigue. A long cabinet council on this event had such an effect on her spirits and constitution, that she declared she could not outlive it, and immediately sunk into a state of lethargic disorder. Notwithstanding all the remedies which were administered, the distemper increased so fast, that next day they despaired of her life, and the privy-council was assembled on the occasion. The dukes of Somerset and Argyle being informed of the desperate situation in which she lay, repaired to the palace, and, without being summoned, entered the council-chamber, not a little to the surprise of the Tory members. The duke of Shrewsbury thanked them for their readiness to give their assistance at so critical a juncture, and desired them to take their places. The physicians having declared that the queen was still sensible,

The queen seized with a lethargic disorder.

sensible, the council unanimously agreed, that the duke of Shrewsbury was the fittest person to be appointed to the vacant office of treasurer; and thus Bolingbroke's ambition was defeated, just when he thought himself at the point of obtaining that promotion which he had so eagerly pursued.

All the members of the privy-council, without distinction, being now summoned from the different parts of the kingdom, began to take measures for the public security. They sent a letter to the elector of Hanover, informing him of the queen's desperate situation, and desiring him to repair immediately to Holland, whence he should be conveyed into England by a British squadron. At the same time they dispatched instructions to the earl of Stafford, at the Hague, to desire the States-general to be ready to perform the guaranty of the protestant succession. Precautions were taken to secure the sea-ports; and the command of the fleet was bestowed on the earl of Berkeley, a professed Whig.

On the 13th of July the queen seemed so much relieved from her disorder, that she arose from her bed about eight o'clock, and walked a little. After some time, casting her eyes on a clock that stood in her chamber, she continued to gaze at it for some minutes. One of the ladies in waiting asked her what she saw there more than usual; to which the queen only answered by turning her eyes upon her with a dying look. She was soon after seized with a fit of the apoplexy, and continued in a state of insensibility, with short intervals, until the 1st of August in the morning, when she expired, in the forty-ninth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign.

Her death,

and character.

Anne was of a middle size, and well proportioned; of a ruddy complexion, and an aspect rather comely than majestic. Her understanding, though not much cultivated by learning, was naturally good; and her greatest weakness was that of being subject to the influence of favourites. She was a pattern of conjugal fidelity, an affectionate mother, a warm friend, and an indulgent mistress; nor was it without the justest pretensions that she universally obtained the expressive, though simple epithet, of "the good queen Anne." In no preceding reign had the glory of the nation ever been carried to such a height, either in arms or elegant literature; and she was the last of a family that will be celebrated to the latest ages for its misfortunes.

C H A P. XI.

From the Accession of the House of Hanover, to the Peace of Paris, in 1762.

G E O R G E I.

THE opponents of the Hanoverian succession had entertained some hopes, that the son of the exiled James the Second might, on the first vacancy, succeed to the throne of his ancestors; but all their expectations were blasted by the premature death of the queen, and the change which took place in the ministry. Pursuant to the act of succession, the crown was reserved for George I. son of Ernest Augustus, first elector of Brunswick, and the princess Sophia, grand-daughter to James the First. The queen had no sooner resigned her last breath, than the privy-council met, and three instruments were produced, by which the elector appointed several of his known adherents to be added as lords justices to the seven great offices of the kingdom. Orders were immediately issued for proclaiming his majesty in England, Scotland, and Ireland with the usual titles of the sovereign. The regency appointed the earl of Dorset to carry him the intimation of his accession to the crown, and to attend him in his journey to England. They filled the military posts with general officers in whom they could confide: they reinforced the garrison of Portsmouth, and appointed the celebrated Mr. Addison secretary of state, while Bolingbroke was obliged to wait every morning in the passage to the council-chamber, with his bag and papers, and underwent every species of mortification.

A.D. 1714.

Accession of George I.

The king, now in the fifty-fifth year of his age, landed at Greenwich, where he was received by the duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guard, and the lords of the regency. From the landing-place, he walked to his house in the Park, accompanied by a great number of persons of distinction. When he retired to his bed-chamber, he sent for such of the nobility as had distinguished themselves by their zeal for his succession; but the duke of Ormond, the lord chancellor, and lord Trevor, were not of the number. Next morning the earl of Oxford presented himself with an air of confidence; but he had the mortification to remain a considerable time among the crowd; and, at last, was permitted to kiss the

The king lands at Greenwich.

king's hand, without being honoured with any other notice. To add to his mortification, the king expressed the greatest regard for the duke of Marlborough, as well as for all the leaders of the Whig party.

*The Whigs
eng. of all
public em-
ployments.*

It was the misfortune of this prince, that he had been impressed with strong prepossessions against the Tories, who constituted so considerable a part of his subjects. None were now admitted into employment but the Whigs, who, while they affected to be securing the crown for their king, were practising every art to confirm their own interests, extend their connexions, and give laws to their sovereign. The duke of Ormond was dismissed from his command, which was restored to the duke of Marlborough, who was likewise appointed master of the ordnance. The great-seal was given to lord Cowper; the privy-seal to the earl of Wharton; the government of Ireland to the earl of Sunderland; the duke of Devonshire was made steward of the household; lord Townshend and Mr. Stanhope were appointed secretaries of state; the post of secretary for Scotland, was bestowed upon the duke of Montrose; the duke of Somerset was constituted master of the horse; the duke of St. Alban's captain of the band of pensioners; and the duke of Argyle commander in chief of the forces in Scotland. Mr. Pulteney was appointed secretary at war; and Mr. Walpole, who had already engaged to manage the house of Commons, was gratified with the double place of pay-master of the army and to Chelsea-hospital. A new privy-council was appointed, and the earl of Nottingham named president; but all affairs of consequence were transacted by a cabinet-council or junto, composed of the duke of Marlborough, the earls of Nottingham and Sunderland, the lords Halifax, Townshend, Somers, and general Stanhope. The treasury and admiralty were put into commission; all the governments were changed; and in a word the whole nation was put into the hands of the Whigs.

*Discontents
in the na-
tion.*

*The Pre-
tender sends
over a ma-
nifesto.*

This partiality soon gave offence to a great part of the people, who seemed only to want a leader to excite them to insurrection. The clamour of the church's being in danger was revived, seditious libels dispersed, and tumults raised in different parts of the kingdom. The Pretender took this opportunity to transmit, by the French mail, copies of a printed manifesto, to the dukes of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, Argyle, and other noblemen of the first distinction. In this declaration he observed, that the late queen had intentions of calling him to the crown.

He expostulated with his people upon the injustice they had committed in proclaiming a foreign prince for their sovereign, contrary to the laws of their country, by which he alone had a legal title to the throne. But though he complained of their conduct, he never thought of removing their apprehensions in respect of his own. He continued to profess the strongest attachment to the catholic religion; and instead of concealing his sentiments on that subject, even gloried in his principles.

Amidst the virulence of political parties, religion was still mingled in all their disputes. The Tories complained that impiety and heresy were gaining ground under a Whig administration. The doctrines of true religion, they said, were left exposed to the Dissenters and Socinians on one part, and of the Catholics on the other. The lower orders of the clergy sided with the people in these complaints. They pointed out to the ministry several tracts written in favour of Socinianism and Arianism. The ministry not only refused to punish the delinquents, but prohibited the clergy from future disputations on such topics. This injunction, though it put a stop to the clamours of the people, which had been fomented by the clergy, had the effect of introducing a negligence in all religious concerns.

The parliament being dissolved, another was summoned by a very extraordinary proclamation, in which the king complained of the evil designs of men disaffected to his succession; and of their having misrepresented his conduct and principles. He expressed a desire that his subjects would send up to parliament such men as were fittest to redress the present disorders of the nation; and that they would have a particular regard to those who had discovered a firm attachment to the protestant succession, while it seemed to be in danger. Both parties exerted uncommon vigour in the elections for this important parliament; but, by dint of monied interest, which prevailed in most of the corporations, joined to the influence of the ministry, a great majority of Whigs was returned both in England and Scotland.

New Parliament.

Upon the first meeting of this assembly, nothing was expected but the most violent measures against the late administration. The king appeared in the house of lords, and delivered to the chancellor a written speech, which was read in the presence of both houses. He warned his subjects, that the Pretender boasted of the assistance which he expected in England. He declared that the established

constitution in church and state should be the rule of his government; and concluded with expressing his confidence, that, with their assistance, he should disappoint the designs of those who would deprive him of the affections of his people.

Both houses being predisposed to violent measures, the king's speech served to confirm and invigorate their sentiments; and the result was answerable to the most sanguine expectations, and the most inveterate prejudices, of those who now directed the public councils. The lords, in their address, expressed their hopes that the king would be able to recover the reputation which their country formerly maintained on the continent, and the loss of which they affected to deplore. But the commons, in their proceedings, went much farther: they declared their resolution to investigate those measures by which the nation was depressed, to discover the men who abetted the claims of the Pretender, and to bring them to condign punishment. Mr. Secretary Stanhope openly affirmed, that, notwithstanding the precaution which the late ministry had used to prevent a discovery of their political machinations, by secreting several papers, yet there remained sufficient evidence to prove their treasonable practices and designs. He added, that these proofs would soon be laid before the house, when it would appear incontestible that the duke of Ormond, if he did not really receive orders from the French general, at least acted in concert with him.

It was the artifice, during this and the succeeding reign, to stigmatize as Papists and Jacobites all those who testified any discontent at the conduct of administration. Whoever ventured to speak against the violence of their measures, were reproached as designing to bring in the Pretender. The parliament, therefore, seemed inclined to adopt all the prejudices and political views of the present rulers; and the people, though they secretly murmured at such proceedings, dared not avow their detestation.

Amidst the violence of one party, and the timidity of the other, the former ministry could expect neither justice nor moderation. A part of them absented themselves from parliament. Lord Bolingbroke, who had hitherto appeared in public, as usual, and spoke in the house with freedom, thought it was now time to consult his personal safety. He accordingly withdrew to the continent, leaving in his justification a letter, which was afterwards printed. In this paper he declared, he had received reiterated intelligence, that a resolution was taken to pursue him to the

Lord Bolingbroke withdraws to France.

scaffold: that had there been the smallest reason to expect a fair and open trial, he should not have declined the strictest examination. He challenged the most inveterate of his enemies to produce any one instance of criminal correspondence, or the least corruption in any part of the administration in which he was concerned.

A committee, consisting of twenty persons, was soon after appointed, to examine all the papers relative to the late negotiation for peace; and to select such of them as might afford matter of accusation against the late ministry. After some time spent in this enquiry, Mr. Walpole, as chairman of the committee, moved that a warrant might be issued for apprehending Mr. Matthew Prior, and Mr. Thomas Harley, who, being in the house, were immediately taken into custody. He then read the report of the committee, in which a number of charges was drawn out against the late ministers. The principal charges were, the secret negotiation with Mr. Menager; the extraordinary measures pursued to form the congress at Utrecht; the trifling of the French plenipotentiaries by the connivance of the British ministers; the duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the French general; and Bolingbroke's journey to France to negotiate a separate peace. These and some others being recited, Walpole impeached lord Bolingbroke of high treason. At this motion some of the members were struck with surprize; there being nothing in the report that any way amounted to treason. But their astonishment was increased by the declaration of lord Coningsby, who, rising in his place, expressed himself in the following terms: "The worthy chairman has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head: he has impeached the scholar, and I the master; I impeach Robert, earl of Oxford and Mortimer, of high treason, and other crimes and misdemeanors." Some of the earl's friends spoke in his defence, but the house, without a division, resolved on an impeachment. When the earl appeared in the house next day, he was avoided by the peers as infectious, and retired with signs of confusion. When the articles were read against him in the house of commons, a warm debate arose upon that in which he was charged of having advised the French king of the manner of gaining Tournay from the Dutch. This point, however, being decided against the earl, and the other articles approved by the house, the lord Coningsby, attended by the Whig members, impeached the earl of Oxford at the bar of the house of lords; demanding, at the same time, that he

A.D. 1715.

*Committee
of secrecy.**Resolutions
to impeach
lord Bolingbroke,
the earl of
Oxford, the
duke of Ormond,
and the earl of
Strafford.*

might be sequestered from parliament, and committed to custody. A warm debate now ensued, in which those who still adhered to the deposed minister, maintained the injustice and the danger of such a proceeding. At last the earl himself rose up, and spoke with great tranquillity. After observing that the whole charge might be reduced to the negotiation for, and the conclusion of the peace, "I am accused, said he, for having made a peace; a peace which, bad as it is now represented, has been approved by two successive parliaments. For my own part, I always acted by the immediate directions and command of the queen my mistress, and never offended against any known law. I am justified in my own conscience, and unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man. But I cannot, without the highest ingratitude, remain unconcerned for the best of queens. Obligation binds me to vindicate her memory. My lords, if ministers of state, acting by the immediate commands of their sovereign, are afterwards to be made accountable for their proceedings, it may one day or other be the case of all the members of this august assembly. I doubt not, therefore, that out of regard to yourselves, your lordships will give me an equitable hearing; and I hope, that in the prosecution of this enquiry, it will appear that I have merited not only the indulgence, but the favour of this government. My lords, I am now to take my leave of your lordships, and of this honourable house, perhaps for ever. I shall lay down my life with pleasure, in a cause favoured by my late dear royal mistress: and when I consider that I am to be judged by the justice, honour, and virtue of my peers, I shall acquiesce, and retire with great content. And, my lords, God's will be done."

Earl of Oxford sent to the Tower.

The duke of Shrewsbury having acquainted the house, that the earl was very much indisposed with the gravel, he was permitted to go for that night to his own house, whither he was followed by a multitude of people, crying out, "High church, Ormond, and Oxford for ever!" Next day he was brought to the bar, where he received a copy of his impeachment, and was allowed a month to prepare his answer. Though Dr. Mead declared, that if the earl should be sent to the Tower, his life would be in danger, it was carried, on a division, that he should be committed. He was attended thither also by a prodigious concourse of people, who poured forth the most bitter imprecations against his prosecutors. Tumults were raised in Staffordshire and other parts of the kingdom, against the

the Whig party: but these served only to increase the severity of the legislature; which now passed an act, declaring, that if any persons, to the number of twelve, unlawfully assembled, should continue together one hour after being required to disperse by a justice of peace, or other officer, and after hearing the act against riots read in public, they should be deemed guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy.

*Proclamation
act.*

At the time appointed, Oxford's answer to the charges exhibited against him was delivered into the house of lords, whence it was transmitted to the house of commons. Walpole having heard it read, declared that it contained little more than a repetition of the pamphlets in vindication of the late ministry, and that it undutifully laid upon the queen all the pernicious measures to which that minister had advised her. He alleged, that it was also a libel on the proceedings of the house; as it attempted to vindicate those persons, who had already by their flight betrayed apprehensions of danger. A committee was, therefore, appointed to manage the impeachment, and prepare evidence against the earl. By this committee it was reported that Mr. Prior had grossly prevaricated on his examination, and behaved with great contempt of their authority. The duke of Ormond, and lord Bolingbroke having omitted to surrender themselves within a limited time, it was ordered that the earl marshal should raze out their names and arms from the list of peers; and inventories were taken of their estates and possessions, which were declared to be forfeited to the crown.

*Duke of
Ormond and
lord Bolin-
broke at-
tainted.*

While the nation was filled with clamour and tumults, intrigues were carried on, in both parts of the united kingdom, in favour of the Pretender. The dissensions occasioned in Scotland by the union had never been entirely appeased; and since the queen's death, the public discontents were industriously fomented by the Jacobites. Though their hopes of dissolving that treaty were baffled by the Revolutioners, who secured a majority of Whigs in parliament, they still maintained a design of making some effort in favour of the Pretender. For this purpose they carried on a correspondence with the malcontents in England, where the Tories, finding themselves totally excluded from any share in the government, and exposed to the outrages of a faction which they despised, began to wish in earnest for a revolution. They conveyed their sentiments to the Chevalier de St. George, with such exaggerations as were dictated by their own eagerness and

*Intrigues of
the Jaco-
bites.*

fanguine expectation. They assured him that the nation was universally disaffected to the new government; and they promised to take arms in his favour, without farther delay. They, therefore, urged him to come over with all possible dispatch, declaring that his appearance would be followed by an immediate revolution. The chevalier resolved to take the advantage of so favourable a juncture, and immediately had recourse to the French king, whose aid he solicited. Lewis, notwithstanding his late engagements with England, cherished the hope of raising the chevalier to the throne of Great Britain. He, therefore, supplied him privately with sums of money, to prepare a small armament in the port of Havre; resolving, no doubt, to assist him more effectually, in proportion as the English should evince their attachment to the house of Stuart. The duke of Ormond, and lord Bolingbroke, who had retired to France, finding themselves attainted, engaged in the service of the chevalier, and corresponded with the Tories in England.

But while these intrigues were carrying on, the hopes of the chevalier were suddenly blasted by the death of Lewis XIV. who had for more than half a century sacrificed the repose of Christendom to his insatiable vanity and ambition. At his death, which happened the first day of September, the regency of the kingdom devolved to the duke of Orleans, who adopted a new system of politics, and had already entered into engagements with the king of Great Britain. Instead of assisting the Pretender, he amused his agents with vague declarations, calculated to frustrate the expedition. The more violent part of the Jacobites in Great Britain, however, believed he was at the bottom sincerely attached to their cause, and they depended upon him for assistance. By dint of importunity, they even obtained from him a sum of money, and some arms; but the vessel which conveyed them was shipwrecked, and the cargo lost upon the coast of Scotland.

The partizans of the Pretender had proceeded too far to retreat with safety; and therefore resolved on carrying their designs into immediate execution. The earl of Mar repaired to the Highlands, where he held consultations with the marquises of Huntley and Tullibardine, the earls Marshal and Southesk, and the chiefs of the Jacobite clans. He then assembled three hundred of his own vassals, proclaimed the Pretender at Castletown, and set up his standard at Brae Mar, on the sixth day of September.

The earl of Mar sets up the Pretender's standard in Scotland.

tember. By this time the earls of Home, and Wigtown, with other persons suspected of disaffection to the present government, were committed prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh; and major-general Witham marched with the regular troops which were in that kingdom, to secure the bridge at Stirling. Before these precautions were taken, two vessels had arrived at Arbroth from Havre, with arms, ammunition, and a good number of officers, who assured the earl of Mar, that the Pretender would soon be with him in person. The earl, who depended on being joined by a powerful body in England, pressed the chevalier by letters and messages, to come over without farther delay. Meanwhile, he assumed the title of lieutenant-general of the Pretender's forces, published a declaration, exhorting the people to take arms for their lawful sovereign, and assuring them of a redress of all their grievances.

The duke of Argyle, commander in chief of the forces in North-Britain, immediately set out for that country; as did also the earl of Sutherland, with many other Scottish peers, to raise forces for the service of government. The earl of Mar, receiving intelligence that the duke, with all his own clans, assisted by some troops from Ireland, was advancing against him, at first thought it advisable to retreat. But being soon after joined by some of the clans under the earl of Seaforth, and others under general Gordon, an experienced officer, who had signaled himself in the Russian service, he resolved to face the enemy, and with that view directed his march towards the South.

The duke of Argyle, informed of his design, and desirous of proving his attachment to the present government, determined to give him battle, though his own forces did not amount to half the number of the enemy. In the morning, therefore, in the neighbourhood of Dumblain, he drew up his army, which did not exceed four thousand men, in order of battle. But he soon found himself greatly out-flanked by the enemy. Perceiving the earl making attempts to surround him, he was obliged to alter his disposition, which, on account of the scarcity of general-officers, was not done so expeditiously, as to be finished before the rebels began the attack. The left wing, therefore, of the duke's army received the centre of the enemy, and supported the first charge without shrinking. For some time it seemed even victorious, as Clanonald, the chieftain who commanded against it, was killed on the spot. But Glen-

Nov. 13th.
Battle of
Sheriff
Muir.

Glen-
gary,

gary, who was second in command, animated, by his exertions, the rebel-troops to such a degree, that they followed him close to the points of the enemies bayonets, and got within their guard. A total rout of that wing of the royal army began to ensue; and general Witham, their commander, flying full speed to Stirling, gave out that all was lost, and that the rebels were completely victorious. Mean time, the duke of Argyle, who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, and drove them before him two miles, though they often faced about, and attempted to rally. Having thus entirely broken that wing, and driven them over the river Allen, he returned to the field of battle, where, to his great mortification, he found the enemy victorious, and resolutely waiting the assault. Both armies, however, instead of renewing the engagement, continued to gaze at each other, neither of them caring to begin the attack. At evening, both sides drew off, and both claimed the victory. Few prisoners were made on either side; and in each the number of slain might be about five hundred.

Soon after the battle, the castle of Inverness, of which the earl of Mar was in possession, was delivered up to the king by lord Lovat, who had hitherto professed to act in the interest of the Pretender. The marquis of Huntley, and the earl of Seaforth, were obliged to quit the rebel army, in order to defend their own territories; and in a little time submitted to king George. The marquis of Tullibardine also withdrew from the army, to protect his own country; and many of the clans, seeing no likelihood of coming soon to a second engagement, returned quietly to their habitations.

Several gentlemen in England committed to prison.

Meanwhile, the rebellion was still more unsuccessfully prosecuted in England, where the government, having received intelligence of an intended insurrection, imprisoned several lords and gentlemen, of whom they had suspicion. The lords Landsdown and Duplin were taken into custody. The king obtained leave from the lower house to seize sir William Wyndham, sir John Packington, Harvey, Combe, and others. Sir William Wyndham's father-in-law, the duke of Somerset, offered to become bound for his appearance; but his surety was refused.

All these precautions were not sufficient to stop the insurrection in the western counties, where their preparations, however, were extremely weak, and ill conducted. On this occasion, the university of Oxford was treated with great severity. Major-general Pepper, with a strong detachment

achment of dragoons, took possession of the city at day-break, declaring he would instantly shoot any of the students, who should presume to appear without the limits of their respective colleges. In the northern counties the insurrection came to greater maturity. The earl of Derwentwater, and Mr. Forster, took the field with a body of horse, and being joined by some gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, proclaimed the Pretender. Their first attempt was to seize upon Newcastle, where they had many friends; but finding the gates shut against them, they retired to Hexham. To oppose these insurgents, general Carpenter was detached with a body of nine hundred men, and an engagement was hourly expected. The rebels had two methods by which they might have conducted themselves with prudence: one was to march directly into the western parts of Scotland, and there join general Gordon, who commanded a strong body of Highlanders. The other was to cross the Tweed, and boldly attack general Carpenter, whose forces did not exceed their own. But neither of these measures was pursued. They took the rout to Jedburgh, where they hoped to leave Carpenter on one side, and penetrate into England by the western border. This was the effectual means to cut themselves off both from retreat and assistance. A party of Highlanders, by whom they had been joined, at first refused to accompany them in this desperate irruption, and the half of them actually returned to their own country. At Brampton, Mr. Forster opened his commission of general, which had been sent him from the earl of Mar, and there proclaimed the Pretender. Continuing their march to Penrith, the body of militia, which was assembled in that town to oppose them, fled at their approach. From Penrith, they proceeded, by the way of Kendal and Lancaster, to Preston, of which they took possession without any resistance. But this proved the last stage of their ill advised incursion. General Willes, at the head of seven thousand men, coming up to attack them, they began to raise barricadoes, and to put the place in a posture of defence; repulsing with success the first attack of the royal army. Next day, however, Willes being reinforced by Carpenter, the town was invested on all sides. In this situation, Forster hoped to capitulate with the royalists, and accordingly sent, with a trumpet, colonel Oxburgh, who had been made prisoner, to propose a capitulation. To this, however, Willes refused to consent; alleging that he would not treat with rebels; and that the only favour they were

*Surrender
of the rebels
at Preston.*

to expect, was to be spared from immediate slaughter. Being unable to obtain better conditions, they laid down their arms, and were put under a strong guard. All the noblemen and leaders were secured; and a few of their officers, being tried for deserting from the royal army, were shot by order of a court-martial. The common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool; while the noblemen, and more considerable officers, were sent to London, and led through the streets, pinioned and bound together, to intimidate their party.

Such was the issue of two expeditions undertaken in favour of the Pretender, and which were equally marked with temerity and misconduct, through the whole of their progress. In Scotland, however, the rebellion was not yet extinguished; but the government was now in a condition to send strong reinforcements to that country. Six thousand men were claimed of the States-general by virtue of the treaty; they landed in England, and began their march for Edinburgh; whither a train of artillery was also shipped from the Tower, for the use of the duke of Argyle, who resolved to drive the earl of Mar out of Perth, to which place he had retired with the remainder of his forces. The Pretender having been amused with the hope of a general insurrection in England, and the duke of Ormond having made a fruitless voyage to the West, to try the disposition of the people, he was now convinced of the vanity of his expectation in that quarter. But, not knowing what other course to take, he resolved to throw himself upon the affection of his friends in Scotland, even at a time when his affairs in that kingdom seemed desperate. Passing, therefore, through France in disguise, and embarking in a small vessel at Dunkirk, he, after a voyage of a few days, arrived at Peterhead, on the coast of Scotland, with only six gentlemen in his train. He thence passed unknown through Aberdeen to Feterosse, where he was met by the earl of Mar, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen. Here he was solemnly proclaimed: his declaration was printed and dispersed; and he received addresses from the episcopal clergy, and the laity of that communion in the diocese of Aberdeen. He next went to Dundee, where he made a public entry; and in two days more he arrived at Scone, at which he intended to have the ceremony of his coronation performed. He ordered public thanksgivings to be made for his safe arrival; enjoining the ministers to pray for him in their churches; and, without any reasonable prospect of success,

went

Dec. 22d.
The Pretender arrives in Scotland.

went through the ceremonies of royal inauguration. After thus spending some time in useless parade, and hearing that the king's army was reinforced by Dutch auxiliaries, he resolved to abandon the enterprise with the same levity with which it had been undertaken. In a pathetic speech to his grand council, he informed them of his want of money, arms, and ammunition for prosecuting a campaign, and therefore deplored that he was under the necessity of leaving them. He again embarked on board a small French ship that lay in the harbour of Montrose, accompanied with several lords, his adherents, and in a few days arrived at Graveline. x

He re-embarks for France.

General Gordon, who was left commander in chief of the Pretender's forces, with the assistance of the earl Marshal, proceeded at their head to Aberdeen, where he secured three vessels to sail northward, and take on board such persons as intended making their escape to the continent. After continuing his march thence to the hills of Badenoch, he quietly dismissed his forces. This retreat was made with such expedition, that the duke of Argyle, with all his activity, could never overtake their rear; which consisted of a thousand horse, commanded by the earl Marshal.

A.D. 1716.

The rebel forces are dismissed.

In this manner ended a rebellion which, in all probability, would never have happened, had it not been for the violent measures of the Whig ministry, that excited in the nation a spirit of revolt. The fury of the victors, however, did not abate with their success, and they resolved on capitally punishing all the leaders who had been concerned in the insurrection. The prisons of London were crowded with the unfortunate delinquents. The earls of Derwentwater, Nithisdale, Carnwath, and Winton, with the lords Widrington, Kenmuir, and Nairn, were impeached; and, upon pleading guilty, all, but lord Winton, received sentence of death. The countess of Derwentwater, with her sister, accompanied by the duchesses of Cleveland and Bolton, and several other ladies of the first distinction, was introduced by the dukes of Richmond and St. Alban's, into the king's bed-chamber, where she implored his majesty's clemency for her unhappy consort. She afterwards repaired to the house of peers, attended by the ladies of the other condemned lords, and above twenty others of the same quality, and begged the intercession of the house. Next day they petitioned both houses of parliament; but no entreaties could soften the ministry to spare these unfortunate men. Orders were, therefore, dispatched for executing

The rebel lords are impeached.

executing the lords Derwentwater, Nithisdale, and Kenmuir immediately. The rest were respited to a farther time. Nithisdale, however, had the good fortune to escape in woman's cloaths, which were brought him by his mother, the night before the execution. Derwentwater and Kenmuir were brought, at the time appointed, to the scaffold on Tower-hill, where they underwent the sentence with calm intrepidity, and regretted by all the spectators.

The earls of Derwentwater and Kenmuir are beheaded.

The aid of the legislature was called in to second the vindictive efforts of the administration; and an act of parliament was passed for trying the private prisoners in London, and not in Lancashire, where they were taken in arms. This proceeding was considered, by some of the best lawyers, as an alteration of the ancient constitution of the kingdom, by which it was confirmed, that every prisoner should be tried in the country where the offence was committed. In the beginning of April, commissioners for trying the rebels met in the court of Common Pleas, when bills of high-treason were found against Mr. Forster, Mackintosh, and twenty of their confederates. Forster escaped from Newgate, and reached the continent in safety. The rest pleaded not guilty. The judges appointed to try the rebels at Liverpool, found a considerable number guilty of high-treason. Twenty-two were executed at Preston and Manchester: about a thousand prisoners submitted to the king's mercy, and petitioned for transportation. Pitts, the keeper of Newgate, being suspected of having connived at Forster's escape, was tried for his life at the Old-Bailey, and acquitted. Notwithstanding this prosecution, which ought to have doubled the vigilance of the jailors, Mackintosh, and several other prisoners, broke from Newgate, after having mastered the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the centinel. The court proceeded to the trial of those that remained, of whom a great number was found guilty, and four or five were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Tyburn.

Trial of the rebels.

Though the rebellion was now extinguished, the flame of national dissatisfaction continued to rage with unabated violence, which was supported in a great measure by the severities exercised against the rebels. The ministry, sensible of the general discontent, and dreading the disposition of a new parliament, which might wrest from their faction the helm of government, determined on an expedient which, however unpopular, might serve at least for a temporary

porary prolongation of their own power. This was a scheme to repeal the triennial act, and by a new law to extend the term of parliaments to seven years. Such an attempt, in a delegated body of people, was evidently contrary to the first principles of the constitution; and afforded a precedent, by which the house of commons might, with equal justice, at some future period, perpetuate its own authority. The bill, however, passed both houses, and all objections to it were represented as proceeding from disaffection.

Act for septennial parliaments.

The affairs of the nation being adjusted, the king resolved to visit his German dominions, where he foresaw a storm gathering from Sweden. Charles the Twelfth, of that country, was highly exasperated against him for having, during his absence, entered into a confederacy with the Russians and Danes, and for having purchased from the king of Denmark the towns of Bremen and Verden, which constituted a part of his dominions. George, therefore, with the view of securing his territories from the resentment of that implacable monarch, entered into a new treaty with the Dutch and the regent of France; by which they agreed to assist one another in case of an invasion. Mean while, Charles maintained a close correspondence with the disaffected subjects of Great Britain; and a plan was even formed for the landing a considerable body of Swedish forces, with the king at their head, in some part of the island, where it was expected they would be joined by the mal-contented, at that time very numerous in the kingdom. Count Gyllenburgh, the Swedish minister in London, was peculiarly active in the conspiracy; but being seized with all his papers, by order of the king, a stop was put, for the present, to the progress of their machinations. A bill, however, was passed by the commons, prohibiting all commerce with Sweden, the trade with which country was of great importance to the English merchants. To enable the king to secure his dominions against the threatened invasion, a supply was granted him of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds; the first fruits of England's political connexion with the continent. The death, however, of the Swedish monarch, who was soon after killed by a cannon-ball at the siege of Fredericshall in Norway, put an end to all disquietude from that quarter.

Triple alliance between England, France, and Holland.

The Swedish minister arrested.

A.D. 1717.

The king demands an extraordinary supply.

This year was distinguished by another treaty, called the quadruple alliance, which was formed between the emperor, France, England, and Holland. It was agreed that the emperor should renounce all pretensions to the

Quadruple alliance.

crown

crown of Spain, and exchange Sardinia for Sicily with the duke of Savoy: That the succession to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, should be settled on the queen of Spain's eldest son, in case the present possessors should die without male issue. This treaty, however, not being agreeable to the king of Spain, became consequently prejudicial to the English, by interrupting the trade to that kingdom. The resentment of the king of Spain soon broke out into open war against the emperor, whom he considered as the chief contriver of this alliance; and a numerous body of troops was sent into Italy, to support Philip's pretensions in that quarter. In vain did the regent of France endeavour to dissuade him from this resolution; in vain did the king of Great Britain make a tender of his mediation; as parties in the confederacy, their interposition was treated with disregard. Though, in the present exhausted state of the English finances, war was an object far from desirable to the nation, yet, in order to support a very distant interest, a rupture with Spain was resolved on. For this purpose, was equipped with all expedition a squadron of twenty-two ships, the command of which was given to sir George Byng, who was ordered to sail for Naples, then threatened with an attack from the Spanish army. He was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants of that city, and was informed that the Spaniards, to the amount of thirty thousand, were actually landed in Sicily. He, therefore, resolved to sail thither immediately. Upon coming round Cape Faro, he perceived two small Spanish vessels, and pursuing them closely, they led him to their main fleet, which before noon he discovered in line of battle, amounting to twenty-seven sail. The Spanish fleet, though superior in number, on perceiving the force of the English, attempted to sail away, and acted with extreme confusion. They were, however, obliged to maintain a running fight, in which they were all taken except three, which were preserved by the conduct of one Cammoc, their vice-admiral, a native of Ireland. This action was followed by complaints of the Spanish ministers in all the courts of Europe, and hastened the declaration of war, which England had hitherto delayed.

*Sir George
Byng de-
feats the
Spanish
fleet.*

The rupture with Spain revived the drooping expectations of the Pretender and his adherents in Britain, where it was hoped, that, by the assistance of cardinal Alberoni, the Spanish minister, a new insurrection might be excited. An expedition was accordingly projected, under the direction

fection of the duke of Ormond, who obtained from the Spanish court a fleet of ten ships of war and transports, having on board six thousand regular troops, with arms for twelve thousand more. But having set sail, and proceeded as far as Cape Finisterre, he met with a violent storm, which disabled his fleet, and totally frustrated the enterprise. This misfortune, joined to the bad success of the Spanish arms in Sicily, and other parts of Europe, rendered Philip desirous of peace; and he at last consented to sign the Quadruple Alliance.

Spain accedes to the Quadruple alliance.

The earl of Oxford, who had now remained almost two years a prisoner in the Tower, presented a petition to the house of Lords, praying that he might be brought to his trial. A day was therefore fixed, and the commons were ordered to prepare for their charge. At the appointed time the peers repaired to the court in Westminster-hall, where lord Cowper presided as lord high-steward. The king, and the rest of the royal family, with the foreign ministers, were present at the solemnity. The earl being brought from the Tower, the articles of the impeachment were read, with his answers, and the reply of the commons. Sir Joseph Jekyll standing up to make good the first article of the charge, which amounted only to a misdemeanor, lord Harcourt represented to the lords, that it would be tedious and unnecessary to go through all the charges alledged against the earl; but that, if the commons would make good the two articles for high-treason, the earl of Oxford would forfeit both life and estate, and there would be an end of the matter. He therefore moved, that the commons should not be allowed to proceed upon the less important part of the accusation, until judgement should be given upon the articles for high-treason. In this the lords agreeing, the commons declared that it was their undoubted privilege to impeach a peer either for treason, or a misdemeanor, or to mix the accusation as they thought proper. The lords asserted, that it was a right inherent in every court of justice to prescribe the methods of proceeding in their respective courts. The commons demanded a conference; but this was refused. The dispute grew warm. The lords sent a message to the lower house, importing that they intended to proceed upon the trial. The commons disregarded the information, and refused to attend. The lords, repairing to Westminster-hall soon after, ordered the earl to be brought to the bar, and made proclamation for his accusers to appear. But finding the commons resolute, and having waited a quarter of an hour, it was voted that the prisoner should be set at liberty.

Trial of the earl of Oxford.

He is set at liberty.

The duke of Ormond, as has been mentioned, was accused in the same manner; but did not think proper to run the hazard of a trial. The night on which he left England, it is said that he paid a visit to lord Oxford, who dissuaded him from flying, with as much earnestness as the duke entreated Oxford also to make his escape. He bid the imprisoned lord the last adieu, with these words, "Farewell Oxford, without a head." To which the other replied, "Farewell duke, without a duchy." He afterwards continued to reside chiefly in Spain, an illustrious exile, and worthy of a better fate.

The commons were bent with no less violence on the prosecution of lord Strafford, against whom they voted articles of impeachment. But he was afterwards included in an act of indemnity.

A.D. 1721.

*South-sea
scheme.*

While the king was immersed in negotiations at Hanover, the South-sea scheme was occupying the minds of his English subjects with a species of delusion more fatal and extraordinary than any they had ever before experienced. Blunt, the projector of it, had taken the hint from the famous Mississippi scheme, formed by one Law, a Scotsman, who had in the preceding year raised such a ferment in France, and involved in distress many thousand families of that kingdom. Ever since the Revolution in 1688, the government not receiving from parliament sufficient supplies, or what was granted requiring time to be collected, they were obliged to borrow money from several different companies of merchants; among which was that which traded to the South-sea. In the year 1716, the government was indebted to this company alone about nine millions and a half of money, at the rate of six per cent. interest. In order to discharge these debts, sir Robert Walpole proposed to give the several companies an alternative, either of accepting a lower interest, or of being paid the principal. The companies preferred the former, at an interest of five per cent.

In this situation of things, Blunt, who had been bred a scrivener, and had all the art and plausibility requisite for such an undertaking, made an offer to the ministry, in the name of the South-sea Company, to buy up all the debts of the different companies, and thus to become the sole creditor of the state. The terms proposed to the government were extremely advantageous. The South-sea Company was to redeem the public debts out of the hands of the creditors, upon whatever terms could be settled between them; and for the interest of the money so redeemed, they would be contented to be allowed by government, for six years,

years, five per cent. after which the interest should be reduced to four per cent. and should at any time be redeemable by parliament. For these purposes a bill passed both houses, and the most sanguine expectations were formed of its advantageous effects to the nation; but its ruinous consequences were soon felt. As the directors of the South-sea Company could not of themselves be supposed to possess money sufficient to buy up the debts of the nation, they were empowered to raise it by opening a subscription to a scheme for trading in the South-seas; a commerce from which immense advantages were promised, and still greater expected by the rapacious credulity of the people. The directors books were no sooner opened for the subscription, than crowds came to make the exchange of government-stock for South-sea-stock. The delusion was so artfully supported, that in a few days subscriptions sold for double the price at which they had been bought; and the stock increased to near ten times the value of what was first subscribed for.

After a few months, however, the people began to awaken from their dream of riches, and found, by sad experience, that all the advantages they expected were merely imaginary. Thousands of families were involved in one common ruin. Many of the directors, by whose arts the people were taught to expect such extraordinary advantages from a trade to the South-seas, had amassed considerable fortunes by the public credulity.

The parliament, impelled by the general indignation, resolved to strip those plunderers of their ill-gotten possessions. Orders were first issued to remove all the directors of the South-sea Company from their seats in parliament, and the places they held under the government. The principal delinquents were punished by a forfeiture of all such possessions and estates as they had acquired during the continuance of this popular phrenzy.

The next care of the parliament was to redress the sufferers, as far as this could be effected by the authority of the legislature. Of the profits arising from the South-sea scheme, the sum of seven millions was restored to the original proprietors. Several additions were also made to their dividends, out of what was possessed by the company in its own right; and the remaining capital stock was also divided among the old proprietors at the rate of thirty-three pounds per cent.

The discontents occasioned by these public calamities afforded once more a prospect of success to the adherents of the Chevalier. But in all their counsels, they were

A.D. 1712.

*Rumours of
a conspi-
racy.*

weak, divided, and irresolute. The duke of Orleans, re-
gent of France, is said to be the first who gave the king
information of a conspiracy, in which many persons of the
first distinction were concerned. In consequence of this
discovery a camp was immediately formed in Hyde-Park,
and all military officers were ordered to repair to their re-
spective stations. Lieutenant-general Macartney was dis-
patched to Ireland to bring over troops from that kingdom;
and the states of Holland were called upon to have ready
their stipulated body of troops.

*The bishop
of Rochester
is commit-
ed to the
Tower.*

In this general alarm, the first person seized upon was
Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, a prelate of great abilities,
and who had ever been obnoxious to the present govern-
ment. He was confined in the Tower; and soon after the
duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, the lords North and
Grey, with some others of inferior rank, were arrested and
imprisoned. Of all these, however, only the bishop and
one Mr. Layer, a barrister, felt the severity of government;
the proofs against the rest not amounting to evidence suf-
ficient for conviction. A bill was brought into the house
of commons, impeaching bishop Atterbury, though he
pleaded privilege as a peer. This measure met with op-
position from several of the members; but it was resolved
by a majority of the house, that he should be deprived of
his dignity and clerical appointments, and should be banish-
ed the kingdom for ever. The bishop made no defence
in the lower house, reserving all his force, until he should
have occasion to exert it in the house of peers.

*Bill of pains
and penal-
ties against
the bishop
of Roches-
ter.*

When his cause came before the lords, there ensued a
long and warm debate, in which the contest was more
equally managed than the ministry expected. There be-
ing against him little or no proof, but what arose from
intercepted letters, which were written in cyphers, the
earl Pawlet insisted that such could not be construed into
treason. The duke of Wharton, having summed up the
depositions, and shewn the insufficiency of them, concluded
with saying, that, let the consequences be what they might,
he hoped the lustre of that house would never be tarnished
by condemning a man without evidence. Lord Bathurst
also observed, in the bishop's favour, that, if such extraor-
nary proceedings were countenanced, he saw nothing re-
maining for him and others, but to retire to their coun-
try houses, and there, if possible, quietly to enjoy their
estates within their own families, since the most trifling
correspondence might be made criminal. Then turning
to the bench of bishops, he said he could hardly account
for the inveterate hatred and malice which some persons

bore to the ingenious bishop of Rochester, unless it was, that, infatuated like the wild Americans, they fondly hoped to inherit not only the spoils, but even the abilities; of the man they should destroy. Notwithstanding all that was urged in the bishop's favour, the bill passed against him, by the force of ministerial influence. The bishop's sentence being confirmed, he in two days after embarked for the continent, attended by his daughter. On the same day that he landed at Calais, the famous lord Bolingbroke arrived there on his return to England, having, for some secret reasons, obtained his majesty's pardon. Atterbury, being informed of this circumstance, could not help observing with a smile, that they were exchanged. The bishop continued in exile and poverty until he died.

He is driven into exile.

Among the members of the house of commons who exerted themselves in the bishop's favour, was the celebrated Dr. Freind, who was himself soon after taken into custody on suspicion of treasonable practices; but Dr. Mead becoming his security, he was admitted to bail.

Mr. Layer's trial,

The fate of Mr. Christopher Layer was more severe. Being brought to his trial in the King's Bench, he was convicted of having enlisted men for the Pretender's service, and of having endeavoured to excite a rebellion, and he received sentence of death. The circumstances of this conspiracy are not clearly known. It is said that the intention of the conspirators was, by privately introducing into England a number of foreign officers, to prepare for a junction with the duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms provided for the purpose. Mr. Layer was reprieved from time to time, and many endeavours used to make him discover his accomplices; but continuing firm in his refusal, he was executed at Tyburn, and his head was fixed on Temple-bar.

and execution.

These trials were succeeded by another, of a different nature; which was that of the earl of Macclesfield, lord chancellor of England. It had been usual for the lords chancellors, upon being appointed to their high office, to nominate the masters in chancery; a place of some value, and consequently then often times purchased. Some men, void of integrity, having been appointed to this office, and having embezzled the money of minors and suitors lodged in their hands, a complaint was made to government against those abuses. This measure was no sooner taken, than the chancellor found it necessary to resign the seals; and soon after the king ordered the whole affair to be laid before the house of commons. They, therefore,

A.D 1724.

Abuses in Chancery.

*Trial of the
earl of
Maccles-
field.*

immediately resolved to impeach Thomas, earl of Macclesfield, at the bar of the house of lords; for high crimes and misdemeanors. A bill was previously brought in to indemnify the masters in chancery from the penalties of the law, upon discovering what considerations they had paid for admission to their respective offices. The trial lasted twenty days. The earl was convicted of fraudulent practices, and condemned to a fine of thirty thousand pounds, with imprisonment until that sum should be paid, which was accordingly discharged in about six weeks.

This reign is chiefly distinguished by treaties, the principal object of which was to secure to the king his dominions in Germany, and exclude the Pretender from those of Britain. To effect these purposes, the nation paid considerable subsidies to many different states on the continent, for the promise of their protection and assistance. Since the accession of George to the crown of Great Britain, no less than nine treaties had now been concluded. These were, the barrier convention treaty, a defensive alliance with the emperor, the triple alliance, the quadruple alliance, the congress at Cambray, the treaty of Hanover, the treaty of Vienna, and the convention with Sweden and Hesse-Cassel. The treaties but just concluded with Spain, however, were already broken, in consequence of the encreasing spirit of commerce, which would submit to no limitations. Admiral Hosier, with seven ships of war, was sent to South-America to intercept the Spanish galleons; but the Spaniards being apprized of his design, the treasure, consisting of above six millions sterling, had been unloaded and carried back to Panama. The greater part of the English fleet sent on this expedition was rendered entirely unfit for service. The seamen perished in great numbers, by the joint influence of the malignity of the climate, and the length of the voyage; while the brave admiral was so deeply affected with the disasters attending the expedition, that he is said to have died of a broken heart.

*Admiral
Hosier's
expedition
to South
America:
A.D. 1726.*

A.D. 1727.

After the breaking up of the parliament, the king prepared for visiting again his electoral dominions, and accordingly embarked for Holland, where, upon his landing, he lay at a little town called Voet. Proceeding thence on his journey, he arrived in two days at Delden, to all appearance in perfect health. He there supped very heartily, and continued his progress early next morning; but was suddenly seized with a paralytic disorder on the road, lost the faculty of speech, became lethargic, and was con-

*The king's
death,*

veyed

veyed in a state of insensibility to Osnaburg, where he expired on the eleventh day of June, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

George I. was plain and simple in his person and address; and having been educated but in a faint prospect of ever attaining royal dignity, he was more familiar in his conversation than is usual with monarchs. Through the whole of his life he appears to have had a just sense of his own interests; and these he invariably endeavoured to pursue with prudent assiduity.

He was married to the princess Sophia, daughter and heiress of the duke of Zell; by whom he had George, who succeeded him on the throne, and a daughter married to Frederick II. king of Prussia. His body was carried to Hanover, and interred among his ancestors.

G E O R G E II.

GEORGE the II. ascended the throne in the forty-third year of his age, strongly biassed with a partiality to his dominions on the continent. At this period, the affairs of government were chiefly conducted by lord Townshend, who was reputed to understand well the interests of the different states of Europe; and the duke of Newcastle, a nobleman of extensive connexions, but rather of inferior abilities. But he who shortly after engrossed the greatest share of power, was sir Robert Walpole, who had early shewn his attachment to the Hanoverian succession. This gentleman had raised himself from low beginnings, to the head of the treasury. He was well acquainted with the nature of the public funds, and understood the whole mystery of stock-jobbing; a species of knowledge, which producing a connexion between him and the money-corporations, served to increase his importance. In parliament, his discourse was fluent, but without dignity. He possessed a happy insensibility to reproach, and had a dispassionate manner of reasoning, which, from its apparent want of art, was calculated to have the effect of convincing his hearers.

In the house of commons, the members had for several years been distinguished into Hanoverians and Jacobites, but they now altered their names with their principles, and the different parties went by the appellations of the Court and the Country. Both sides had been equally active in forwarding the Hanover-succession, and were therefore alike secure from the reproach of disaffection. The former, having listed under the banners of the ministry, were

disposed to favour all the measures of the crown. They were taught to regard foreign alliances and continental connexions as conducive to internal security. The latter, or the country party, were entirely averse to continental connexions. They complained that immense sums were lavished on fruitless subsidies; and that alliances were bought with money from nations that should rather contribute to Great Britain for her protection. These were joined by the high-flying Tories, who now began to perceive their own cause desperate; and as they were leagued with men who did not fear the imputation of Jacobitism, they gave and acquired greater confidence. As the court-party generally alarmed the house of commons with imaginary dangers and secret conspiracies, so their opponents no less frequently declaimed against the encroachments of the prerogative, and the dangerous power of the crown. During this whole reign, two principal objects of controversy seem to have agitated the opposite parties. These were, the national debt, and the number of forces to be kept in pay. The government, at the accession of the present king, owed more than thirty millions of money; and notwithstanding a long continuance of profound peace, the debt was found to be accumulating. It was much wondered at by the country-party how this could happen; and it was as constantly the business of the court to give plausible reasons for the encrease. Thus demands for new supplies were made every session of parliament, either for the purposes of securing friends upon the continent, of guarding the kingdom from internal conspiracies, or of enabling the government to act vigorously in conjunction with their foreign allies. In vain was it alledged, that those expences were entirely unnecessary, as well as prejudicial to the nation. The court party was constantly victorious, and every demand was granted with cheerfulness and profusion.

A. D. 1728.

Spanish depredations in America.

The public tranquillity was now likely to be interrupted by a dispute with the Spaniards. The extreme avidity of our merchants, and the natural jealousy and cruelty of that nation, were every day productive of mutual encroachments and acts of violence. The people of our West-India islands had long carried on an illicit trade with the subjects of Spain upon the continent; but when detected were rigorously punished, and their cargoes confiscated to the crown. In this temerity of adventure on one hand, and the vigilance of pursuit and punishment on the other, it must often have happened, that the innocent must suffer with the guilty; and many complaints were made, perhaps not without just foundation, that the English

lish merchants were plundered by the Spanish king's vessels upon the southern coasts of America.

The English ministry, judging it improper to credit every report which might be urged by avarice, or enflamed by resentment, expected to prevent any rupture by an amicable representation to the court of Spain, and in the mean time promised the merchants that they should obtain redress. The complaints, however, becoming more general and loud, the merchants remonstrated by petition to the house of commons, which accordingly entered into a deliberation on the subject. They examined several persons who had been seized by the Spaniards, and treated with great cruelty. One man, the master of a trading vessel, had been used in the most shocking manner: beside stripping and plundering him, the Spaniards cut off his ears, and prepared to put him to death.

The indignation of the people was universally excited by this instance of barbarity; but the minister judged it prudent to avoid, if possible, an open rupture with the court of Spain. New negotiations were, therefore, set on foot, and new mediators offered their interposition. A treaty was signed at Vienna, between the emperor, the king of Great Britain, and the king of Spain; which for a time put off the storm that threatened the peace of the two nations. In consequence of this convention, Don Carlos, upon the death of the duke of Parma, was, by the assistance of the English fleet, put in peaceable possession of Parma and Placentia, while six thousand Spaniards were quietly admitted, and quartered in the duchy of Tuscany, to secure for him the reversion of that dukedom.

These transactions were succeeded by an interval of profound peace, during which, however, the disputes between the court and the country party, in parliament, were carried on with unceasing animosity. One of the chief objects which next engrossed the public attention, was a scheme set on foot by Sir Robert Walpole, for fixing a general excise. He introduced it into the house, by going into a detail of the frauds practised by the London factors, who were employed by the American planters in selling their tobacco. To prevent these frauds, he proposed, that instead of having the customs levied in the usual manner upon tobacco, the whole of that commodity, hereafter to be imported, should be lodged in warehouses appointed for that purpose by the officers of the crown, and should there be sold, upon paying the duty of four pence a pound. This proposal raised a violent ferment, both in and out of parliament. It was asserted, that it would expose the factors to such hardships that they

A.D. 1732.

*Excise
scheme.*

would

would be unable to continue their trade, and that such a scheme would not even prevent the frauds against which it was intended to operate. It was farther alleged by the opponents of this expedient, that a greater number of excisemen and warehouse-keepers would of necessity be employed; a circumstance which would at once increase the power of the minister, and violate the liberty of the people. Whatever might be the force of those arguments, they had the effect of inflaming the populace, who, surrounding the parliament-house, intimidated the ministry; and compelled them to drop the design. The miscarriage of the bill was celebrated with public rejoicings in London and Westminster, while the minister was burnt in effigy by the populace.

A.D. 1733.

*Motion for
the repeal
of the sep-
tennial act.*

The country-party increasing in strength and popularity by this triumph over the minister, resolved to try their forces in an offensive measure. They accordingly made a motion for repealing the septennial act, and bringing back triennial parliaments, as settled at the Revolution. In the course of this debate the opposition reflected with great severity on the measures of the late reign, and the conduct of the present minister. It was alleged, that the septennial law was an encroachment on the rights of the people, and that short parliaments were necessary for checking the dangerous influence of a wicked administration. "Let us, said sir William Wyndham, suppose a man of no great family, and of but mean fortune, without any sense of honour, raised to be chief minister of state: suppose this man raised to great wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a parliament chiefly composed of members whose seats are purchased, and whose votes are venal: let us suppose all attempts in such a parliament to enquire into his conduct, or relieve the nation, fruitless: suppose him screened by a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he retains in daily pay: let us suppose him domineering with insolence over all men of ancient families, over all men of sense, figure, or fortune, in the nation; as he has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to punish or corrupt it in all. With such a minister, and such a parliament, let us suppose a case, which I hope will never happen, a prince upon the throne uninformed, ignorant, and unacquainted with the inclinations and true interests of his people; weak, capricious, transported with unbounded ambition, and possessed with insatiable avarice. I hope such a case will never occur; but as it possibly may,

may, could any greater curse happen to a nation than such a prince advised by such a minister, and that minister supported by such a parliament? The nature of mankind cannot be altered by human laws; the existence of such a prince, or such a minister, we cannot prevent by act of parliament; but the existence of such a parliament may surely be prevented, and abridging its continuance is at least a certain remedy." Notwithstanding the warmth of opposition, the ministry proved victorious, and the motion was negatived by a majority. But the country party appearing to increase in strength, the parliament was dissolved, and writs were issued for a new election.

The parliament is dissolved.

In the new parliament, the leaders of both parties were the same as in the preceding, and the same measures were pursued and opposed with similar animosity. A bill was brought in for fixing the prince of Wales's household at one hundred thousand pounds a year. This bill had originated from the country-party, and being opposed by the ministry, was thrown out. A scheme was proposed by sir John Barnard for diminishing the interest on the national debt, and rejected in the same manner; but different was the fate of a bill introduced by the ministry, for subjecting the play-houses to a licenser.

A.D. 1734.

New parliament.

The proprietors of the play-houses, finding most money was to be got by gratifying the national humour, adopted the plan of throwing ridicule on the ministers. At a little theatre in the Hay-market, therefore, the members of the administration were every night exposed, and even their dress and manner exactly imitated. Of this kind was the Pasquin, written by the ingenious Mr. Henry Fielding. The public applauded its severity, and the representation met with extraordinary success. Such liberties, however, if they did not threaten danger, gave at least some uneasiness to government; and the ministry, sensible of their own strength, resolved to check the licentiousness of the stage. This purpose seemed the more justifiable, as some of the pieces exhibited at that time, were not only petulant, but immoral. On this ground, therefore, it was judged most eligible to make their attack. Sir Robert Walpole brought in a bill to limit the number of play-houses, and to subject all dramatic writings to the inspection of the lord-chamberlain, who was to be invested with power to suppress all such as had a tendency either to obstruct government, or corrupt the morals of the people. The bill was opposed by the earl of Chesterfield with great eloquence; but nevertheless carried by a majority.

A.D. 1737.

Bill for a licence to the play-houses.

*Convention
with Spain.*

A convention agreed upon between the ministry and Spain, became afterwards the subject of warm altercation in both houses. By this treaty it was stipulated that the court of Spain should pay to Great Britain the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds, as a satisfaction for all demands, and to discharge the whole within four months from the day of ratification. This compensation, however, being considered as no equivalent for the damages which had been sustained, the country party declaimed against it as a flagrant sacrifice of the interests of the nation, and insisted that no indemnification short of three hundred and forty thousand pounds, ought to have been accepted by the ministry. Sir Robert Walpole, on this occasion, was provoked into unusual vehemence. He branded the opposite party with the appellation of traitors, and expressed his hope that their behaviour would unite all the true friends of the present government in opposing their pernicious designs. In this, as in most other debates, the opposition was discomfited; and many of the leaders retiring to their seats in the country, left their victorious antagonists an undisputed majority in the house of commons.

The minister, in order to gain popularity, employed this interval in passing several useful laws; while the king laboured with no less assiduity in adjusting the balance of Europe; for which purpose he made several journies to the continent. But these public cares were interrupted by an incident of a domestic nature, which was likely to be productive of disagreeable consequences. A misunderstanding had arisen between the king and the prince of Wales; and the cause of the latter, not more from his own popularity than from a spirit of opposition to the court, was seconded by all the members of the country party. The prince had been a short time before married to the princess of Saxe-Gotha; and taking umbrage at the scantiness of his yearly allowance from his father, seldom visited the court. The princess had advanced to the last month of her pregnancy, and was actually brought to bed of a daughter, before the king had been formally made acquainted with her condition. In consequence of this neglect, his majesty sent the prince a message, informing him, that the whole of his conduct had for some time been so undutiful, that he resolved to forbid him the court. He, therefore, signified his pleasure that the prince, with all his family, should leave St. James's; whence, in consequence of this order, they immediately retired to Kew. This rupture promised to be favourable to the
country

*Misunder-
standing
between
the king
and the
prince of
Wales.*

country party, by engaging on their side the whole influence of the prince against the present administration; and he was, therefore, resorted to by all who were either discontented with the conduct of the minister, or who formed expectations of rising in the service of the state.

Ever since the treaty of Utrecht, mutual encroachments on the privileges of each other, had been made by the Spanish and English subjects in America. A right which the English merchants claimed by the treaty, of cutting logwood in the bay of Campeachy, afforded them frequent opportunities of carrying on an illicit trade in those parts; and to suppress the evil, the Spaniards were resolved to annihilate the claim. The Spanish vessels, appointed for protecting the coast, committed frequent hostilities upon the English, many of whom were sent to dig in the mines of Potosi, and deprived of all means of conveying their complaints to the British government. The fact being at last known, repeated remonstrances, on this violation of treaty, were sent to the court of Madrid; but no effectual measures were taken by Spain to put a stop to those outrages. The English merchants complained loudly of the losses and insults which they sustained; while the minister vainly expected to accommodate the dispute by negotiation.

The backwardness which the court of Great Britain discovered towards entering on hostile measures, served only to increase the insolence of the enemy. Their guardships continued to seize not only all the guilty, but the innocent, whom they found sailing along the Spanish main. At last, however, the clamours of the merchants penetrated the house of commons, where their letters and memorials were produced, and their grievances enforced by council at the bar of the house. It appeared that the money which Spain had agreed to pay to the court of Great Britain, was never yet transmitted, and no reason was assigned for the delay. The minister, therefore, to appease the clamour of the sufferers, and to gratify the general ardour, assured the house, that government would immediately prepare for asserting by arms what could not be obtained by negotiation. In a short time letters of reprisal were granted against the Spaniards; and both nations seemed determined for a vigorous prosecution of hostilities. Mean while, the French minister at the Hague gave an intimation to the British court, that his master was obliged by treaty to assist the king of Spain; so that the alliances which had been formed but twenty years before, were now entirely reversed.

A.D. 1739.

*War with Spain.**Admiral Vernon destroys Porto Bello.**Commodore Anson sails to the South Sea.*

A rupture between Great Britain and Spain becoming now unavoidable, orders were issued for augmenting the land-forces, and raising a body of marines. War was in a short time formally declared, and soon after two rich Spanish prizes were taken in the Mediterranean. Admiral Vernon was sent with a fleet into the West Indies, to distress the enemy in that quarter. He had asserted in the house of commons, that Porto Bello, a fort and harbour in South America, could be easily destroyed; and that himself, with only six ships, would undertake to reduce it. The project was treated by the ministry as wild and impracticable; but he still insisting upon the proposal, they at length complied with his request, not without hope that the miscarriage of the expedition might repress the confidence of the party who had espoused it. In this, however, they were disappointed; for with six ships only he attacked and demolished all the fortifications of the place, with scarce the loss of a single man.

This successful enterprize encouraging the commons to prosecute war with vigour, the minister obtained such supplies as were sufficient to equip a very powerful navy; and domestic debates and factions seemed for a time to subside. While preparations were making in other departments, a squadron of ships was fitted out for distressing the enemy in the South-seas, and the command of it given to commodore Anson. This fleet was destined to sail through the streights of Magellan, and steering northwards along the coast of Chili and Peru, to co-operate occasionally with admiral Vernon, across the isthmus of Darien; but the latter part of the scheme was frustrated by the delays and mistakes of the ministry. When the season was too far advanced, the commodore set sail with five ships of the line, a frigate, and two store-ships, with about fourteen hundred men. Having reached the coasts of Brazil, he refreshed his men for some time on the island of St. Catharine, whence he steered downwards to the tempestuous regions of the south; and in about five months after, meeting a dreadful tempest, he doubled Cape Horn. His fleet was now dispersed, and his crew miserably afflicted with the scurvy; so that with much difficulty he gained the delightful island of Juan Fernandez, where he was joined by one ship, and a small frigate. Advancing thence northward, he landed on the coast of Chili, and attacked the city of Paita by night. The governor of the garrison, and the inhabitants, immediately fled on all sides; while a small body of the English took possession of the town, and after stripping it of all its treasures and merchandize, to a considerable amount, set it on fire.

This

This small squadron soon after advanced as far as Panama, situated on the isthmus of Darien, on the western side of the great American continent. The commodore now placed all his hopes in taking one of those valuable Spanish ships, which trade from the Philippine islands to Mexico. Not more than one or two of those immensely rich ships went on the voyage in a year. They were, therefore, very large, in order to carry a sufficiency of treasure, and proportionably strong to defend it. In the search of this prize, the commodore, with his little fleet, traversed the great Pacific Ocean; but the scurvy again visiting his crew, several of his men died, and almost all were disabled. In this exigence, having collected all his men into one vessel, and set fire to the other, he steered for the island of Tinian, where he continued for some time, until his men recovered their health, and his ship was refitted for sailing. Thus refreshed, he set forwards for China, where he laid in proper stores for once more traversing back the immense ocean in which he had lately encountered such difficulties. Having therefore taken on board some Dutch and Indian sailors, he again steered towards America; and at length, after various toils, discovered the Spanish galleon which he had so long ardently expected. This vessel mounted sixty guns, and carried five hundred men, while the crew of the commodore did not amount to half that number. The victory, however, was on the side of the English; and they returned home, after an absence of three years, with their prize, which was estimated at three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds sterling, [exclusive of their different preceding captures, which amounted to as much more.

*Anson takes
the Spanish
galleon.*

Mean while the English conducted other operations against the enemy with great vigour. When Anson first sailed, it was with a design of acting a subordinate part to a formidable armament intended for the coasts of New Spain; consisting of twenty-nine ships of the line, and almost an equal number of frigates, furnished with all kind of warlike stores, near fifteen thousand seamen, and as many land-forces. Never was a fleet more completely equipped, nor never had the nation more sanguine hopes of success. Lord Cathcart was appointed to command the land-forces; but he dying on the passage, the command devolved upon general Wentworth, whose abilities were supposed unequal to the importance of the undertaking. They at length arrived on the coast of New Spain, before the rich city of Carthagena. This place lies within sixty miles of Panama, and serves as a magazine for the merchandize of Spain, which is conveyed from

*Expedition
to Cartha-
gena;*

Europe

Europe thither, and thence transported by land to Panama, to be exchanged for the commodities of the new world: The taking of Carthagen, therefore, would have entirely obstructed the trade between Old Spain and the New.

In order to form the siege of this important fortification, the troops were landed on the island Tierra Bomba, near the mouth of the harbour, which had been previously fortified by all the arts of engineering. Having got on shore, they erected a battery, with which they made a breach in the principal fort, while Vernon, who commanded the fleet, sent a number of ships into the harbour, to divide the fire of the enemy, and to co-operate with the forces that were landed. The breach being deemed practicable, a body of troops was commanded to storm; but the Spaniards deserted the forts, which, had they possessed courage, they might have defended with success. The troops, upon gaining this advantage, approached a good deal nearer the city; but they there met with a much greater opposition than they had expected. It was alleged that the fleet could not lie near enough to batter the town, and that nothing remained but to attempt one of the forts by scaling. The leaders of the fleet and army began mutual accusation, each asserting the probability of what the other denied. At length Wentworth, stimulated by the admiral's reproach, resolved to try the dangerous experiment, and ordered that fort St. Lazare should be attempted by scalade. This undertaking proved extremely unfortunate. The forces marching up to the attack, their guides were slain, and they mistook their way. Instead of attempting the weakest part of the fort, they advanced to where it was strongest, and where they were exposed to the fire of the town. Colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, was killed in the beginning of the attack. It was soon after found that their scaling ladders were too short; the officers were perplexed for want of orders, and the troops stood exposed to the whole fire of the enemy, without knowing how to proceed. After sustaining a dreadful fire for some hours with great intrepidity, they at length retreated, leaving six hundred men dead on the spot. The rainy season now began with such violence, that it was impossible for the troops to continue encamped; and diseases, produced by the climate, made great havock among them. To these calamities was added the dissension between the land and sea commanders, who blamed each other for every miscarriage. At last they were induced to agree in one mortifying measure, which was to reembark the

*which
proves un-
successful.*

the

the troops, and withdraw them as quick as possible from this inauspicious enterprise. The fortifications near the harbour, therefore, being demolished, the troops were conveyed to Jamaica, which, though sufficiently unhealthy, was regarded as a perfect contrast to the infectious climate whence they had just escaped.

The miscarriage of this expedition was no sooner known in England, than the kingdom was filled with clamour and indignation against the minister, who found himself also charged with various other acts of misconduct. The principal among those was the inactivity of the English fleet at home. Sir John Norris had twice failed to the coast of Spain, at the head of a very powerful squadron, without performing any thing of consequence against the enemy; while the Spanish privateers annoyed the British commerce with great success. This universal discontent had a manifest influence upon the general election, which followed soon after.

At the meeting of the new parliament, the complaints against the new minister were so loud, that he began to tremble for his own safety, and tried every art to break the confederacy, which he knew he had not strength to oppose. His first attempt was by endeavouring, by promises of royal favour, and other emoluments, to disengage the prince of Wales from the country party. The bishop of Oxford was accordingly sent to him, with an offer, that if he would write a letter of submission to the king, he and all his counsellors should be taken into favour, fifty thousand pounds should be added to his revenue, two hundred thousand should be granted him to pay his debts, and suitable provision should be made in due time for all his followers. This, to one in the prince's situation, was a tempting offer, but he generously rejected it; declaring he would not accept of conditions dictated to him under the influence of a minister, whose measures he disapproved.

A D. 1741.

New parliament.

The time was now near approaching when Walpole foresaw that the power, which he long supported against all the violence of opposition, must terminate; and he even began to entertain apprehensions for his person. The resentment of the people had been raised against him to an extravagant height; and they had been taught by their leaders to expect very signal justice on the person who was supposed to be the author of the national calamities. The first occasion he had to perceive the unfavourable disposition of the house of commons, was in a

debate upon some disputed elections. In the first of these cases, which was heard at the bar of the house, he carried his point by a majority of only six votes; a plain indication of the prodigious decline of his credit. A petition was presented by the inhabitants of Westminster, complaining of an undue election, which had been procured by the influence of the ministry, and which they begged to set aside. Sir Robert laboured with all his art to overrule their petition, which was, however, carried against him by a majority of four voices. He resolved to try his strength once more in another disputed election, and had the mortification to find the majority against him increased to sixteen. He then declared he would never sit more in that house. Next day both houses of parliament were adjourned for a few days; and in the mean time sir Robert Walpole was created earl of Orford, and resigned all his employments.

A.D. 1742.

Sir Robert Walpole resigns all his employments, and is created earl of Orford.

From the extreme violence of the opposition, it was universally expected that the minister's dismissal would soon be followed by his impeachment; but in this the public was disappointed. Some of those who had clamoured most loudly against him, were mollified by the places or honours, with which he compounded for his impunity; and when brought into employment, they pursued exactly the same measures which they had so often reprobated in the former administration. The reconciliation between the king and the prince of Wales, however, took place soon after; and the change of the ministry was celebrated by rejoicing over the whole nation.

The war with Spain, which had now continued for some years, was attended with but indifferent fortune. Some expeditions in the West Indies, under admiral Vernon, commodore Knowles, and others, had proved unsuccessful, and their failure was aggravated by the political writers of the day. The people thus disgusted with their operations at sea, began to wish for an opportunity of retrieving the glory of the nation by some enterprize on land; nor was the king less disposed than his subjects for renewing the war, which had formerly been maintained in Flanders, so much to the renown of the British arms. It was resolved, therefore, to send a powerful force into the Netherlands, to join in the quarrels that were beginning on the continent; and great triumphs were expected from such an undertaking, which the king determined to conduct in person. In consequence of this resolution, an

army

army of sixteen thousand men was sent over into Flanders, and the war with Spain became but an object of secondary consideration.

To form a clear idea of the transactions on the continent, it will be necessary to review the state of the several powers during some years preceding this period. After the death of the duke of Orleans, who had been regent of France, cardinal Fleury undertook to settle the great confusion in which the kingdom had been left by that prince. Under him, therefore, France repaired her losses, and extended the bounds of her commerce.

During the long interval of peace, which this minister's counsels had procured for Europe, two powers, which had hitherto remained unregarded, began to attract the notice and jealousy of the neighbouring nations. Peter the Great had already introduced civilization into Russia, and this vast empire now began to assume an influence on the councils of other nations. The other power that rose into eminence, was that of the elector of Brandenburg, who had lately taken the title of king of Prussia, whose dominions were not only compact and populous, but who had on foot a numerous and well appointed army, ready for action.

The other states were but little improved in respect of military power. The empire remained under the government of Charles VI. who had been placed upon the throne by the treaty of Utrecht. Sweden was still feeble, from the violent exertions which she had made under her favourite monarch, Charles the Twelfth. Denmark, though respectable for power, was inclined to peace; and part of Italy still remained subject to those princes who had been imposed upon it by foreign treaties.

All these states continued to enjoy a profound peace, until the death of Augustus, king of Poland, by which event a general flame was once more kindled over Europe. The emperor, assisted by the arms of Russia, declared for the elector of Saxony, son of the late king. On the other hand, France declared for Stanislaus, who had long since been nominated king of Poland by Charles of Sweden, and whose daughter the king of France had since married. Stanislaus, in order to forward his pretensions, repaired to Dantzick, where he was joyfully received by the people. His triumph, however, was of short duration. Ten thousand Russians appearing before the place, the Polish nobility dispersed, and Stanislaus was besieged by this small body of forces. Though the city was taken, the king

A.D. 1743.

An army of sixteen thousand men sent over to Flanders.

escaped with some difficulty by night; and fifteen hundred men, who had been sent to his assistance, were made prisoners of war. France, however, resolved to persevere in his support, which, it was imagined, would be most effectually accomplished, by distressing the house of Austria.

The views of France were seconded by the kings of Spain and Sardinia, who hoped to make an acquisition to their dominions by the spoils of the house of Austria. A French army, therefore, under the command of old marshal Villars, soon over-ran the empire; while the duke of Montemar, the Spanish general, was no less victorious in the kingdom of Naples.

These rapid successes of France and her allies, soon compelled the emperor to solicit peace, which was accordingly granted him. It was, however, stipulated, that Stanislaus should renounce all claim to the crown of Poland, for which the emperor gratified France with the duchy of Lorraine, and some other valuable territories.

The emperor dying in the year 1740, the French thought this a favourable opportunity of once more exerting their ambition. In violation, therefore, of treaties, particularly that denominated the Pragmatic Sanction, by which the reversion of all the late emperor's dominions was settled upon his daughter, they caused the elector of Bavaria to be crowned emperor. By this measure, the queen of Hungary, daughter of Charles VI. saw herself stripped of her inheritance, and left for a whole year deserted by all the powers of Europe, without even any hope of assistance. Her father's eyes were scarce closed, when Silesia was taken from her by the young king of Prussia, who seized the opportunity to renew his ancient pretensions to that province, of which, it must be owned, his ancestors had been unjustly deprived. The rest of her dominions was attacked by France, Saxony, and Bavaria; while England seemed the only power that was willing to afford her any succour. Sardinia and Holland soon after came to her assistance; and Russia, at last, acceded to the union in her favour.

However those transactions might interest the powers on the continent, they had, doubtless, little connexion with the internal tranquillity of Great-Britain. But it was alleged, that the security of the electorate of Hanover might be intimately affected by them; and the English ministry was willing to gratify the king, by shewing their attention to that object. Lord Carteret, who now occupied

cupied, in the royal confidence, that place which had formerly been possessed by Walpole, expected, by these measures, not only to soothe the wishes of his master, but to open a prospect that might lead to his own aggrandisement.

At the meeting of the parliament, the king informed both houses of his strict adherence to his engagements; and acquainted them that he had augmented the English army in the Netherlands with sixteen thousand Hanoverians, to make a diversion upon the French dominions, in favour of the queen of Hungary. When the parliament, in considering the supplies, found that the Hanoverian troops were to be paid by the English, the intelligence excited warm debates. It was urged, that, to pay foreign troops for fighting their own battles, was a direct abuse of the generosity of the nation; and the servants of the crown were pressed by their own arguments against such measures, before they came into the administration. They scrupled not, however, openly to defend a conduct which they had formerly reprobated; and at length, by strength of numbers, they overcame opposition.

But these measures, though injurious to Britain, served to retrieve the desperate situation of the queen of Hungary. The French were driven out of Bohemia. Her general, prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of a large army, invaded the dominions of Bavaria. Her rival, the nominal emperor, was obliged to fly before her; and being not only abandoned by his allies, but divested of his hereditary dominions, retired to Franckfort, where he afterwards lived in obscurity. Though the French had begun the war as allies, they did not relinquish it upon the defeat of the duke of Bavaria, but persisted in sustaining, of themselves, the whole burden of the contest.

The troops sent to the queen's assistance by England, were commanded by the earl of Stair, an experienced general, who had learnt the art of war under the celebrated prince Eugene. His chief object in the beginning was to effect a junction with the queen's army, commanded by prince Charles, and thus to out-number the enemy in the field. To prevent this junction, the French assembled an

A. D. 1743.

army of sixty thousand men upon the river Mayne, under the command of marshal Noailles, who posted his troops upon the east side of that river. The British forces, to the number of forty thousand, pushed forward on the other side, into a country where they found themselves, by the precaution of the French, entirely destitute of provisions.

visions. The king of England arriving in the camp while the army was in this deplorable situation, he resolved on penetrating forward, to join twelve thousand Hanoverians and Hessians, who had reached Hannau. With this view he decamped; but before his army had marched three leagues, he found himself inclosed on every side by the enemy, near a village called Dettingen. In this extremity he seemed to be deprived of every resource. If he engaged the enemy it must be at the greatest disadvantage; if he remained inactive, his army must unavoidably starve; and a retreat was evidently impracticable. The impetuosity of the French troops, however, relieved him from this embarrassment: they passed the defile, which they should have been contented to guard; and under the conduct of the duke of Gramont, their horse charged the English with great fury: but being received with intrepidity, they were obliged to make a precipitate retreat over the Mayne, with the loss of about five thousand men. His Britannic majesty, with great personal courage, exposed himself to a severe fire of the enemies cannon; and, in the midst of the engagement, encouraged his troops by his presence and example. The English had the honour of the day; but were soon obliged to leave the field of battle, which was taken possession of by the French, who treated the wounded English with great clemency. The earl of Stair solicited for leave to resign; which having obtained, the troops were led into winter-quarters.

*Battle of
Dettingen.*

Meanwhile, the French proceeded in their operations with vigour. They opposed prince Charles, and interrupted his attempts to pass the Rhine. They gained also some successes in Italy; but their chief hopes were placed upon a projected invasion of England. Cardinal Fleury was now dead; and cardinal Tencin, who succeeded him in power, was proud, turbulent, and enterprising. France, from the violence of the parliamentary disputes in England, had conceived an opinion that the people were ripe for a revolt, and only wanted the presence of the Pretender to effect such an event. These sentiments being encouraged by the Jacobite party in Britain, an invasion was actually projected; and Charles, the son of the old Pretender, arrived at Paris, where he had an audience of the French king. This family had long been the dupes of France; but it was now thought that the resolutions of the French court were unquestionably in their favour. The troops destined for this expedition amounted

to fifteen thousand men, whom it was proposed to embark at Dunkirk, and some other of the ports nearest to England, under the direction of the young Pretender. The duke de Roquefuille, with twenty ships of the line, was to see them safely landed, and the famous count Saxe was to command them, when put on shore. But the whole project was disconcerted by the appearance of sir John Norris, who, with a superior fleet, advanced to attack them. The French fleet was thus obliged to put back; and being frustrated in their scheme of a sudden descent, thought fit openly to declare war.

The English ministry had sent out a powerful squadron into the Mediterranean, to overawe those states, which might be inclined to lend assistance to France or Spain. This fleet had been conducted by Lestock; but admiral Matthews, though a younger officer, was sent out to take the supreme command; in consequence of which a misunderstanding arose between them; and they soon had an opportunity of discovering their mutual animosity. The combined fleets of France and Spain, to the number of four and thirty sail, were seen off Toulon, and a signal was made by the English admiral to prepare for engaging. It happened that his signals were not perfectly exact: he had hung out that for forming the line of battle, which at the same time shewed the signal for engaging. This afforded Lestock a sufficient pretence for refusing to advance with alacrity; so that Matthews, after some vain efforts to engage the enemy in conjunction, resolved to engage with his own division. One ship of the line belonging to the Spanish squadron, struck to captain Hawke; but was next day burned by the admiral's order. Captain Cornwall was killed in the action, after continuing to give command, even when his leg was shot off by a cannon-ball. The pursuit was continued for three days, at the end of which time Lestock seemed to come up with some vigour; but Matthews now gave orders for discontinuing the pursuit, and sailed away for Port Mahon, to repair the damage he had sustained.

The account of this transaction was received in England with equal surprise and discontent; and both admirals, upon their return, were tried by a court-martial. Matthews, who had fought with intrepidity, was declared for the future incapable of serving in his majesty's navy; while Lestock, who had kept at a distance during the engagement, was acquitted with honour.

A.D. 1744.

The French meditate an invasion of England, but are prevented by sir John Norris.

Behaviour of admirals Matthews and Lestock.

In the Netherlands the operations of the allied army were far more successful. The French had assembled an army of a hundred and twenty thousand men, the command of which was given to count Saxe, natural son to the late king of Poland, and who had acquired great experience in war. Having long been a soldier of fortune, he had in the beginning of those commotions offered his services to several crowns; and among them, it is said, to the king of Great Britain; but his offers were rejected. The English were now headed by the duke of Cumberland, who, though possessed of sufficient courage, could not be supposed equal in military skill, and was far inferior in the number of his troops to his formidable antagonist. The French, therefore, bore down all before them. They besieged Fribourg, and in the beginning of the next campaign invested the strong city of Tournay; to save which place, if possible, the allies, notwithstanding their great inferiority, resolved to hazard a battle. They accordingly took post in sight of the enemy, who were encamped on an eminence, with the village of St. Antoine on the right, a wood on the left, and the town of Fontenoy in their front. Notwithstanding this advantageous situation, the English began the attack at two o'clock in the morning, and pressing forward with impetuosity, bore down all before them. They were for an hour successful, and confident of victory, while Saxe, who commanded the enemy, was sick of the same disorder of which he afterwards died. Being, however, at his own desire, carried about to all the posts in a litter, he assured his attendants, that, notwithstanding all unfavourable appearances, their army would prove victorious. A column of the English, without any command, and instigated only by courage, had advanced upon the enemies lines, which, opening, formed an avenue to receive them. The French artillery, on three sides, began now to play upon this adventurous body, which, after long sustaining the charge, was at last obliged to retreat. The allied army left on the field of battle almost twelve thousand men; and the loss of the French was nearly equal.

The duke of Cumberland commands the British army.

Battle of Fontenoy.

The French take Tournay.

This battle was soon followed by the surrender of Tournay an event which gave the French a great superiority during the remainder of the war.

The duke of Bavaria, whom the French had made emperor, under the title of Charles the Seventh, was lately dead; but the war, though undertaken in support of his pretensions, did not terminate at his decease. The grand-
duke

duke of Tuscany husband to the queen of Hungary, was declared emperor in his room; and notwithstanding this event likewise, the belligerent powers continued to support the quarrel with unabating animosity.

Meanwhile, the attention of the English was drawn from the continent, to an occurrence which more nearly affected the tranquillity of the kingdom. In their own dominions was now going to be kindled a civil war, which, though it increased their perplexity, had the effect of cementing more firmly the national union. The intended French invasion had roused the indignation of the people, who now breathed nothing but the destruction of a popish pretender, assisted by French councils and arms; and they, therefore, were never less disposed to receive him than at the very time he pitched upon to make a descent.

A.D. 1745.

A change in the ministry had by this time taken place; the lords Harrington, Chesterfield, and Mr. Pelham, being appointed to the chief departments in the government; and as they enjoyed some share of popularity, the operations of war were no longer thwarted by a turbulent opposition. The admirals Rowley and Warren had retrieved the honour of the British flag, and made several rich captures at sea. The fortress at Louisburgh, in the island of Cape Breton, had also surrendered to the British arms. It was at this period of returning success, that the son of the old chevalier resolved to make an effort for regaining the crown of these kingdoms. Charles Edward, this adventurer, though bred in a luxurious court, was uninfected with its effeminacy. He was enterprising and ambitious; but either from inexperience or natural inability, unequal to the bold undertaking. He had for some time been instigated by the tribe of adherents that surrounded him; was taught to believe that the nation was ripe for a revolt, and that it could no longer bear the immense load of taxes with which it was burdened. Being now, therefore, furnished with some money, and with yet greater promises, from the French court, which for its own views fanned his ambition, he embarked for Scotland on board a small frigate, accompanied by the marquis of Tullibardine, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and a few other desperate adventurers. Seven officers, and arms for two thousand men, were all that he brought with him for the conquest of the whole British kingdom.

The young Pretender prepares to embark for Scotland.

After he had set sail, his convoy, a ship of sixty guns, was so disabled in an engagement with an English man of war, named the Lion, that it was obliged to return to Brest, while

*He lands in
Scotland,
27th July.*

while he continued his course to the western parts of Scotland. Landing on the coast of Lochaber, he was in a little time joined by some chiefs of the Highland clans, and their vassals, over whom they exercised a hereditary jurisdiction. Through the exertion of those chieftains, he soon saw himself at the head of fifteen hundred men; while by his manifestos, which were dispersed all over the kingdom, he invited the assistance of others.

*Sir John
Cope is sent
against the
rebels.*

Authentic intelligence of his arrival was no sooner received by the ministry, than sir John Cope, then commander in chief in Scotland, had orders to march with a small body of forces to oppose his progress. The young adventurer had by this time reached Perth, where, as well as in other places, the ceremony was performed of proclaiming his father king of Great Britain. Proceeding thence with his forces, which were now daily increasing, he advanced to Edinburgh, and entered that city without opposition; but the castle held out, and he was unprovided with cannon to besiege it.

*Battle of
Preston-
Pans.*

Meanwhile sir John Cope, being reinforced by two regiments of dragoons, resolved to march towards Edinburgh, and give the enemy battle. The young adventurer, whose forces, though undisciplined, were rather superior in number, attacked him near Preston Pans, about nine miles from the capital, and in a few minutes put him and his troops to flight. The issue of this engagement, in which five hundred of the royal army were killed, gave the rebels great triumph; and had the Pretender, taking advantage of the general consternation, marched directly to London, the consequence might have been fatal to British liberty: but in hope of promised succours, which never arrived, he was induced to prolong his stay at Edinburgh, where he was joined by a few of the nobility, either attached to his cause from principle, or discontented with the present government. These consisted of the duke of Perth, lords Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Cromarty, Elcho, Ogilvy, and Pitligo, with the eldest son of lord Lovat, who all came in with their vassals, and augmented the army. Lord Lovat himself, though a warm partisan in the cause, was unwilling to act openly, being afraid of incurring the resentment of the ministry, whom he had reason to dread. Never was there a man more profligate or faithless, or who more actively rendered himself hated and suspected by all parties. He was at first outlawed, for ravishing the duke of Argyle's niece. He then offered his service to the old Pretender in France, and it was accepted.

cepted. He next betrayed, to queen Anne, the forces which were sent to his master's assistance. He a second time invited the Pretender over in the reign of George the First; and being put in possession of the castle of Sterling, by the Chevalier, he again betrayed it into the hands of the enemy. This man, false to every party, had now privately sent aid to the Chevalier, while, in conversation, he affected to declaim against his attempt.

While the young Pretender was idly spending his time at Edinburgh, the British ministry took every precaution to oppose him with success. A body of six thousand Dutch troops having come over to the assistance of the royal forces was dispatched northward, under the command of general Wade; but this army, as it was then said, could lend no assistance, being prisoners of France upon parole, and under engagements not to oppose that power before the expiration of a twelvemonth. However this be, the duke of Cumberland soon after arrived from Flanders, and was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry.

The young Chevalier, unintimidated by these preparations, resolved to make an irruption into England, which he accordingly entered by the western border, and, investing Carlisle, obliged it to surrender in less than three days. Here he found a considerable quantity of arms, and commanded his father to be proclaimed king. General Wade being informed of his progress, advanced across the country as far as Hexham; but receiving intelligence that the enemy was two days march before him, he immediately returned to his former station. The young Pretender meeting with no opposition, and receiving assurances from France, that a considerable body of troops would be landed on the southern coast of Britain, to make a diversion in his favour, determined to penetrate farther into the kingdom. He was also stimulated to carry his design into execution from the hope of being joined on his march by a considerable number of malcontents. Leaving, therefore, a small garrison in Carlisle, he advanced to Penrith, marching on foot in a Highland dress; and continued his route to Manchester, where he established his head-quarters. Here he was joined by about two hundred English, who were formed into a regiment under the command of colonel Townly. He thence pursued his march as far as Derby, intending to go by the way of Chester into Wales, where he hoped to increase his army by a great accession of the inhabitants of that country; but he was

The young Chevalier reduces Carlisle.

He marches to Manchester;

and penetrates to Derby.

induced to desist from this design, by dissensions which arose among his principal followers.

He was now advanced within a hundred miles of the capital, which was filled with perplexity and consternation. The king resolved to take the field in person; the volunteers of the city were incorporated into a regiment; the practitioners of the law determined to take up arms with the judges at their head; and even the managers of the theatres offered to raise a body for the service of government.

While these associations were forming, the young Chevalier began to hesitate with respect to the prosecution of his march. He knew that he could not proceed to the metropolis without hazarding a battle, the loss of which might be attended with inevitable ruin to himself and his adherents. The Highland chiefs also, unaccustomed to subordination, began to contend with each other for pre-eminence. On these accounts it was determined, in a council at Derby, that they should retreat with all possible expedition to their own country. Accordingly they effected their retreat to Carlisle, where having reinforced the garrison, they crossed the rivers Eden and Solway into Scotland. It was observable, that in this march they committed no outrage, and were effectually restrained from the exercise of rapine. The duke of Cumberland soon after invested Carlisle with his whole army; and the garrison, in about a week, surrendered at discretion.

*The rebels
retreat to
Scotland.*

*Carlisle
surrenders
to the duke
of Cumber-
land.*

A.D 1746.

The young Chevalier proceeded by the way of Dumfries to Glasgow, from which city he exacted severe contributions, on account of its attachment to the government, for whose service it had raised a regiment of nine hundred men, under the command of the earl of Hume. Quitting Glasgow, he advanced towards Stirling, and was joined by some forces which had been assembled by lord Lewis Gordon, and lord John Drummond, brothers to the dukes of Gordon and Perth. He now invested the castle of Stirling, commanded by general Blakeney; but general Hawley, who lay near Edinburgh with a considerable detachment of the royal army, undertook to raise the siege, and advanced towards the rebel army as far as Falkirk. After two days spent in mutually examining each other's strength, the rebels, being impatient to engage, were led in high spirits to attack the king's army. The Chevalier, who was in the front line, gave the signal to engage; and by the first fire Hawley's forces were put into confusion. The horse retreated with such precipi-
tation.

*The Cheva-
lier invests
Stirling.*

tation, that they fell upon their own infantry; while the rebels, pursuing the advantage they had gained, put the greater part of the royal army to immediate flight. The latter retired in confusion to Edinburgh, leaving the rebels in possession of their tents, and all their artillery.

Meantime, the duke of Cumberland put himself at the head of the royal forces at Edinburgh, which consisted of about fourteen thousand men. With these he advanced to Aberdeen, where he was joined by several persons of distinction, attached to the family on the throne. After having refreshed his troops for some time, he renewed his march; and in twelve days he arrived on the banks of the deep and rapid river Spey. At this place the rebels had a fair opportunity of disputing his passage; but they neglected every advantage by giving way to their mutual dissensions. After a variety of altercation, they resolved to await their pursuers upon the plains of Culloden, a place about nine miles distant from Inverness, surrounded with hills, except on that side which was open to the sea. Here their army, amounting to near eight thousand men, drew up in order of battle, in three divisions, supplied with some pieces of artillery, ill manned and served. The battle began about one o'clock in the afternoon, when the cannon of the king's army did great execution among the rebels, while their's was totally unserviceable. After the rebels had been kept in their ranks, and sustained the fire of the English for some time, they at length became impatient for closer engagement, and about five hundred of them made an irruption upon the left wing of the enemy with their usual ferocity. The first line being thrown into disorder by this onset, two battalions advanced to its support, and galled the rebels with an incessant discharge. At the same time the Argyleshire militia, pulling down a park wall that guarded the flank of the enemy, and making way for the dragoons under Hawley, they, with sword in hand, fell in among the rebels, of whom they made great slaughter. In less than half an hour the Highlanders were totally routed, and the field covered with their wounded and slain, to the number of above three thousand men. The French piquets on their left stood inactive during the whole engagement, and afterwards surrendered themselves prisoners of war. An entire body of the clans marched off the field in order, while the rest were routed with great slaughter, and their leaders obliged to retire.

Jan. 17.
The king's troops under Hawley are worsted at Falkirk.

The duke of Cumberland assumes the command of the forces in Scotland.

April 17.
The rebels are totally defeated at Culloden.

The glory of this victory was sullied by the barbarity of the soldiers. Not contented with the blood which was so profusely shed during the action, they now traversed the field, and massacred those who lay maimed. Some were slain who were only excited by curiosity to become spectators of the combat. The duke, immediately after the action, ordered thirty-six deserters to be executed; and after a short space, the whole country round was one dreadful scene of plunder, slaughter, and desolation.

By this decisive action were blasted all the hopes of the young adventurer, who immediately fled with a captain of Fitz-James's cavalry. When their horses were fatigued, they both alighted, and separately sought for safety. He for some days wandered in the country, a forlorn fugitive, and the wretched spectator of all those horrors which his ill-guided ambition had brought upon the adherents of his family. He was now surrounded by armed troops, who kept him in continual alarm. Sometimes he lurked in caves and cottages, without attendants, or any other support but what the poorest peasant could supply. Sometimes he rowed in fisher-boats from isle to isle, among the Hebrides, and often in sight of his pursuers, who were animated in their search by a reward of thirty thousand pounds offered for taking him, dead or alive. For some days he appeared in woman's attire, and even passed unknown through the midst of his enemies. During the whole of his distresses, he is said to have maintained an amazing equanimity and good humour. In the course of his concealments, he had occasion to trust his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals, whose veneration for his family prevailed over their avarice.

*The young
Chevalier
escapes to
France.*

In this manner he continued to wander among the frightful wilds of Glengary, for near six months, until at length a privateer of St. Maloes, hired by his adherents, arrived in Lochnanach; and in this vessel he embarked in the most wretched attire. He had not been shifted for many weeks; his eyes were become hollow, his visage wan, and his constitution greatly impaired by famine and fatigue. He was accompanied by Sullivan and Sheridan, two Irish adherents, who had shared all his calamities; with Cameron of Lochiel, his brother, and a few other exiles. They set sail for France; and after being chased by two English men of war, arrived in safety at a place called Roseau, near Morlaix in Bretagne.

While the young Chevalier was thus pursued, the scaffolds and the gibbets were preparing for his unfortu-

nate adherents who had been made prisoners. Seventeen officers of the rebel army were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Kennington Common, in the neighbourhood of London. Nine were executed in the same manner at Carlisle, and eleven at York. A few obtained pardons, and a considerable number of the common men were transported to the plantations in North America.

Bills of indictment for high-treason were found by the county of Surry, against the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and lord Balmerino, who were all tried by their peers in Westminster-hall, and found guilty. Cromartie was pardoned, but the other two were beheaded on Tower-hill. Kilmarnock, either convinced of his errors, or flattered to the last with hopes of pardon, declared a consciousness of his crimes, and professed his repentance; but Balmerino, undaunted even at the approach of death, gloried in the cause for which he fell. His fellow-sufferer, when commanded to bid God bless king George, performed with a faint voice the injunction; while Balmerino still avowing his principles, cried-out aloud, "God bless king James!" Mr. Radcliffe, brother to the late earl of Derwentwater, who was beheaded in the former reign, being taken on board a ship, as he was coming to join the Pretender's army, and the identity of his person being proved, he was sentenced upon a former conviction, and also suffered on Tower-hill; where, some time after, lord Lovat concluded a life of dissimulation and treachery.

Trial and execution of the rebel lords, and of Mr. Radcliffe.

The rebellion being thus suppressed, the legislature turned its attention to the establishment of some regulations in Scotland, with a view of preventing the like commotions. The Highlanders had hitherto worn the old military dress of their ancestors, and never went without arms. They, therefore, considered themselves as a body of people distinct from the rest of the nation, and were ready, upon the shortest notice, to join in any insurrection of their chiefs, to whom they still regarded themselves as bound by the feudal tenures of military service. To remove these inconveniences, they were obliged, by act of parliament^a, to wear cloaths of the common fashion, and they were prohibited from the use of arms. But what was of greater importance, the hereditary jurisdiction which their chiefs exercised over them was abolished by the same authority.

^a The law prohibiting the Highland dress was repealed in the month of June, 1782.

During

*Affairs on
the conti-
nent.*

During these commotions in England, the flames of war continued to rage upon the continent with unabating violence. The French arms had been repeatedly crowned with success; and the whole Netherlands were reduced under their dominion. The factions, which for upwards of a century had divided the United Provinces, were increased by these disasters. One party declared for the prince of Orange and a stadtholder; the other, opposing this election, desired rather friendship than to be at variance with France. The measures of these two factions, if adopted in their full extent, would be equally fatal to public liberty; for, if a stadtholder were elected, the constitution became changed from a republican government to a kind of limited monarchy. If, on the contrary, the opposite party prevailed, the whole power of the state would be put in the hands of an aristocracy, universally known to be under the influence of the French. Of the two evils, therefore, the Dutch chose the former. The people in several towns, inflamed almost to sedition, compelled their magistrates to declare the prince of Orange stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral of the United Provinces. The consequences of this important resolution immediately appeared. All commerce with France was prohibited; the Dutch army was augmented, and orders were issued for prosecuting hostilities against the French by sea and land.

A.D. 1747.

The king of Sardinia, who had some years before joined France against England, now changed sides, and declared against the former of these powers. Italy felt all the terrors of intestine war, or more properly became idle spectators, while foreigners were contending with each other for their usurped dominions. The French and Spaniards on one side, and the Imperialists with the king of Sardinia on the other, ravaged by turns those beautiful territories, and gave laws to a country that had once spread her dominion over the world.

About this time the English made an unsuccessful attempt upon Port l'Orient, a sea-port in France, though weakly defended. The French obtained a considerable victory at Roucroux in Flanders; and another victory which they gained at La Feldt, contributed farther to depress the allied army; while the taking of Bergen-op-zoom, the strongest fortification of Dutch Brabant, reduced the Hollanders to a state of desperation. But these successes of the French were counterbalanced by several disappointments. In Italy, the marshal Belleisle's brother, attempt-
ing

ing to penetrate into Piedmont at the head of thirty-four thousand men, was routed, and himself slain. A fleet sent out for the recovery of Cape Breton, proved unsuccessful. Two more were fitted out, one to make a descent upon the British colonies in America, and the other to carry on the operations in the East Indies; but these were attacked by Anson and Warren, and nine of their ships taken. In a short time after, commodore Fox, with six ships of war, took above forty French ships laden from St. Domingo; and this loss was followed by another defeat, in which the French lost seven ships of the line, and several frigates.

Amidst this variety of events, the belligerent powers began at length to wish for the blessings of peace. The Dutch had for some time endeavoured to stop the progress of a war, in which they had all to lose, and nothing to gain. The king of France, even after his victories on the continent, had expressed his desire of general tranquillity to sir John Ligonier, who had been made prisoner at the battle of La Feldt. But now the bad success of his fleets, as well as of his troops in Italy, with the frequent bankruptcies of his merchants, and the election of a stadtholder in Holland, who gave spirit to the opposition; all these motives contributed to make him weary of the war, and to propose an accommodation. Though the allies were averse to the making of this offer, it was an event of which they had long been extremely desirous. The English ministry in particular, finding themselves unable to manage a parliament soured by frequent defeats, and now beginning to be disgusted with continental connexions, acceded with great pleasure to the proposal. A negotiation was, therefore, resolved upon; and the contending powers agreed to come to a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the earl of Sandwich and sir Thomas Robinson assisted as plenipotentiaries from the king of Great Britain.

This treaty, which takes its name from the city at which it was made, was begun upon the preliminary conditions of restoring all conquests made during the war. Great hopes, therefore, were expected of conditions honourable to the English; but the treaty still remains a lasting memorial of the precipitate and pusillanimous resolutions of the British cabinet. By this it was agreed, that all prisoners on each side should be mutually restored, and all conquests given up. That the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, should be ceded to Don Philip, heir apparent to the Spanish throne; but in case of his succeeding

*Congress at
Aix-la-
Chapelle.*

A. D. 1748.

*Treaty of
Aix-la-
Chapelle.*

ing to the crown of Spain, that then these dominions should revert to the house of Austria. It was confirmed that the fortifications of Dunkirk to the sea should be demolished: that the English ship annually sent with slaves to the coast of New Spain should have this privilege continued for four years: that the king of Prussia should be confirmed in the possession of Silesia, which he had lately conquered; and that the queen of Hungary should be secured in her patrimonial dominions. But one article of the peace was particularly displeasing to the English. It was stipulated, that immediately after the ratification of this treaty, the king of Great Britain should send to France two persons of rank, as hostages, until restitution should be made of Cape Breton, and all other conquests which England had made during the war. This was a mortifying clause; but to add to the general error of the negotiation, no mention was made of the searching the vessels of England in the American seas, a point upon which the war was originally begun. The limits of their respective possessions in North America were not ascertained; nor did the nation receive any equivalent for those forts which it restored to the enemy.

This treaty, however inglorious, was not unwelcome to the people, who had been wearied with repeated disasters, and expected, from a continuance of the war, nothing else but an accumulation of misfortunes. One of the most grievous consequences of it, was the immense load of debt, which it had been the means of entailing upon the nation. To lighten this burden, Mr. Pelham, who now conducted the business of the state, and was esteemed a man of candour and capacity, proposed an expedient. His plan was to lessen the debt, by lowering the interest which had been promised on granting the supplies, or else obliging the lenders to receive the sums originally granted. This scheme, though considered as in some degree a hardship upon the lender, produced the desired effect, without any inconvenience to the public credit. Other measures, likewise beneficial to the public, were pursued with equal success. The importation of iron from America was allowed; and the trade to Africa was laid open to the nation, but under the superintendance of the board of trade.

A D. 1751.

March 20.
*Death of
the prince
of Wales.*

In the midst of these regulations, the kingdom felt the mortification of losing the prince of Wales. In consequence of a cold, which he had caught in his garden at Kew, he was seized with a pleuritic disorder, and, after a short illness,

illness, expired, in the forty-fifth year of his age, universally regretted by all who wished well to their country.

The next important object of parliamentary attention was an act for the better preventing clandestine marriages, and for the more public solemnization of that ceremony. The grievance complained of, and which this law was meant to redress, was, that the sons and daughters of opulent families were often seduced into marriage before they had acquired sufficient experience in life, to guard against any imprudent connection. This statute, therefore, enacted, that the bans of marriage should be regularly published three successive Sundays in the church of the parish where both parties had resided for one month at least before the ceremony. It declared, that any marriage solemnized without this previous publication, or a licence obtained from the bishop's court, should be void; and that the person who solemnized it should be transported for seven years. This act was at that time thought to be replete with consequences injurious to society; and, after the experience of thirty years, it seems better calculated to guard the tranquillity of a few, than to promote the general happiness of the people.

A.D. 1753.

Act for preventing clandestine marriages.

This session was also distinguished by another act equally unpopular, which was a law for naturalizing the Jews. The ministry affirmed, that such a law would greatly contribute to the benefit of the nation; that it would increase the commerce, the credit, and the wealth of the kingdom, and set a laudable example of toleration. Others, however, entertained very different sentiments on the subject. They observed, that greater favour was shewn to the Jews by this bill than to some sects professing Christianity; that an introduction of that obnoxious people into the kingdom would disgrace the character of the nation, and abate in the natives that zeal for religion which was already too much neglected. The bill was passed into a law; but the nation remonstrated so loudly against it, that it was repealed in the ensuing session.

Act for naturalizing the Jews.

The incident which, next to these, chiefly distinguished the present year, was the execution of Dr. Archibald Cameron, a native of North Britain, and brother to Cameron of Lochiel, chief of the numerous and warlike tribe which had joined the young Pretender in the late rebellion. This gentleman, who had been included in the act of attainder, ventured to return privately to Scotland; but being discovered, was apprehended and conducted

Execution of Dr. Cameron.

ducted to London, where he was confined in the Tower. He was soon after produced in the court of King's Bench, and his identity being proved by several witnesses, he received sentence of death, and was executed at Tyburn. His unblemished character, and the manly composure with which he underwent his fate, so moved the compassion of the spectators, that, during the execution, many of them burst into tears.

*Dispute
about the
limits of
Nova
Scotia.*

Soon after the peace of Aix la Chapelle, a dispute arose between the crowns of Great Britain and France relative to the boundaries of Nova Scotia. To compromise these disputes, commissaries were appointed to meet at Paris; but their conferences proved ineffectual. The French had been the first occupiers of Nova Scotia, and though the country was naturally barren, they had, by great industry, improved it to such a degree, that it was capable of affording subsistence to its inhabitants, with the help of some supplies from Europe. This country, however, had frequently changed masters, until, at length, the English were settled in the possession, and acknowledged as the rightful owners by the treaty of Utrecht. The possession of this territory was reckoned indispensable for the security of the English colonies to the North, and for preserving their superiority in the fisheries in that part of the world. The French, however, observing with envy the growing colony which Britain had lately sent thither, resolved to dispossess the new-comers, and for this purpose spirited up the neighbouring Indians to hostilities, which were represented to the English ministry, some time without redress.

During the conferences on this subject between the commissaries of the two crowns, the French proceeded in encroaching upon the British colonies in North America.

Their plan was to engross the whole fur-trade of that continent; which they proposed to secure by extending a chain of forts along the great lakes of Erie and Ontario, and thus to connect their settlements on the river Mississippi with their possessions in Canada. By these means they hoped to exclude the English from all communication with the Indian nations, even those that lay contiguous to the British settlements. For determining the disputes which arose in consequence of these encroachments, negotiations had long been carried on; but it was difficult to adjust pretensions which the parties were determined not to relinquish; and the limits of those countries

tries had never been defined with any degree of precision.

Meanwhile the seeds of a new war were also ripening in Asia. On the coast of Malabar the English and French had, in fact, never ceased from hostilities. The war between the English and French, in those parts, began by their respectively siding with two contending princes of the country; and from being secondaries in the quarrel, they at length became principals.

The government of England had long remonstrated to the French court concerning these encroachments; but finding all negotiations for that purpose ineffectual, they determined on having recourse to other and more forcible methods. Orders were accordingly dispatched to all the governors of the American provinces to unite into a confederacy for their mutual defence; and, if possible, to bring the Indians over to espouse their quarrel. But this measure having been long neglected, was now become a work of extreme difficulty, if not absolutely impracticable. It had long been the method of the English to cultivate the friendship of this people in times of danger; but to slight it in circumstances of safety; a conduct which had alienated the affections of the Indians from the English government. This aversion was increased by the avarice of our merchants, particularly of the Ohio company, who sold them bad commodities, and treated them likewise with great insolence.

In this manner the English had to contend, not only with the French, but the whole body of the Indian nations; while internal dissensions rendered their situation still more deplorable. Some of the English provinces, which had either little to fear from the enemy, or few advantages to expect from success, declined furnishing their share of the supplies. At the same time, the governors of some other provinces became so odious by their rapacity, that the colonies refused to lend any assistance under the direction of such obnoxious leaders.

In consequence of these various causes, the successes of the French, in the beginning, was uninterrupted. There had been, for some time, frequent skirmishes between their troops and those of the British government. They had fought with general Laurence to the north, and colonel Washington to the south, and had usually come off victorious. In England, however, the ministry now began to take more vigorous measures for the security of those colonies which refused to defend themselves.

A.D. 1754.

*Hostilities
commence
between
the British
and French
in America.*

A.D. 1755

Four operations were undertaken in America at the same time. Of these, one was commanded by colonel Monkton, who had orders to drive the French from the encroachments upon the province of Nova Scotia: the second, farther to the south, was directed against Crownpoint, under the command of general Johnson: the third, under the conduct of general Shirley, was destined to Niagara, to secure the forts on the river; and the fourth, which was yet farther southward, against Fort du Quesne, under general Braddock.

In these expeditions, Monkton was successful; as was likewise Johnson, though he failed in taking the fort which had been the chief object of his enterprize. Shirley was thought to have lost the season for operation by delay. Braddock was vigorous and active, but suffered a defeat. This commander set forward upon his expedition in June, at the head of two thousand two hundred men, directing his march to that part of the country where Washington had been defeated the year before. Upon his arrival, he was informed, that the French at Fort du Quesne, against which he was destined, expected a reinforcement of five hundred men, and would then become his equals in the field: he, therefore, resolved to advance with all haste, and attack them, before they should become too powerful by this conjunction. In consequence of this resolution, leaving colonel Dunbar with eight hundred men to bring up the provisions, stores, and heavy baggage, as fast as possible, he marched forward with the rest of his army, through a hideous country, inhabited only by wild beasts, and hunters still more formidable. Proceeding, however, with intrepidity, he soon found himself advanced into the desarts of Oswego, where no European had ever before penetrated. But his caution was not equal to his courage. He took no care previously to explore the woods and thickets; and the nearer he approached the enemy, he seemed to become less heedful of danger. Having arrived within ten miles of the fortress which he was appointed to besiege, and marching forward through the forests with confidence of success, on a sudden his whole army was astonished by a general discharge of arms, from an enemy that still remained unseen. The vanguard of the English fell back in consternation upon the main body, and the panic soon became general. The officers alone disdained to fly, while Braddock himself still continued to command his brave associates, discovering at once the greatest intrepidity and the greatest imprudence.

At length, having received a musket-shot through the lungs, he immediately expired, and a general confusion ensued. All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, belonging to the detachment, were left to the enemy. About seven hundred men having perished in this expedition, the shattered remains of the army joined colonel Dunbar; and, returning by their former route, they arrived among the provincials of Philadelphia, where they spread a general consternation.

Braddock is defeated, and killed.

The English ministry now began to think of commencing hostilities at sea, where they expected to prove more successful. Orders were, therefore, issued to make reprisals on the enemy's shipping, wherever it might be found, though no formal declaration of war had yet been published by either nation. In consequence of this measure, the English ports were soon filled with vessels taken from the French, and kept as an indemnification for those sorts of which the enemy had unjustly possessed themselves in America.

All negotiation being now ended between the two powers, a declaration of war followed soon after on each side. The French began by intimidating England with menaces of a formidable invasion. Several bodies of their troops had for some time been sent down to the coasts that lay opposite to the British shores; and these were instructed in the discipline of embarking, and re-landing from flat-bottomed boats, which were prepared in great numbers for that expedition. The number of men said to be destined for this enterprize amounted to fifty thousand; but they discovered the utmost reluctance for the undertaking.

A. D. 1756.

War is declared.

The French threaten an invasion.

Whether these preparations were really intended for descent, or meant only to terrify the English, appears to be uncertain. It is evident, however, that they answered the latter purpose. The English ministry at this time being weak, unpopular, and divided among themselves, they, in this exigence, applied to the Dutch for six thousand men, which they were obliged to furnish by treaty, in case of invasion. The Dutch, however, refused the supply, alleging, that their treaty was to supply troops in case of an actual, and not a threatened invasion. The ministry being disappointed of this assistance, brought over a body of Hessians and Hanoverians, amounting to about ten thousand men. These succours were no sooner arrived than the ministry was execrated for reducing the nation to such disgrace, as to seek for security in the

The ministry applies for assistance to the Dutch,

who decline granting it.

Ten thousand Germans brought over to England.

aid of foreign mercenaries. The people demanded only a vigorous exertion of their own strength, and dreaded no force that could be led to invade the kingdom.

While the attention of the government was employed in guarding against an invasion, the French were making preparations for an expedition in another quarter. The island of Minorca, which had been taken from the Spaniards in the reign of queen Anne, was secured to England by repeated treaties. But the ministry having neglected to take sufficient precautions for its defence, the garrison was weak, and no way fitted to stand a vigorous siege. The French, therefore, with a squadron from Toulon, landed near the fortification of St. Philip, reckoned one of the strongest in Europe, and commanded by general Blakeney, a brave, but now aged officer. The siege was carried on with great vigour, and for some time no less obstinately defended by the English.

The French land in Minorca, and lay siege to fort St. Philip.

Admiral Byng sent out with a squadron to the relief of Minorca.

Falls in with the French fleet off Minorca.

Engagement with La Galissoniere.

Byng returns to Gibraltar.

The ministry being apprized of this unexpected attack, resolved to raise the siege, if possible, and for this purpose sent out admiral Byng with ten ships of war. He accordingly sailed from Gibraltar, where he was refused any assistance of men from the governor of that garrison, under a pretence that his own fortification was in danger. Upon his approaching the island, he saw the French banners displayed upon the shore, and those of the English still flying on the castle of St. Philip. He had been ordered to throw a body of troops into the garrison; but thinking this too hazardous an undertaking, he did not even attempt it. Meanwhile his attention was called off by the appearance of a French fleet, which seemed of nearly equal force with his own. Confounded with a variety of measures, he seemed resolved to pursue none; and therefore gave orders to form the line of battle, and act upon the defensive. Byng had long been esteemed for his skill in naval tactics; and, perhaps, valuing most those talents for which he was most praised, he sacrificed all claims to courage to the applause for naval discipline. The French fleet advanced, and part of the English fleet engaged; while the admiral kept aloof, and gave very plausible reasons for not coming to action. The French fleet, therefore, slowly sailed away, and no other opportunity ever offered of coming to a closer engagement. In a council of war, which was soon after called on board the admiral's own ship, it was agreed that the relief of Minorca was impracticable, and they determined to sail away to Gibraltar, to refit the fleet.

This conduct of the admiral excited in the nation a great ferment, which was encouraged by the ministry, who were not averse to throwing from themselves the blame of those measures which had proved so unsuccessful. The general clamour became soon after more violent, on intelligence being received that the garrison of fort St. Philip had surrendered to the French.

The garrison of Fort Philip capitulates.

Meanwhile Byng continued at Gibraltar, quite satisfied with his own conduct, and little expecting the dreadful storm that was gathering against him at home. Orders, however, were soon dispatched for putting him under arrest, and for carrying him to England. Upon his arrival he was committed to close custody in Greenwich Hospital, and some arts were used to increase against him the indignation of the populace. Several addresses were sent up from different counties, demanding justice on the delinquent; and these the ministry were sufficiently forward to second. He was soon after tried by a court-martial in the harbour of Portsmouth, where, after an enquiry which continued several days, his judges agreed that he had not, during the engagement, done his utmost to destroy the enemy: he was, therefore, sentenced to suffer death by the twelfth article of war. At the same time, however, considering his conduct rather as the effects of error than of cowardice, they recommended him as an object of mercy. But the government resolved that the royal clemency should not be extended towards him. Even the parliament was applied to in his favour, but without effect. Being thus abandoned to his fate, he maintained to the last a great degree of fortitude and serenity. On the day fixed for his execution, which was on board a man of war in the harbour of Portsmouth, he advanced from the cabin, where he had been imprisoned, upon deck, the place appointed for him to suffer. After delivering a paper, containing the strongest affirmation of his innocence, he came forward to the place where he was to kneel down, and for some time persisted in not covering his face. But his friends representing that his looks might intimidate the soldiers who were to shoot him, and prevent their taking proper aim, he permitted his eyes to be bound with a handkerchief; after which, giving the soldiers a signal to fire, he was killed instantaneously.

Trial of admiral Byng, who is condemned, and executed.

Meanwhile, the French resolved to attack the king of England's territories in Germany; a measure by which they hoped to compel the English ministry to accept of whatever terms they should be pleased to offer. They

The French meditate the invasion of Hannover.

*The British
ministry
enters into
a treaty
with the
czarina ;
which
proves
ineffectual.*

were sensible that it would at least divide the British forces, and engage them in a war in which they must necessarily prove inferior. The court of London, anxious for the security of Hanover, entered into a treaty with that of Russia, by which it was stipulated, that a body of fifty thousand Russians should be ready to act in the English service, in case Hanover should be invaded ; and for this the czarina was to receive a hundred thousand pounds annually, to be paid in advance.

This treaty, however, soon proved as nugatory as it was expensive. The king of Prussia, who had long considered himself as guardian of the interests of Germany, declared that he would not suffer any foreign troops to enter the empire, either as principals or auxiliaries. He had, it seems, been already apprized of a secret negotiation between the Russians and the Austrians, by which the latter were to enter the empire, and strip him of his late conquests of Silesia.

*A treaty is
concluded
between
Britain
and Prussia.*

The king of England, who was particularly attached to his Hanoverian dominions, beheld them now exposed to the resentment not only of France, but of Prussia ; either of whom was sufficient to ravage his electorate, while the Russian subsidiaries were at too great a distance to afford him any relief. Treaties, therefore, were once more set on foot ; and application was made to the king of Prussia, in hopes of deprecating his resentment. His Britannic majesty wished only to prevent any invasion of Germany ; and this the king of Prussia professed to desire with equal ardour. These monarchs, therefore, from a similitude of intention, were induced to unite their interests ; and they came to an agreement, by which they promised to assist each other, and to prevent all foreign armies from entering the empire.

Both powers expected from this new alliance great advantages. Beside preserving the independence of the German states, which was the ostensible object of the treaty, each had in view their particular advantages. The king of Prussia knew that the Austrians were secretly his enemies, and that with them the Russians had entered into a confederacy against him. An alliance, therefore, with the court of London relieved him from the Russians, and afforded him an opportunity of attacking Austria, of whose designs he had long been suspicious. With regard to the views of the French court, he entertained little apprehension ; concluding, that from its long and hereditary enmity with the Austrians, it would ever continue stedfast

fast in his interests. On the other side, his Britannic majesty expected still greater advantages to result from this league. By it he procured a near and powerful ally, whom he supposed the French would not venture to disoblige. He considered the Austrians as naturally attached to his own interests by gratitude and friendship; and he supposed that the Russians would at least continue neuter from their former stipulations and subsidy. But the two contracting powers soon found themselves deceived in their expectations.

This confederacy soon after gave birth to one of an opposite nature, which astonished all Europe. The queen of Hungary had long entertained a design of recovering Silesia; in which attempt she expected to be assisted by Russia, and that the rest of the powers would continue neuter. She now found, however, by the late treaty, that all her hopes of Russian assistance were frustrated; and being thus deprived of one ally, she sought about in order to substitute another. For this purpose she scrupled not even to make application to France; and to procure the friendship of that court, gave up her barrier in the Netherlands, which England had been for ages securing against that power with its blood and treasure. By this extraordinary revolution the whole political system of Europe acquired a new aspect, and the treaties of a century were at one blow rendered ineffectual.

*Alliance
between
France and
Austria;*

The treaty between France and Austria was no sooner ratified, than the czarina was invited to accede; and she, regardless of her subsidies from England, warmly embraced the proposal. By the intrigues of the French, Sweden joined the confederacy; and a war was commenced between that nation and Prussia, though contrary to the inclination of both monarchs.

*to which
Russia and
Sweden
accede.*

The preparations for war on the continent were first begun on the side of Austria, which had engaged the elector of Saxony in the general dispute. Great armaments were, therefore, put on foot in Moravia and Bohemia; while the elector of Saxony, under the pretence of military parade, assembled about sixteen thousand men, who were posted in a strong situation at Pirna. The design of these preparations, however, did not escape the vigilance of the king of Prussia, who sent orders to his minister at the court of Vienna to demand an explanation. But receiving, to his repeated requests, only an evasive answer, he suspended all negotiations, and resolved to anticipate the enemy in their hostile operations. He accordingly

The king of Prussia enters Saxony with a great army.

cordingly entered Saxony with a large army, and in the usual strain of civility, demanded from the elector a passage through his dominions; which he knew that prince was not in a condition to dispute. In the mean time he concealed his suspicions of the elector's having entered into a secret treaty with his enemies, and professed himself extremely pleased with the promises he received of observing a strict neutrality. To carry on the deceit still farther, he entreated, as the elector's troops were totally unnecessary, that he would for the present disband them. This proposal, however, the elector rejected with disdain; and the king, who probably had made it only with the view of being refused, determined to turn the occurrence to his own advantage. Such was the situation of the Saxon camp, that, though a small body of troops could defend it against a great army, yet the same difficulty attended the quitting, that impeded the enemy from storming it. Of this circumstance, therefore, his Prussian majesty took the advantage; and by blocking up every avenue of egress, he cut off the provisions of the Saxon army, and reduced the whole body to the necessity of making a capitulation. He incorporated the common soldiers in his own army; and such officers as refused to serve under him, he made prisoners of war.

The king of Prussia was now involved in a war, in which all the most potent states of Europe were against him, and his only ally was Great Britain, which was far too remote to afford him any considerable succours. But in spite of all the apparently insurmountable difficulties which surrounded him, he proceeded with a vigour unexampled in the history of any nation; not only opposed his enemies on every side, but gained over them, in several battles, the most complete and glorious victories. At last, however, he began to experience the instability of fortune. The Hanoverians, who were joined with him by his treaty with England, had armed in his favour, and were commanded by the duke of Cumberland, who, from the beginning, appeared sensible of the insufficiency of his troops to face the enemy, by whom he was greatly outnumbered. He was driven beyond the Weser, which the French, however they might have been opposed, were permitted to pass unmolested. The Hanoverian army was now driven from one part of the country to another, until at length it made a stand near a village called Hastenbak, where it was hoped the enemy would have the least opportunity of coming to a general action. The weaker

A.D. 1757.

weaker army, however, unable to make head against the enemy, retired towards Stade, by which means they marched into a country where they could neither procure provisions, nor wait the arrival of the enemy with any hope of success. They were, therefore, compelled to sign a capitulation, which was called the treaty of Closter-Seven, and by which Hanover was obliged to submit peaceably to the French, who now resolved to turn their whole force against the king of Prussia.

A D. 1757.

*Treaty of
Closter-
Seven.*

Such a multitude of enemies now attacked this magnanimous monarch on all sides, that, to extricate himself from his present desperate situation, seemed almost beyond the power of human wisdom or valour. The French forces, united, and commanded by marshal Broglio, invaded his dominions on one side. The Russians, who, for some time had hovered over his empire, under the command of general Apraxin, all at once hastened onward to overwhelm him, marking their way with slaughter and cruelty. A large body of Austrians entered Silesia, and penetrating as far as Breslau, turned to the strong fortress of Schweidnitz, which, after an obstinate defence, they obliged to surrender. Another army of the same power entered Lusatia, made themselves masters of Zittau, and pressing forward, laid the capital of Berlin under contribution. In another quarter, a body of twenty thousand Swedes penetrated into Prussian Pomerania, took the towns of Anclam and Demmain, and exacted tribute from the whole country.

Amidst such numbers of invaders, it was in vain that the king of Prussia faced about to every incursion. While he pursued one body, another penetrated from behind; and even while he was victorious, his territories were every day diminishing. The greater part of his dominions was laid under contribution, most of his strong cities were taken, and he had no resources but in the generosity of the British parliament, and his own extensive abilities. From the succours of the English he could derive very little advantage, particularly as the Hanoverians were restrained by treaty from acting in his favour. The ministry, however, in order to give him all possible assistance, planned an enterprize against the coasts of France; which, by causing a diversion in that part of the kingdom, would draw off the attention of the enemy from Prussia, and give that monarch time to respire. Beside this intention, England also hoped to give a blow to their marine, by destroying such ships as were building, or were laid up in
the

*Expedition
against
Rochford.*

the harbour of Rochford, against which place their operations were principally intended. The English ministry kept the object of the enterprize a profound secret; and France was for some time filled with apprehensions, until at length the fleet appeared before Rochford, where the commanders spent some time in deliberating how to proceed. After some consultation, it was determined to secure the little island of Aix, an easy conquest, and of no great benefit to the invaders. In the mean time, the militia of the country, recovering from their consternation, had leisure to assemble, and there was the appearance of two camps upon the shore. The commanders, therefore, who, from the badness of the weather were prevented from landing, now began to fear a miscarriage of their enterprize. They took into consideration the badness of the coast, the danger of landing, the time the city had been preparing for defence, and the improbability of reducing it by any other means than a sudden attack. They desisted, therefore, from their operations, and unanimously resolved to return home, without making any attempt.

From this expedition the king of Prussia could reap but very little advantage; and such was the despondence among the English, that the ministry entertained thoughts of abandoning his cause. It was supposed that no military efforts could save him; and that the only hope remaining was to make the best terms possible with his victorious enemies. The king of Great Britain was actually meditating a negotiation of this nature, when his distressed ally expostulated with him to the following purpose: "Is it possible that your majesty can have so little fortitude and constancy, as to be dispirited by a small reverse of fortune? Are our affairs so ruinous that they cannot be repaired? Consider the step you have made me undertake, and remember you are the cause of all my misfortunes. I should never have abandoned my former alliances, but for your flattering assurances. I do not now repent of the treaty concluded between us; but I entreat that you will not ingloriously leave me at the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the powers of Europe." In this terrible situation, the British ministry resolved, more from motives of generosity than of interest, to support his declining cause; and success, that had for a long time forsaken her arms, began to return with double spendor.

The

The East was the quarter in which this auspicious reverse of fortune began to be displayed. The war in our Asiatic territories had never been wholly suspended. For a long time after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, it was carried on with doubtful success; but at length, by the conduct of Mr. Clive, the affairs of the English seemed to gain the ascendancy. This gentleman had at first entered the company's service in a civil capacity; but afterwards gave up his clerkship, and joined the troops as a volunteer. In this capacity he not only displayed courage, but such conduct, expedition, and military skill, as raised him in a few years to the first rank in the army. His first conspicuous achievement was the clearing the province of Arcot. The French general was soon after made prisoner; and the nabob, whom the English supported, was reinstated in the government, of which he had formerly been deprived.

The French, discouraged by these misfortunes, and sensible of their own inferiority in this part of the globe, sent over to Europe a commissary, with the view of restoring peace. A convention between the two companies was accordingly concluded; importing that the territories taken on either side, since the conclusion of the last peace, should be mutually restored; that the nabobs, advanced by the influence of either party, should be acknowledged by both; and that for the future, neither should interfere in the differences that might arise between the princes of the country. But this treaty, which promised such quiet to both parties, proved of short duration. In a few months they renewed their operations, no longer under the name of auxiliaries, but as rivals in arms, in government, and in commerce.

The prince of the greatest power in that country, declared war against the English from motives of personal resentment; and levying a numerous army, laid siege to Calcutta. This was one of the principal British forts in that part of the world; but not being in such a state as to defend itself against the attack even of barbarians, it was taken, and the garrison, to the number of a hundred and forty-six persons, made prisoners. They expected the usual treatment of captives of war; but soon found what mercy was to be expected from a savage conqueror. They were all crowded together into a narrow prison, called the Black-Hole, of about eighteen feet square, and admitting air only by two small iron windows to the west, which by no means afforded a sufficient circulation. Such

*Calcutta
taken, and
the prisoners
thrown
into the
Black-Hole.*

a situa-

a situation would have been intolerable in the coldest regions; but in the climate of India it was peculiarly pestilential. Their first efforts, upon perceiving the effects of their horrid confinement, was to break open the door of the prison; but as it opened inward, they found the attempt impracticable. They next endeavoured to excite the compassion, or the avidity of the guard, by offering him a large sum of money for his assistance in removing them to separate prisons; but with this request he was not able to comply, as the viceroi was asleep, and no person dared to disturb him. They were now, therefore, left to die without hopes of relief; and the prison was filled with groans, shrieks, contest, and despair. This turbulence, however, soon after sunk into a calm, still more hideous. Their strength was exhausted, and nothing remained but an expiring languor. In the morning, when the keepers came to visit the prison, all was horror, silence, and desolation. Of a hundred and forty-six who had entered alive, twenty-three only survived, and of these the greater part died of putrid fevers upon being set free.

The destruction of this important fortress interrupted the successes of the English company; but in a short time, the scale was again turned in their favour, by the fortune of Mr. Clive, seconded by the activity of an English fleet, under the command of admiral Watson. In the number of those who in this part of the world experienced the power of the English, was the famous Tullagee Angria, a piratical prince, who had long infested the Indian ocean, and made the princes on the coast his tributaries. He maintained a great number of galleys, with which he attacked the largest ships, and generally with success. As the company had been greatly molested by his depredations, a resolution was formed of attacking this formidable enemy in his own fortress. Admiral Watson, and colonel Clive, therefore sailed into his harbour of Geria; and though they sustained a warm fire as they entered, they soon set all his fleet on fire, and obliged his fort to surrender at discretion. Here the conquerors found a large quantity of warlike stores, and effects to a considerable amount.

*The pirate
Angria is
taken.*

After demolishing this fortress, colonel Clive proceeded to take revenge for the cruelty practised upon the English at Calcutta. About the beginning of December, he arrived at Balasore, in the kingdom of Bengal. He met with little opposition either to the fleet or the army, until they

they came before Calcutta, which seemed resolved to stand a regular siege. The admiral, with two ships, having arrived before the town, he received from all the batteries a furious fire, which he soon returned with greater execution, and in less than two hours obliged them to abandon their fortifications. *Calcutta retaken.*

Soon after these successes, Hugly, a city of great trade, was reduced with as little difficulty as the former; and all the store-houses and granaries belonging to the viceroy of Bengal were destroyed. This barbarous prince, in order to repair these losses, assembled an army of ten thousand horse, and fifteen thousand foot, and declared a firm resolution of expelling the English from all their settlements in that part of the world. On receiving intelligence of his march, colonel Clive, obtaining a reinforcement of men from the admiral's ships, advanced with his little army to meet these numerous forces. He attacked the enemy in three columns; and though the numbers were so disproportioned, victory soon declared in favour of the English. *Successes of colonel Clive.*

A conquest so easily obtained by a small body of foreigners soon rendered the viceroy of Bengal contemptible to his own subjects. His cowardice now rendered him despicable, as his former cruelty odious. A conspiracy, therefore was projected against him by Ali Khan, his prime minister; and the English having private intimation of the design, they resolved to second it with all their endeavours. With this view, colonel Clive, knowing that he had a friend in the enemy's camp, marched forward, and soon came up with the viceroy, who had by this time recruited his army. After a short contest, Clive was as usual victorious. The whole Indian army was put to flight, and routed with terrible slaughter. Ali Khan, who first incited his master to this undertaking, concealed his attachment to the English, until he saw there was no danger from his perfidy. But upon the assurance of the victory he openly espoused the side of the conquerors, and in consequence of his private services, was, by order of colonel Clive, proclaimed viceroy of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, in the room of the former nabob, who was solemnly deposed, and soon after put to death by his perfidious successor.

After the conquest of the Indians, colonel Clive turned his arms against the French, who had long contended for empire in that part of the world. In a short time, Chandernagore, a French settlement higher up the Ganges than Calcutta, was forced to submit to the English power. The

goods and money found in this place were considerable ; but the loss of the settlement affected the vanquished yet more. Thus, in one campaign, through the activity of Clive, and the co-operation of the admirals Watson and Pococke, the English became possessed of a territory superior in wealth, fertility, extent, and the number of its inhabitants, to any kingdom in Europe. Above two millions sterling were paid to the company and the survivors of the imprisonment at Calcutta. The soldiers and seamen shared six hundred thousand pounds, and the English power gained an incontestible superiority in the East.

The French, alarmed at this success, sent out a considerable reinforcement under the command of general Lally, an Irishman, from whose bravery and experience they entertained great hopes of retrieving their affairs in India. Lally, though a man of courage, was exceedingly unfit for being connected with a trading company. He was fierce, haughty, and precipitate, not without a mixture of avarice, which tempted him to share in their gain.

Under the direction of this person, however, the affairs of the French for some time seemed to wear a better aspect. He took from the English their settlement of fort St. David's, and plundered the country of the king of Tanjore, in alliance with the enemy. He then entered the province of Arcot, and prepared for laying siege to Madras, the chief settlement of the English on the coast of Coromandel. In the siege of this important place, however, he met with greater difficulties than he expected. The artillery of the garrison was well managed, while on the other side, the French soldiers behaved with the greatest timidity ; nor did even the council of Pondicherry second the ardour of the general. In vain did Lally attempt to lead on his troops to a breach that had been practicable several days. Though it continued open a fortnight, not one dared to venture the assault. To add to his embarrassments, he was ill supplied with provisions ; and he found that the garrison had been strengthened by a reinforcement. In despair of success, therefore, he raised the siege ; and this miscarriage so dispirited the troops, that they seemed to prosecute every succeeding operation with the greatest reluctance.

During these contests, an enterprize seemed to be meditating in a quarter where the English least suspected any hostile design. The Dutch, under pretence of reinforcing

ing their garrisons in Bengal, equipped an armament of seven ships, which were ordered to sail up the Ganges, and render their fort at Chincura so formidable, as to exclude all other nations from the salt-petre trade, which was carried on at that place, and thus monopolize the commodity. This design, however, colonel Clive judged fit to oppose. He accordingly informed the Dutch commander by a letter, that he could not permit the accomplishment of his enterprize, as he foresaw that it would be detrimental to the commerce of Europe. To this message the Dutchman replied, that he had no such designs of a monopoly as were imputed to him, and he only requested the liberty to land and refresh his troops. This, appearing reasonable, was quickly granted. But the Dutch commander was no sooner informed that the ships, intended to second his operations, were come up the river, than he boldly began his march to Chincura; and even took, in his passage up the river, several small vessels belonging to the English, to retaliate for the affront he pretended to have received. Whether the Calcutta Indiaman was sent out upon this occasion to oppose the Dutch, or only pursuing her voyage down the river to England, is uncertain; but she was prevented by the Dutch commander from going onward, and obliged to return to Calcutta. Colonel Clive, when informed of this treatment, was not slow in vindicating the honour of his country; and there being at that time three India ships in the harbour, he instantly gave orders that they should sail towards the Dutch fleet, and sink them if they offered to resist. The command was received, and would have been executed with great alacrity; but, after a few broadsides, the Dutch commander struck, and his example was followed by the rest of the fleet.

Meanwhile, the operations against the French were carried on with great success. The troops, headed by colonel Coote, an officer of prudence and valour, marched against general Lally, with the resolution of coming to a decisive engagement. On his march he made himself master of the city of Wandewash; he afterwards reduced the fortress of Carangoly, and at length came up with the French general, who had no thoughts of declining the engagement. Early in the morning, the French advanced within three quarters of a mile of the English line; and the cannonading began with great fury on both sides. The engagement continued with obstinacy until about two in the afternoon, when the French gave way, and

fled towards their camp. They soon, however, abandoned this retreat, leaving their baggage, cannon, and the field of battle, to the conquerors.

In consequence of this victory, the city of Arcot was retaken; and nothing now remained to the French, of all their former dominions in India, but the strong town of Pondicherry, their most important settlement in that country. As soon as the adjacent fortresses were reduced, colonel Coote sat down before this city, in the resolution of blockading it by land, while admiral Stevens shut up the harbour by sea. A regular siege, on account of the periodical rains, was at that time impracticable; but neither the rains, nor the inclemency of the climate, were able to abate the ardour of the besiegers. The blockade was continued, and the garrison so closely pressed, that it was reduced to extreme distress. Lally, however, was determined to hold out the place to the last. During this interval, fortune seemed to give the besieged an opportunity of relief, had it been seized with vigour. By one of those dreadful tempests, common in that climate, a large part of the English fleet, employed in blocking up the harbour, was wrecked. Lally wrote the most pressing letters to the French residents at the Dutch settlements, to be supplied with provisions; but, to his mortification, instead of seeing the French boats come to his relief, he only saw, in less than four days, the English admiral returning into the harbour, after repairing the damage which his ships had sustained. Lally, though he saw his troops consuming with fatigue and famine, persevered, with a savage obstinacy, to hold out; until at length, finding that a breach had been made in the rampart, and that only one day's provision remained, he permitted a signal to be made for ceasing hostilities. Notwithstanding this measure, he continued to act with the unaccountable perverseness of his temper: he sent a paper filled with the bitterest reproaches against the English; and alleged, that he would not treat upon honourable terms with an enemy that had transgressed all the laws of honour. He at last surrendered the place, not in his own person, but permitted some inferior officers in the garrison to obtain terms of capitulation. By this important conquest, the French power in India was overthrown; and the chief part of the territory and trade of that vast peninsula, from the Indus to the Ganges, was now annexed to the British empire.

While

While the British arms were successful in the East, *War in America.* they were acquiring yet greater glory in the Western world. Under the administration of the celebrated Mr. Pitt, afterwards earl of Chatham, a spirit of vigour and enterprize animated the national counsels, and pervaded even the body of the people. The consequences of the former ill-conducted counsels still seemed to continue in America. The generals sent over to manage the operations of the war, loudly accused the timidity and delays of the natives, whose duty it was to unite in their own defence. The natives, on the other hand, as warmly remonstrated against the pride, avarice, and incapacity of those sent over to command them. General Shirley, who had been appointed to the supreme command on that continent, had been for some time recalled, and replaced by lord Loudon; and this nobleman also soon after returning to England, three several commanders were put at the head of separate operations. General Amherst conducted the expedition designed against Cape Breton. Another was consigned to general Abercrombie, against Crown Point and Ticonderago; and the third, against Fort Du Quesne, was given to brigadier-general Forbes.

The island of Cape Breton had been taken from the French during the preceding war, but had been restored at the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. As it afforded the French a convenient harbour for annoying the British trade, as well as for carrying on a fishery, the wresting it again from that nation was, therefore, a measure dictated by the soundest policy. The fortrefs of Louisburgh, by which it was defended, had been strengthened by art, but was still more secure from its situation. The garrison also was numerous, the commander vigilant, and every precaution taken to oppose a landing. The intrepidity of the English, however, surmounted every obstacle, and the place surrendered by capitulation: the fortifications were soon after demolished.

A.D. 1758.

Louisburgh taken.

The expedition to fort Du Quesne was equally successful; but that against Crown Point proved abortive. As Abercrombie approached Ticonderago, he found the enemy deeply intrenched at the foot of the fort, and farther secured by trees, which had been cut down, and their branches pointed towards him. These obstacles the ardour of the assailants attempted to surmount; but as the enemy, being secure, took aim at leisure, a terrible slaughter ensued; and the general, after repeated efforts, was obliged to order a retreat. He therefore returned

with his troops to his camp at Lake George, whence he had taken his departure.

The British ministry, sensible that a single effort carried on in so extensive a country, could never reduce the enemy, it was resolved to attack them in several parts of the continent at once. Preparations were therefore made for the next year's campaign, and expeditions driven forward against three different parts of North America at the same time. General Amherst, now commander in chief, with a body of twelve thousand men, was to attack Crown Point, which had hitherto baffled all the efforts of the British arms. General Wolfe, in the opposite quarter, was to enter the river St. Lawrence, and undertake the siege of Quebec, the capital of the French dominions in America; while general Prideaux, and sir William Johnson, were to attempt a French fort, near the cataracts of Niagara.

The last named expedition was the first that succeeded. The fort of Niagara was a place of great importance, and commanded the communication between the northern and western French settlements. The siege was begun with vigour, and promised an easy conquest; but general Prideaux was killed in the trenches, by the bursting of a mortar. The command of the enterprize now devolved upon general Johnson, who omitted nothing to push forward the vigorous operations of his predecessor. During the siege, a body of French troops attempted to relieve the fort; but Johnson attacked them with intrepidity and success; and in less than an hour their whole army was put to the rout. The garrison soon after surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The success of general Amherst was less splendid, though not less serviceable. Upon arriving at the destined place, he found both the forts of Crown Point and Ticonderago deserted and demolished.

A.D. 1759.

*Surrender
of Fort
Niagara.*

*Expedition
to Quebec.*

There now remained but one grand and decisive blow to give Britain the exclusive possession of all North America. This was the taking of Quebec, the capital of Canada, a city handsomely built, populous, and flourishing. The naval part of the expedition was intrusted to admiral Saunders, while the siege by land was committed to the conduct of general Wolfe, a young officer who had distinguished himself on many former occasions, particularly at the siege of Louisburgh. This enterprize was attended with such a combination of difficulties, as might have been sufficient to discourage the most resolute commander. The situation of the town on the side of a great river, the fortifications with which it was secured, the inaccessible

nature

nature of the country, the great number of vessels and floating batteries which the enemy had provided for the defence of the river, the numerous body of savages constantly hovering round the British army; all these circumstances seemed to threaten the assailants with an unfortuate issue to their attempt. The general himself was perfectly sensible of the difficulty of the undertaking. The only prospect of attempting it with success, was by landing, in the night, below the town, a body of troops, who were to clamber up the banks of the river, and take possession of the ground on the back of the city. This attempt, however, appeared peculiarly discouraging. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the bank above lined with centinels, the landing-place so narrow as to be easily missed in the dark, and the steepness of the ground such as hardly to be practicable in the day-time. All these difficulties, however, were surmounted by the conduct of the general, and the bravery of his troops. Colonel Howe, at the head of the light infantry and the Highlanders, ascending the woody precipices with admirable courage and activity, dislodged a small body of the French that defended a narrow path-way up the bank. Monsieur de Montcalm, the French commander, was no sooner apprized that the British had gained these heights, which he had deemed inaccessible, than he resolved to hazard a battle. An engagement therefore began, the most desperate that had been fought during the war. The French general was slain, and the second in command shared the same fate. General Wolfe was stationed on the right, where the attack was most warm. As he stood conspicuous in the front line, he had been aimed at by the enemies marksmen, and received a shot in the wrist, which however did not oblige him to quit the field. Having wrapped a handkerchief round his hand, he continued giving orders without the least emotion, and advanced at the head of the grenadiers with their bayonets fixed. But a second ball more fatal, pierced his breast; so that, unable to proceed, he leaned on the shoulder of a soldier that was next him. While he was struggling in the agonies of death, and just expiring, he heard a voice cry, "They run!" upon which he seemed for a moment to revive, and asking, who ran? was informed the French. Expressing his wonder that they ran so soon, and unable to gaze any longer, he sunk on the soldier's breast, and his last words were, "I die happy!" The fate of this brave general was universally lamented

by the nation, which has since paid his memory the highest honours, and will, to the latest times, regard him as one of her most illustrious commanders.

*Quebec
jurienlers.*

This victory was followed with the surrender of Québec, which the French, the next season, made a vigorous effort to retake; but by the resolution of governor Murray, and the appearance of a British fleet under the command of lord Colville, they were obliged to abandon the enterprize. The whole province of Canada was soon after reduced by the prudence and activity of general Amherst, who obliged the French army to capitulate. To these conquests, about the same time, was added the reduction of the island of Guadaloupe, under commodore Moore, and general Hopson; an acquisition of great importance, but which was restored at the succeeding peace.

*War in
Germany.*

In Europe, the efforts of the British, and the operations of their great ally, the king of Prussia, were also at this time extraordinary. In the depth of winter, the French and Imperialists sat down and formed the siege of Leipzig. The capture of that city would have been fatal to the interest of his Prussian majesty, and therefore, by one of those rapid marches, for which he was remarkable, he arrived at the place with his army, before the enemy had any intelligence of his approach. Such was the terror of his arms, that even vanquished as he seemed, the French, though superior in numbers, raised the siege, and retreated. He was resolved to pursue, and at length overtook them at a village called Rosbach, where he gained so complete a victory, that night alone saved their army from total destruction.

*Batt'e of
Rosbach.*

Meanwhile the Austrians, in another part of the empire, were victorious, and had made prisoners the prince of Bevern, the king of Prussia's general. The king, immediately after the last battle, again undertook a march of two hundred miles in the depth of winter, and came up with the Austrian army near Breslau. He there disposed his forces with his usual celerity and judgment, and obtained another bloody victory, in which he made not less than fifteen thousand prisoners. Breslau, with a garrison of ten thousand men, surrendered soon after.

These successes afforded the Hanoverians fresh hopes of being able to expel the French from their territories. Soon after the capitulation of Closter Seven, both sides began to complain that the treaty was not strictly observed. The Hanoverians exclaimed against the rapacity of the French general, and the brutality of his soldiers;

while the French, on the other hand, accused the former of insolence and insurrection; and, sensible of their own superiority, resolved to exact from the electoral subjects a strict observance of the agreement. The Hanoverians, provoked by the oppression of the French tax-gatherers, and ardent to take arms, only wanted a commander to conduct them: this they soon found in prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, a general of great military talents.

This sudden insurrection of the Hanoverians proved extremely fortunate for the interests of the king of Prussia, who, from this time, opposed the enemy upon more equal terms. As soon as prince Ferdinand had put himself at the head of the Hanoverian army, his Britannic majesty, in a speech to his parliament, observed, that the late successes of his ally in Germany had given his affairs a happy turn, which it would be necessary to improve. The commons concurred in his sentiments, and liberally granted supplies, both for the service of the king of Prussia, and for enabling the Hanoverian army to act vigorously in conjunction with him.

Great Britain, from her natural military ardour, seemed now desirous of sharing on the continent those dangers of which hitherto she had only been a spectator; and this passion was not less gratifying to the king, from his native attachment, than from a desire of revenge upon the plunderers of his country. Mr. Pitt, who had at first come into popularity and power by opposing such measures, was now prevailed on to adopt them with even greater ardour than any of his predecessors. In order to indulge the general inclination of assisting the king of Prussia, the duke of Marlborough was at first sent into Germany with a small body of British forces, to join prince Ferdinand, whose conduct had given great hopes of his being soon able to produce a happy change in the affairs of the continent. After some small advantages gained by the allied army at Crevelt, the duke of Marlborough dying, the command of the English troops devolved on lord George Sackville; between whom and the commander in chief there unfortunately arose a misunderstanding, which was productive of fatal effects in the subsequent battle of Minden. The cause of their mutual disgust is not clearly known; but it is imagined that the extensive genius, and the inquisitive spirit of the English general, were by no means agreeable to his superior in command, who had his eye on some pecuniary advantages which

The Hanoverians take arms, and are headed by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.

Duke of Marlborough sent to Germany with a body of troops. Lord George Sackville succeeds to the command of the British army.

A.D. 1760.

*Battle of
Minden.*

which the other was unwilling to permit. But whatever was the ground of their resentment, both armies advancing near the town of Minden, the French began the attack with great vigour, and a general engagement of the infantry ensued. Lord George, at the head of the British and Hanoverian horse, was stationed at some distance on the right of the infantry, from which they were divided by a scanty wood that bordered on a heath. The French infantry giving ground, the prince thought this a favourable opportunity to pour down the horse among them, and accordingly sent lord George orders to advance. Whether these orders were unintelligible, or contradictory, seems still to be matter of dispute; but, if rightly delivered, they were ill obeyed. Lord George was immediately recalled, tried by a court-martial, found guilty, and declared incapable of serving in any military command for the future. The enemy, however, were repulsed with considerable loss in all their attacks; and at length giving way, were pursued to the very ramparts of Minden.

After this success, a considerable reinforcement was sent to the British army in Germany, which therefore now amounted to above thirty thousand men; and the whole nation was flushed with the hopes of immediate and signal conquest. But these hopes soon vanished on finding victory and defeat alternately succeeding each other. The allies were worsted at Corbach; but retrieved their honour at Endorf. A victory at Warbourg followed shortly after, as did another at Zierenberg; but they suffered a defeat at Compen, after which both the French and allied armies went into winter-quarters.

The efforts of Great Britain, at this time, in every quarter of the globe, and the expence of her military operations, were such as had never before been made or supported by any nation. A large body of British forces commanded the extensive peninsula of India. Another army of twenty thousand men confirmed their conquests in North America. Thirty thousand men were employed in Germany; and several other bodies were dispersed in the different garrisons in various parts of the world. But what transcended all was her naval force, which carried command wherever it came, and had totally annihilated the French power on the ocean. The courage and the conduct of the British admirals had surpassed in fame the transactions of any former period; and every successive event conspired to raise the nation to the pinnacle of human grandeur.

Such

Such was the glorious situation of public affairs, when the death of the king suspended for a while the national triumph. On the 25th of October, at his palace at Kensington, his majesty, without having complained of any previous disorder, was found by his domestics expiring in his chamber. He had arisen at his usual hour, and said to his attendants, that as the weather was fine, he would take a walk into the gardens. In a few minutes after his return, being left alone, he was heard to fall upon the floor. The noise bringing his attendants into the room, they lifted him into bed, where he, with a faint voice, desired that the princess Amelia might be sent for; but before she could reach the apartment, he expired. An attempt was made to bleed him; but without effect. Upon opening the body, the surgeons discovered that the right ventricle of the heart was ruptured, and that a great quantity of blood was discharged.

Oct. 25.
The king's
death,

George the Second died in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign; lamented by his subjects, and in the midst of victory. He was in his temper sudden and violent; but steadfastly attached to those who had once obtained his favour or protection. Destitute himself of any shining abilities, he neither admired nor rewarded them in others. His public character was marked with a predilection for his native country; and his private, with a degree of frugality, which ill suited the splendor of a great and opulent monarch.

and cha-
racter.

I N D E X.

The Numbers expressed by Letters refer to the Volume, those by Figures to the Page.

A.

ACT de Heretico Comburendo, passed in the reign of Henry IV. to suppress the followers of Wickliffa, i. 293.

— relative to high treason, ii. 276.

— for septennial parliaments, ii.

335.

Adventurers, Saxon, a number of, establish the three kingdoms of the East-Angles, Mercia, East Saxony, or Essex, i. 5.

Agag, a name given to Cromwell by the Scotch fanatics, ii. 145.

Aix-la-Chapelle, congress and treaty at, ii. 369.

Alban's, St. battle of, the first between the houses of York and Lancaster, i. 327.

Albemarle, earl, particularly noted in the reign of Henry III. for his turbulent disposition and unlawful practices, i. 167. Is excommunicated by the pope's legate, Pandolf, ib.

Algernon Sydney, trial of, ii. 242. His execution, ib.

Alfred the Great, a Saxon king of England, gave early marks of those great virtues, and shining abilities, which rendered his name so illustrious, i. 14. Had hardly taken possession of the crown when his presence was required to oppose the Danes, whose superiority force his few troops to yield, ib. Collects new forces, and fights one year eight battles with the enemy, 15. New swarms of them arriving, the Saxons are reduced to despair, and Alfred to seek shelter in the meanest disguises, ib. News of

the success of the earl of Devonshire against them, induces him to quit his retreat, and he enters the Danish camp in the disguise of a harper, 16. Remarking their supine security, he dispatches messengers to his subjects to meet him in arms, and accordingly discomfits the Danes with great slaughter, ib. Now enjoying an interval of twelve years peace, he provides against the return of the like calamities, by maintaining a naval force, 17. Vigorously attacks again the Danes, takes several of their ships, and hangs up the prisoners as pirates, 18. Tranquillity restored to the nation, ib. Alfred gives encouragement to learning and learned men, 19. Introduces and encourages all useful manufactures, ib. His death and character, ib. Issue, 20.

Alfred, elder brother of Edward the Confessor, how cut off by the contrivance of king Harold and earl Godwin, i. 36.

Ambrosius, of Roman descent, chosen by the Britons to be their leader against the Saxons, i. 4.

America, emigration to, in the reign of Charles I. ii. 78.

Amherst, general, reduces the province of Canada, ii. 392.

Anarchy and distraction, all England in a state of, on the death of king John, i. 163.

Angria, the pirate, taken by admiral Watson, ii. 384.

Anjou, duke of, his pretensions to queen Elizabeth how frustrated, ii. 16.

Anne,

Anne, of Cleves, married to Henry VIII. i. 425. Disliked, ib. Divorced, 427.

— princess, king James II's favourite daughter, abandons him in his distress, ii. 260.

— queen, history of the reign of, ii. 281. State of parties in the council, ib. War with France, 282. Marlborough is appointed general of the allied army, 283. His progress in Flanders, ib. Is created a duke, ib. Fruitless expedition to Cadiz, ib. Success of the English at Vigo, ib. Admiral Bembow's engagement with Du Cassé in the West Indies, ib. The queen assembles a new parliament, 284. Progress of the allies, 285. Marlborough marches into Germany, 286. Is joined by prince Eugene, ib. Battle of Blenheim, 287. Marshal Tallard made prisoner, 288. The allies obtain a complete victory, ib. Marlborough obtains the manor of Woodstock, where a palace is built for him at the public expence, 289. The English take Gibraltar, ib. The Spaniards make a fruitless attempt to retake Gibraltar, 290. King of Spain lands in England, 291. The earl of Peterborough besieges Barcelona, which is obliged to surrender, ib. The garrison surrenders, ib. War in Flanders, 292. Battle of Ramilies, ib. State of parties in England, 293. Disasters of the English and Dutch troops in Spain, 294. Miscarriage of the enterprize against Toulon, ib. Disasters at sea, ib. Treaty of union between England and Scotland, 295. Stipulations therein, 296. The Scots dissatisfied with losing their ancient and independent government, 297. The union opposed by the Tories, and upon what motives, 298. Mrs. Masham possesses great favour with the queen, ib. Intrigues of Harley, afterwards created Earl of Oxford, 299. Meeting of the first British parliament, ib. Discontent of Marlborough and Godolphin, 300. Account of Dr. Sacheverel, 301. His trial, 302. Tumults in London, 303. A new parliament, 304. Marlborough returns to Flanders, and leads on the allied army to great, but dear-bought victories, ib. Battle of Malplaquet, 305. The allied army remain masters of the field, but their number of slain is greater, ib. Lewis continues desirous of peace, and re-

solves once more to solicit a conference, ib. The duke of Marlborough's influence at home is at an end, 306. Insolence of his duchess, 307. The duke begs leave, in a letter to the queen, to resign all his employments, ib. The queen resolves to change the ministry, 308. Dissolution of the Whig ministry, 309. Marlborough becomes an object of hatred and reproach, ib. Affair of Guiscard, who attempts to stab Harley, establishes his credit with his party and the queen, 310. Harley is appointed minister, ib. Dismissal of Marlborough, 311. Negotiations for peace, 312. The conferences opened at Utrecht, 313. The queen's measures obstructed by the allies, ib. A desperate party in the kingdom, 314. In this dilemma a private negotiation is set on foot with France, ib. The duke of Ormond invested with the supreme command of the British forces, ib. The Dutch not disposed to acquiesce to terms of peace, 315. The allies feel the importance of the loss they had sustained by the defection of England, ib. Bolingbroke sent over to France to remove all obstructions to the separate treaty, 316. Duke of Hamilton and lord Mohun killed in a duel, ib. Marlborough retires to the continent, ib. Peace is proclaimed, 317. Substance of the treaty between Great Britain and France, ib. The allies soon conclude a peace with their enemy, 318. Mr. Steele expelled the house of commons, ib. Diffensions of the ministers, ib. Aims of Bolingbroke seconded by lady Masham, 319. The queen seized with a lethargic disorder, ib. Her death and character, 320.

Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, quarrel of William Rufus with him, i. 70. Considered as a martyr to the cause of the church, 71. Reinstated in his see by Henry I. 73.

Anson, commodore, sails to the South Sea, ii. 350. Takes the Spanish galleon and other prizes, 351.

Armada, invincible, some account of, ii. 32. Arrives in the Channel, 34. Attacked and dispersed, ib. Returns to Spain greatly reduced, 35.

Armorica, the Britons, that abandoned their native country rather than submit to the Saxons, retire to the province of, i. 3.

- Arteville, James, a brewer of Ghent, who, from a private citizen, becomes too powerful for a subject, i. 243. Consulted by Edward III. ib.
- Arthur, prince, son of king John's late brother Geoffrey, is espoused by Philip of France to make good his claim to the crown of England, i. 137. Flies with his mother for protection to Philip, 139. Is made prisoner by king John, and at length cruelly murdered by him in the castle of Rouen, 140.
- prince, son to Henry VII. birth of, i. 359. His marriage with Catherine of Arragon, 374. Dies regretted, ib.
- Afcuc, Anne, burnt with others for denying the real presence, i. 443.
- Affassination plot against king William, ii. 276. Discovered, 277.
- Athelstan, though illegitimate, succeeds Edward the Elder in the throne of England, i. 20. Victorious over all his enemies, Danes, Scots, and others, is regarded as one of the most active and discerning princes of those times, 21.
- Athelwold, his deceit to obtain Elfrida in marriage, proves fatal to him, i. 27.
- Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, committed to the Tower, ii. 340. Bill of pains and penalties against him, ib. The bill, by ministerial influence, passes against him, and he is driven into exile, 341. His interview with lord Bolingbroke, at Calais, ib.
- Aughrim. See Ginkle.
- Augustine, the monk, sent by pope Gregory the Great, to convert the British Saxons to Christianity, i. 6. His reception by king Ethelbert, favourable, ib. Is consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, with authority over all the British churches, 7.
- Azay, treaty of, humiliating to Henry II. i. 120.
- Azincour, memorable battle of, full account of, i. 299, & seq. Extremely fatal to France, 301.
- B.**
- B**ABINGTON's conspiracy, in which Mary, queen of Scots was concerned, some account of, ii. 20. Discovered, and the conspirators executed, 21.
- Bacon, chancellor, disgrace of, ii. 59.
- Bainham, and others, burnt as heretics, i. 406.
- Baliol, king of Scotland. See Edward I.
- Balmerino, lord, glories in the cause for which he fell, ii. 367.
- Banbury, battle of, i. 336.
- Bannockburn, the English defeated by the Scots in the battle of, i. 229.
- Barcelona surrenders to the earl of Peterborough, ii. 291.
- Barebone's Parliament, ii. 156.
- Barons, Norman, insurrection of, against William the Conqueror, i. 57. Suppressed, 58.
- , their demands on king John, occasion, in the end, bloody civil wars, and scenes of distress in England, i. 153, & seq. See John, King, and Henry III.
- Becket, Thomas à, archbishop of Canterbury, history of, i. 93. Quarrel between him and king Henry II. 94. For his proceedings and transactions to the time of his murder, see Henry Plantaganet.
- Bedford, duke of, protector and guardian of the kingdom, under his nephew Henry VI. ii. 304. See Henry VI.
- Bedloe's narrative of the Popish plot, ii. 219.
- Bembow, admiral, his engagement with Du Cassé in the West Indies, ii. 283.
- Beringaria, daughter of the king of Navarre, married to Richard I. of England, i. 126.
- Bertha, a Christian, queen to Ethelbert, king of Kent, uses every art of persuasion and address to make a proselyte of her husband, and succeeds, i. 6.
- Bible, translated into the Saxon language in the reign of Athelstan, i. 21.
- Bishops, assembly of, in the reign of Henry II. for what purpose held, i. 96.
- , Protestation of the, ii. 96. Their impeachment, ib.
- , six, petition king James II. ii. 253. Are committed to the Tower, 254. Their trial, and acquittal, ib.
- Black-heath, battle of, fought with insurgents in the reign of Henry VII. on account of taxes, i. 369.
- Blake, admiral, his engagements with Van Tromp, ii. 153. Takes the Spanish galleons, 163.
- Blakeney, general, defends Stirling-Castle against the rebels, ii. 364. Defends the Fort of St. Philip in Minorca, against the French, but is
- at

- at length obliged to capitulate, 377.
- Blenheim**, account of the battle of, ii. 287.
- Blood**, Thomas, some account of his criminal pursuits, ii. 198.
- Bloreheath**, battle of, wherein the Yorkists are defeated and disperse, i. 329.
- Blunt**, the projector of the South-Sea scheme, some account of, ii. 338.
- Boleyn**, Anne, see Henry VIII. for her history.
- Bolingbroke**, see St. John.
- Bonner**, bishop of London, sent to the Tower, i. 456. Sent to degrade Cranmer 498.
- Bosworth**, battle of, memorable for the defeat and death of Richard III. i. 357.
- Bothwell**, earl, some account of, and his character, ii. 9. Reputed the murderer of lord Darnley, 10. Forces Mary, queen of Scots into a marriage with him, ib. Flies to the Orkneys, and thence to Denmark, where he dies, 11.
- Boyne**, battle of the, ii. 270.
- Braddock**, general, defeated in America, ii. 375.
- Bradshaw**, chosen president of the high court of justice, erected in the Commonwealth, ii. 137.
- Breda**, peace of, ii. 193.
- Bretagne**, state of, in the reign of Edward III. i. 255.
- Bruce**, Robert, aspires to the Scottish crown, i. 218. His intrigues are made known to Edward I. 219. He flies from London, ib. Cites the Scottish nobles to revolt, ib. Is crowned king, 220. Is totally defeated by Aymer de Valence, at Methven, in Perthshire, and takes shelter in the Western Isles, 221. Sallies from his retreat, and obtains a considerable advantage over Aymer de Valence, in the beginning of the reign of Edward II. 222. His success in this reign, 227. Totally defeats the English in the battle of Bannockburn, 229. Invades England, ib. Invades Ireland, but is obliged to return, 230. Settled peaceably in the throne of Scotland, the English renouncing their claim of superiority, 251.
- Buckingham**, duke of, discontented with Richard III. i. 353. Resolves to declare for Henry, earl of Richmond, ib. Opens a negotiation with Richmond to place him on the throne, 354. Heads an information against Richard, ib. His army disperses, and he is taken and executed, 355.
- Buckingham**, trial and condemnation of the duke of, under Henry VIII. i. 388.
- , See Villiers.
- Bull** of the pope, for declaring king Henry III. of full age, i. 169.
- Burgundy**, duke of, his defection from the English, i. 314. He lays siege to Calais, which is raised, 316. Truce between him and England, 317. Treaty between him and Edward IV. 343.
- , duchess of, pratonizes Perkin Warbec, i. 364, & seq.
- Byng**, sir George, defeats the Spanish fleet, ii. 336.
- , admiral, tried, condemned, and executed, ii. 377.
- C.
- CABAL**, the, so called from the initials of five ministers' names, ii. 195. Views of, 200. Dissolution of, 208.
- , of Wallingford House, ii. 172.
- Cabot**, Sebastian, commissioned by Henry VII. to make discoveries westward, i. 377.
- Cade**, John, his insurrection in Kent, attended with dangerous consequences, i. 322. Marches to London at the head of the Kentish rioters, 323. Execution by them of lord Say, ib. The rioters disperse, and their leaders are slain, 324.
- Cadiz**, fruitless expedition to, ii. 283.
- Calais**, besieged by Edward III. i. 263. Reduced after a twelve-month's siege, 264. Edward's cruel resolution in respect to the inhabitants, ib. His queen implores mercy for them, and obtains it, ib. See Philippa.
- , taken by the French, in the reign of queen Mary, i. 501. Effects of this loss on the queen, ib.
- Calcutta**, disasters in the Black Hole of, ii. 383. Retaken, 385.
- Cambridge**, earl of, and lord Scroope, executed for a conspiracy against Henry V. i. 297.
- Cameron**, Dr. his manly composure at his execution, ii. 372.
- Canute** the Dane, afterwards surnamed the Great, establishes his power as king of England, upon a solid foundation,

- dation, i. 34. How he exposed the fallhood of hyperbolic flattery, 35. His last military expedition against Malcolm II. king of Scotland, *ibid.* He dies at Shaftesbury, 36.
- Capel, lord, executed by the commonwealth, ii. 137.
- Cardan, the famous, extols Edward VI. as a prodigy of nature, i. 473.
- Carre, Robert, earl of Somerset, rise of, ii. 53. His connections with lady Frances Howard, 54. Overbury dissuades him from an attempt to marry her, *ib.* Which proves fatal to him, 55. Is found guilty, with lady Frances, of poisoning Overbury, but both are pardoned, 56.
- Carthage, expedition to, ii. 351. Unsuccessful, 352. Clamours of the nation on that account, 353.
- Catharine, queen to Henry V. marries after his death, sir Owen Tudor, and bears him two sons, whence the family of Tudor was raised to distinction, and afterwards mounted the throne of England, i. 304.
- , of Arragon, Henry VIII's marriage with her declared invalid, i. 402. Before her death, she writes to the king a very tender letter, 409.
- Howard, married to Henry VIII. i. 427. Discovery of her dissolute life, 429. Attainted, 430. Beheaded, 431.
- , infanta of Portugal, married to Charles II. ii. 186.
- Catholics, form a conspiracy to shoot queen Elizabeth, ii. 19. Severity of the laws thereupon increased against all of that communion, *ib.*
- Cautionary towns, delivered up by James I. to the Dutch, ii. 57.
- Ceaulin, a Saxon king of Wesssex, dies, and on what account, a miserable exile, i. 9.
- Cecil, first secretary, and afterwards minister of state to queen Elizabeth, ii. 2. Continued prime minister and chief counselor to James I. 45.
- Celibacy of the clergy, first introduced into England, i. 22.
- Cerdic, with his son Kenric, establish the kingdom of the West Saxons, i. 5.
- Censures, papal, king John and his kingdom, absolved from, i. 151.
- Charles, prince of Wales, project of marrying him to a daughter of the king of Spain, ii. 59. His journey on that account to Spain, 60. The match broke off, *ib.* Treaty of marriage between him and the princess Henrietta of France, *ib.* Married to her, 62.
- Charles I. history of the reign of, ii. 62. At his accession to the throne, issues writs for a new parliament, *ib.* Proceedings of this parliament at Westminster, 63. Re-assembled at Oxford on account of the plague, 64. Grants him no supply, and is dissolved, 65. Naval expedition against Spain, *ib.* Second parliament, and proceedings in, *ib.* Impeachment of Buckingham, 66. The king rather than give up his favourite, dissolves the parliament, 67. The king borrows money of the nobility, 68. Ship-money, *ib.* A general loan, and those who refuse are imprisoned, *ib.* Trial for imprisonment, *ibid.* How decided, 69. Many grievancea are felt in the nation, *ib.* War with France, 70. Expedition to the Isle of Rhé, *ib.* Third parliament, 71. Petition of right, *ib.* Perseverance of the commons, crowned with success, 72. Prorogation, *ib.* Felton murders the duke of Buckingham, 73. The news how received by the king, 74. Dissolution of the parliament, 75. Peace with France and Spain, *ib.* Strafford and Laud, associated to the king's counsels, *ibid.* Their characters, *ib.* The Puritans, a sect, equally inimical and dangerous to monarchy, 76. Proclamation of the king, tacitly intimating his intention of calling no more parliaments, 77. Irregular levies of money, *ib.* Severities of the star-chamber and high commission, 78. Emigration to America, *ib.* Trial of Hambden, 79. Discontents in Scotland, 80. The covenant, *ib.* Commotions in Scotland, *ib.* The king levies an army against the Scots, 81. Treaty of peace between the king and the Scots, *ib.* Fourth parliament assembled, after ceasing for upwards of eleven years, *ib.* Its proceedings, 82. Dissolved, 83. Arbitrary conduct of the court, *ibid.* Various methods of raising supplies, *ib.* The Scots march an army to Newcastle, 84. The king raises an army, *ib.* Rout of the English at Newburn, *ib.* Treaty of Rippon, 85. Meeting of the long parliament, 86. Impeachment of the earl of Strafford, 87. His execution, 88. Laud impeached, *ibid.* Finch, the lord-keeper, impeached, but makes his escape, as does also sir Francis

Wyndebreck, the secretary, *ib.* The whole sovereign power in a manner transferred to the commons, 89. The king, from necessity, remains passive, during all their violent operations, 90. Conspiracy in Ireland, 91. Irish insurrection and massacre, 92. The king urges the Scots to send succours into Ireland, but in vain, 93. He applies likewise to the English parliament; but also in vain, *ib.* Views of the English parliament, 94. The Remonstrance, *ib.* The king answers the Remonstrance, *ib.* Proceedings of the commons against the Hierarchy, 95. Round-heads and Cavaliers, *ib.* Protestation of the bishops, 96. Their impeachment, *ib.* Accusation of high treason against lord Kimbolton, and five commoners, sir Arthur Hazlerig, Hollis, Hambden, Pym, and Strode, *ib.* The king goes to the house of commons, and demands the five members, 97. The king goes to Guildhall, 98. His reception in the city, *ib.* Petitions to the commons, 99. Usurpation of the commons, *ib.* The king arrives at York, 100. Preparations for a civil war, 101. Propositions sent by the commons to the king, 102. The king's answer, *ib.* Commencement of the civil war, 103. State of the king's forces, *ib.* The king sends overtures of treaty to the parliament, 104. Messages between the king and parliament, *ib.* The king marches towards Shrewsbury, *ib.* His declaration, 105. Rencounter at Worcester, *ib.* Battle of Edge-hill, 106. The loss of the two armies nearly equal, *ib.* Negotiation at Oxford, 107. Victories of the royalists in the West, *ib.* Death of Hambden and lord Falkland, 108. Parliament at Oxford, *ib.* First instance of two parliaments sitting at the same time, *ib.* The royalists defeated in the battle of Marston Moor, by Cromwell, 109. Treaty of Uxbridge, *ib.* Trial of Laud, 100. His execution, *ib.* The liturgy abolished, *ib.* Presbyterians and independents divide into parties, each professing different views and interests, 111. Forces from Ireland slaughtered without mercy by Fairfax, *ib.* Self-denying ordinance, 112. Battle of Naseby, *ib.* This fatal defeat never recovered by the king, 113. He retires to Oxford, 114. Quits Oxford in disguise, and arrives at the Scottish

camp at Newark, *ib.* Is made prisoner by the Scots, and insulted from the pulpit by their preachers, 115. The parliament enter into a treaty with the Scots to deliver up their prisoner, *ib.* The Scots accordingly deliver him up, 116. The civil war now at an end, the parliament enjoys uncontrolled the dominion of the nation, *ib.* The independents, at the head of which was Oliver Cromwell, predominate in the army, *ib.* Mutiny of the army, 117. The king continues a prisoner at Holmby Castle, *ib.* His person seized there by order of Cromwell, and conducted to the army, over which Cromwell was invested with the supreme command, 118. Cromwell marches towards London, at the head of the army, *ib.* Embezzlement of the public money by the parliament, 119. Oppression of the county-committees, *ib.* The army demands the dismissal of eleven members, *ib.* Fairfax is appointed general of the forces, 120. But is under the influence of Cromwell, *ib.* The city of London petitions against an alteration of the militia, *ib.* The army marches towards London, 121. The speakers of the two houses meet the army on Hounslow-heath, *ib.* The parliament determines to oppose the army, *ib.* The army, however, subdues the parliament, 122. The king is brought to Hampton Court, *ib.* Cromwell's emissaries persuade him of his personal danger, with the view of inducing him to escape, 123. The king privately quits Hampton Court, and flies to the Isle of Wight, *ib.* Becomes there a prisoner, *ib.* The parliament every day become more feeble and factious, 124. The levellers, *ib.* Their disorders suppressed by Cromwell, *ib.* The Scots invade England, but are defeated by Cromwell, who penetrates into Scotland, 125. The parliament regain their liberty, and begin to act with their wonted courage, *ib.* Commissioners sent by the parliament to treat with the king at Newport, *ib.* The treaty proves ineffectual by delay, and the king is again seized by the army, 127. In vain the parliament assert their authority, by disapproving the seizing of the king's person, *ib.* Their last attempt in his favour, when the house was purged, 128. And the remaining members receive the appellation of the Rump, *ib.* Proceedings.

Proceedings of this rump-parliament, *ibid.* Project of trying the king for high treason, 129. He is brought to London, 130. The king's trial, 131. Foreign powers intercede for the king, 132. Four lords, the king's counsellors, request to be banished in his room, *ibid.* The king's execution, 133. The catastrophe, replete with astonishment, grief, and indignation, 134. Description of the king's person, 135. His character, *ibid.*
 Charles II. after his father's death, resolves to try his fortune in Ireland, *ib.* 137. Assumes the title of king; *ib.* Is proclaimed in Scotland, but declines complying with their proposals, 138. The Scots send deputies to treat with him, *ib.* He retires to Jersey, 139. Agrees to treat with the Scots, 140. Their propositions at Breda, *ib.* He finds it necessary to temporize till he should hear from Montrose; who is defeated and executed, 143. He arrives, however, in Scotland, *ibid.* His coronation there, 147. Marches into England; and is pursued by Cromwell, 148. Is defeated in the battle of Worcester, and conceals himself among the boughs of an oak, 149. In great danger of being several times discovered, at length arrives in France, 150. Retires to Cologne, 161. His restoration effected chiefly by general Monk, 179. He is proclaimed, to the great joy of the nation, *ibid.* History of the reign of, *ib.* 180. Idea formed of him when he ascended the throne, *ibid.* New ministry, *ibid.* Act of indemnity, 181. Settlement of the revenue, *ib.* Trial and execution of the régicides, 182. Death of the duke of Gloucester, and the princess of Orange, 183. Princess Henrietta married to the duke of Orleans, *ib.* Dissolution of the convention-parliament, *ib.* The army, except some guards and garrisons, disbanded; *ib.* The duke of York marries lady Anne Hyde, 184. Prelacy restored, *ib.* Insurrection of the millenarians, 185. New parliament, *ib.* Bishops seats restored, *ib.* Act of uniformity, 186. The king's marriage with the infant of Portugal, *ib.* Sale of Dunkirk, 187. Execution of the régicides, Berkstead, Corbet, and Olkey, *ib.* Trial and execution of sir Henry Vane, *ib.* Presbyterian clergy ejected, 188. Decline of Clarendon's credit, 189. Rupture with Holland, *ibid.* Victory of the English, 190. Rupture with France and Denmark; *ibid.* Sea-fight of four days, 191. Victory of the English, *ib.* The Dutch fleet enters the Thames, *ibid.* Fire of London, 192. Peace of Breda, 193. Fall of Clarendon, *ibid.* Triple alliance, 194. The cabal, 195. The king receives a visit from the duchess of Orleans, 196. Death of the duchess of Orleans, 197. The Coventry act, 198. Blood's criminal conduct and capricious lenity imputed to the king on his account, 199. The duke of York declares himself a Catholic, 200. Exchequer shut, 201. Arbitrary proceedings of the court, 202. Attack of the Dutch Smyrna fleet, *ib.* War with Holland, 203. Battle of Solebay, 204. Sandwich killed, *ibid.* A parliament, 205. Proceedings in, *ib.* Declaration of indulgence recalled, 206. The test act, *ib.* A parliament, 207. Vigorous opposition of the commons, *ib.* Dissolution of the cabal, 208. Peace with Holland, *ib.* Considerable alterations made in the ministry, 209. The test bill brought into the house of lords, 210. Dispute between the houses, *ibid.* The king suppresses coffee-houses, 211. Money voted for ship-building, 212. Marriage of the Prince of Orange with the lady Mary, 213. Peace of Nimeguen, *ib.* The Popish plot, *ibid.* Informations of it, thought to be vague and unsatisfactory, 214. Oates's narrative, 215. Godfrey's murder, 217. The parliament testifies greater credulity than even the vulgar, 218. Bedloe's narrative, 219. Trial of Coleman, 220. Trial of Ifeild, Pickering, and Grove, 221. Trial of five Jesuits and Langborne, 222. Wakenham acquitted, *ib.* Trial of the earl of Stafford, 223. Accusation of the treasurer Danby, *ibid.* Dissolution of the parliament, 224. New parliament, 225. The duke of York retires to Brussels, *ibid.* Danby's impeachment, 226. The king changes his council, 227. Proposes limitations on a popish successor, *ib.* Exclusion-bill, 228. Habeas Corpus bill, *ib.* Prorogation and dissolution of the parliament, 229. The duke of York repairs to Scotland, *ib.* Meal-tub plots, 230. Whig and Tory; *ib.* The king's declaration with regard to the illegitimacy of Monmouth, 231. New parliament, *ib.*

- Exclusion-bill, *ib.* Debates on this bill, 232. Passes the house of commons, but is rejected by the lords, 233. The parliament dissolved, 234. New parliament at Oxford, *ib.* Case of Fitz-Harris, 235. The parliament dissolved, *ib.* Charles triumphs over all opposition, 236. Trial and execution of Colledge, 237. Trial of Shaftesbury, *ibid.* Quo Warranto against the city of London, 238. Charters surrendered into the hands of the king, 239. Rye-house plot, 240. Execution of the conspirators, 241. Trial of lord Russell, *ib.* His execution, 242. Trial of Algernon Sydney, *ibid.* His execution, *ibid.* Fatal catastrophe of the earl of Essex, 243. Marriage of the lady Anne to Prince George of Denmark, *ib.* The king's sickness and death, *ib.* Dies in the Romish communion, 244.
- Charta Foresta, ascertaining the jurisdiction and boundaries of the royal forests, i. 164.
- Charter, new, of liberties granted by Henry III. different in a few articles only from those of king John, i. 164. Confirmed, 168. Again ratified with particular solemnity, 178. Signed by Edward I. in Flanders with great reluctance, 209. Who is again obliged to confirm them, on his return to England, 210. See Magna Charta.
- Church, state of, in the reign of Henry VIII. i. 389.
- , Henry VIII. declared by the parliament supreme head of, i. 401.
- Civil War, preparations for, ii. 101.
- Commencement of, 103.
- Claim of Edward III. to the crown of France, i. 245. Unreasonable, but made a pretext to cover animosity, 246.
- Clarence, duke of, brother to Edward IV. forms an alliance with the earl of Warwick, i. 335. Deserts to the king in the night-time, with twelve thousand men, 340. See Warwick. His trial and execution, 344.
- Clarendon, chancellor, decline of his credit, ii. 189. His fall, 193. Withdraws into France, where he dies, 194.
- Claypole, (Mrs.) Cromwell's favourite daughter, upbraids him on his death-bed for his unwarrantable measures, ii. 169.
- Clergy, dissensions of Edward I. with the, i. 205. Put out of the protection of the laws, 206. Their great distress, *ib.* They make submission, 207.
- Clive, general, distinguishes himself in India, ii. 383. & seq. He retakes Calcutta with the assistance of admiral Watson, 385. Reduces Hughly, *ib.* Defeats the Nabob in two pitched battles, who is deposed and put to death, *ib.* Turns his arms against the French, and subdues Chandernagore, *ib.* And in one campaign, through his activity, and the co-operation of the admirals Watson and Pococke, puts the English in possession of an extensive wealthy territory, 386.
- Closter-Seven, treaty of, ii. 381.
- Cobham and Grey, lords, their conspiracy, ii. 45.
- , lord, executed for Lollardism, i. 297. See Lollardism.
- Cœur de Lion, a name which the personal courage of Richard I. procured him, i. 137.
- Coffee-houses suppressed by king Charles II. ii. 211.
- Coffers, methods practised by Henry VIII. to fill his, i. 437.
- Coleman, &c. trial of, on account of the popish plot, ii. 221.
- College, trial and execution of, ii. 237.
- Colleges, Hospitals, &c. the revenues of, seized by Henry VIII. i. 431.
- Commercial company, foreign, dissolved, i. 465.
- Committee of Safety, ii. 173.
- , Secrecy, in the beginning of the reign of George I. ii. 325.
- Commons, house of, origin of the, i. 188.
- Commonwealth, History of the, from the death of Charles I. to the Restoration, ii. 135. The parliament, consisting of an inconsiderable part of the late house of commons, chuses a council of state, 136. Forbids all persons on the penalty of high treason, to acknowledge Charles Stuart, eldest son the late king, as sovereign of England, *ib.* The house of lords voted useless, *ib.* Other regulations, *ib.* Execution of the duke of Hamilton and lord Capel, 137. Charles II. resolves to try his fortunes in Ireland, *ib.* Is proclaimed in Scotland, but declines complying with their proposals, 138. The Scots send deputies to treat with Charles, *ib.* The king retires to Jersey, 139. Agrees to treat with the Scots, *ib.* Their preparations at Breda, 140. Montrose arrives in Scotland, 141. He is defeated and taken, *ib.* Reproached with the breach of the national covenant, 142. Executed, 143. Charles arrives in Scotland, and signs the covenant,

I N D E X.

venant, *ib.* But finds his authority entirely annihilated, and his character degraded, 144. Fairfax resigns his commission in disgust, and Cromwell is declared captain general of all the forces in England, *ib.* He enters Scotland with an army, *ib.* Endeavours by every expedient to bring Ledley, the Scottish general, to a battle, 145. Fanaticism of the Scottish clergy, *ib.* Battle of Dunbar, in which the Scots are put to flight, and pursued with great slaughter, 146. Defeat of the Scots is regarded by the king as a fortunate event, and his intended humiliations or penance is changed into the ceremony of his coronation, 147. Shocked, however, at the nonsense of the formalities he was obliged to submit to, he flies towards the Highlands, *ib.* This incident procured him afterwards better treatment, and more authority, *ib.* He encamps at Torwood, and in vain Cromwell attempts to bring him to an engagement, 148. Marches into England, and is pursued by Cromwell, *ib.* Defeated in the attack of Worcester, and obliged to fly, 149. Conceals himself among the boughs of an oak, *ib.* Rides to the neighbourhood of Bristol in the character of a servant, 150. Goes from Bristol to Dorsetshire, *ib.* Is in great danger of being discovered, *ib.* Embarks at Shoreham in Sussex, and arrives at Feschamp in Normandy, *ib.* Cromwell aspires to the crown, 151. Scotland annexed to the commonwealth of England, *ib.* Ireland entirely subdued, *ib.* The American settlements that had declared for the royal cause obliged to submit, *ib.* Domestic regulations, 152. Dutch war, *ibid.* Cromwell resolves to make himself absolute, 153. He dissolves the parliament, 154. The manner extremely ludicrous, *ibid.* Birth and education of Oliver Cromwell, 155. Barebone's parliament, 156. Negotiation with the Dutch, *ib.* The parliament surrenders its power to Cromwell, who is made protector, 157. Peace with Holland, 158. The brother of the Portuguese ambassador beheaded for murder, 159. Cromwell calls a new parliament, *ib.* Dissolved, 160. Insurrection of the royalists, *ib.* Which is suppressed, 161. The royalists oppressed, *ib.* The king retires to Cologne, *ib.* Cromwell engages in a league with

France, 162. War with Spain, 163. Blake takes the Spanish galleons, *ib.* Penn and Venables take Jamaica, *ib.* A new parliament, 164. Crown offered to Cromwell, 165. Whence the opposition proceeded, 166. He rejects it, 167. Humble petition and advice, framed and offered to the protector by parliament, *ib.* Parliament dissolved, 168. Conspiracy of royalists, detected, *ib.* Discontents in the army, 169. Unhappy state of the protector, *ib.* His sickness, 170. And death, 171. His son Richard declared protector, *ib.* A parliament, *ib.* Cabal of Wallingford-house against the protector, 172. Abdication of Richard, *ib.* Restoration of the rump parliament, *ib.* Expelled, 173. Committee of Safety, *ib.* General Monk, at the head of an army in Scotland, protests against the violence of dissolving the parliament, 174. Negotiation between Monk and the committee of safety, 175. The rump restored, *ib.* Monk enters London, 176. Marches into the city and destroys the gates, *ib.* Secluded members restored, 177. Long parliament dissolved, *ib.* Monk privately receives a message from the king, 178. The new elections go in favour of the king, *ib.* New parliament, *ib.* Granville presents a message from the king to the commons, *ib.* Universal assent given to the king's proposals, 179. And he is proclaimed to the great joy of the nation, *ib.* The king embarks at Schevling and lands at Dover, 180. Enters London amidst universal acclamations, *ib.*

Conscience, liberty of, declaration for, *ii.* 251.

Conspiracy against king William's government, *ii.* 273.

Constitutions of Clarendon, what, *i.* 97.

Condemned by the pope, 98.

Convention, summoned, vote the abdication of king James, *ii.* 263. Converted into a parliament, 265.

Convention with Spain, *ii.* 348.

Coote, colonel, defeats the French in India, *ii.* 388. Pondicherry taken by him, *ib.*

Cope, Sir John, defeated by the rebels in the battle of Preston-pans, *ii.* 362.

Coronation of Charles II. in Scotland, *ii.* 147.

Covenant, framed by the puritans, *ii.* 80.

Coventry Act, *ii.* 198.

Council of state, chosen by the commonwealth parliament, *ii.* 135.

- Court of ecclesiastical commission, ii. 251.
- Court party and country party, distinctions in the reign of George II. ii. 314.
- Cranmer, Thomas, succeeds Wolfey in the king's favour, i. 399. Some account of him, 400. Secretly adopts the protestant tenets, 405. Is constantly attached to queen Anne, 413. Cabals in the council against him, 442. Causes Joan of Kent to be burnt, 457. Severe treatment of, 480. Executed, 499. His character, ib.
- Crecy, signal battle of, won by the English under Edward III. full account of, i. 260, & seq.
- Cromwell, fall of, under Henry VIII. i. 425. Is condemned to death, 426. Executed, 427.
- Cromwell, Oliver, first comes into notice, ii. 109. Appointed general with Fairfax, 112. His conduct in the battle of Na'by, 113. Is at the head of the independents, who predominated in the army, 116. Resolves to seize the king's person, and effects his design, 118. Marches towards London at the head of the army, who unanimously invest him with the supreme command, ib. Demands the dissolution of eleven members of the parliament, 119. Amuses the king with expectations, 120. His emissaries persuade the king of his personal danger, whereupon he flies to the Isle of Wight, 123. Cromwell's views herein, ib. Suppresses the levellers, 124. Defeats the Scots in their invasion of England, 125. Fairfax's commission bestowed on him, 144. He enters Scotland with an army, ib. Defeats the Scots with great slaughter in the battle of Dunbar, 146. Pursues Charles II. on his march from Scotland into England, 148. Defeats his forces at Worcester, 149. He aspires to the crown, 151. Resolves to make himself absolute, 153. Dissolves the parliament by force, 154. His birth and education, 155. Is made protector, and the parliament surrenders its power to him, 157. Calls a new parliament, 159. Dissolves it, 160. Engages in a league with France, 162. Crown offered to him, 165. He rejects it, 167. His unhappy state, 169. His sickness, 170. His death and character, 171.
- Crown, settlement of, at the Revolution, ii. 264.
- Crusade, romantic enterprises of the, i. 63. Another in the reign of Henry II. 118. A third, in which Richard I. engaged, 124.
- Crusade published against king John, i. 147.
- Culloden, the rebels totally defeated by the duke of Cumberland at, ii. 365.
- Cumberland, duke, commands the British army in Flanders, ii. 360. Loses the battle of Fontenoy, ib. Is sent against the rebels in Scotland, and totally defeats the rebels at Culloden, 365. Is sent to Hanover to oppose the French who had invaded it, 380. The army under him reduced to straits after the battle of Hastenbakh, ib. Which produces the treaty of Closter-Seven, 381.
- Cummin, John, chosen regent of Scotland, defeats the English at Roslin under John de Seagrave, i. 216. All the fortresses in Scotland submit to him, ib. But the whole country fell shortly again totally subdued into the hands of Edward I. i. 217. Murder of Cummin, how perpetrated, 220.

D.

- DANBY, earl of, accusation against, ii. 223. His impeachment, 226. Pardoned by the king, yet committed to the Tower, *ibid*.
- Danes invade England, i. 11. Are totally defeated by Egbert, ib. Resolve however to make an establishment in England, 12. Which at length they effect, though not without a variety of discomfitures, 15, & seq. See Alfred and Ethelred.
- Darnley, lord, marries the queen of Scots, ii. 5. His character, ib. Is murdered, or the house he lay in is blown up with gun-powder, 9. See Bothwell.
- Davison, secretary, upon what account tried in the star-chamber, ii. 30.
- Declaration of Charles I. before the civil war began, ii. 105.
- Defender of the Faith, a title obtained by Henry VIII. from the pope, for writing against Luther, i. 391.
- Denmark, prince George of, married to the lady Anne, afterwards queen, ii. 24.
- Deposition, sentence of, passed by the pope against king John, with a grant of the crown of England to the king of France, i. 147.
- Depredations

I N D E X.

Depredations committed in London by eminent citizens upon their neighbours, i. 121.

Derwentwater and Kenmuir, earls of, beheaded for rebellion against George I. ii. 334.

Despensers Le, or Spencer, Hugh, a favourite of Edward II. history of, i. 231. See Edward II. Execution of both Spensers, father and son, 237.

Dettingen, battle, account of, ii. 358.

Dissenters, king William's efforts in favour of, ii. 265.

Divorce, applied for by Henry VIII. at the court of Rome, i. 394. The pope in great perplexity, 395.

Domestic regulations of the commonwealth of England, ii. 151.

Doomsday-book, for what purpose planned, and ordered to be compiled by William the Conqueror, i. 61.

Dorifflaus, Dr. assassinated, and upon what account, ii. 139.

Drake, sir Francis, attacks the Spaniards in South America, and sails round the world, ii. 18. Destroys the fleet at Cadiz, 31. Is one of the admirals sent to attack the Spanish Armada, 33.

Dudley, the chief instrument of Henry the VIIIth's oppressions, i. 375. Punished with Empson, 378.

Dunbar, battle of, in which the Scots are completely defeated by Cromwell, ii. 146.

Dunkirk, sale of, by Charles II. ii. 187.

Dunstan, commonly called St. Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, history of, i. 21.

Dutch war with the commonwealth of England, ii. 152. Negotiations with the, 156. Peace with, 158.

— Smyrna fleet, ii. 202.

—, enterprize of the, in India, when no hostile design was suspected on their part, ii. 387. Defeated and obliged to desist, ib.

E.

EDGAR succeeds his brother Edward, as king of England, and his reign is distinguished as one of the most fortunate of the earlier English kings, i. 24. History of his amours, 25. Remarkable circumstances of his marrying Elfrida, 26.

Edgar, surnamed Atheling, next heir of the Saxon line to Edward the Confessor, set aside on account of his im-

becility, i. 43. Confirmed by William the Conqueror in the honours conferred on him by Harold, 49. Accompanies his son Robert in his expedition to Jerusalem, lives with him in Normandy, and is made prisoner with him in the battle of Tenchebray, 76. Lives the rest of his days in obscurity in England, to a very advanced age, ibid.

Editha, queen to Edward the Confessor, whence his indifference to her, i. 35.

Edmund succeeds Athelstan on the throne, and was the first monarch that gave a legal sanction to capital punishments in England, i. 21. Is murdered by Leolf, a notorious robber, ib.

— from his valour, surnamed Ironside, succeeds his father Ethelred, but finds a competitor for the crown in Canute, who had succeeded Sweyn, as king of Denmark, i. 37. After a contest, maintained with great obstinacy between the two rivals, an agreement took place, to divide the kingdom between them, ib. The murder of Edmund in about a month after, left Canute in peaceable possession of the whole, 34.

Edgehill, battle of, ii. 106.

Edred succeeds his brother Edmund as king of England, and, though not destitute of activity, nor military talents, was deeply tinctured with superstition, i. 22.

Edward, called the Elder, succeeds his father, Alfred the Great, as king of England, i. 20. In all his operations he emulates both the bravery and conduct of his father, ib.

—, styled the Martyr, son of Edgar, succeeds him in the throne, but is basely murdered by the contrivance of his step-mother Elfrida, i. 27.

—, styled afterwards the Confessor, becomes king of England on the death of Hardicanute, though the descendants of Edmund Ironside were the true heirs of the Saxon lineage, i. 38. By the mildness of his character he reconciles the English and Danes to each other, ib. First act of his administration, and severity to his mother, ib. Discovers a great partiality for the natives of Normandy, 39. Behaves coldly to his queen, Editha, upon account of the prejudices he had long entertained against her father, the earl Godwin, and

I N D E X.

this probably was the cause of his abstaining from all connubial intercourse with her, *ib.* Other causes of his discontent against Godwin, 40. His son Harold, however, upon his death, by submissive behaviour, acquires the good will of Edward, 41. Edward, now much advanced in years, sends to Hungary, to invite over his nephew, Edward, son of his elder brother, who soon arrives with his children, *ib.* The king involved in new difficulties respecting the succession by his death, *ib.* His intentions in favour of William, duke of Normandy, 42. Harold aspires to the succession, 43. The king dies undetermined, *ib.* Was the first that touched for the king's evil, *ib.* His regard to public justice, *ib.* His character, *ib.*

Edward, prince, afterwards Edward I. his spirited conduct in reply to the barons, i. 181. The people have recourse to him, 182. His gallant behaviour in the battle of Lewes, wherein he is made prisoner, 187. Released from prison, 189. Makes his escape from Leicester's army, and defeats his son, 190. Defeats Leicester himself in the battle of Evesham, and this victory proves decisive in favour of the royalists, 191. Suppresses the earl of Gloucester's rebellion, 192. Goes with an army to the Holy Land, *ib.* Where he signalizes himself by his military conduct, *ib.*

I. history of the reign of, i. 192. Proclaimed, *ib.* In Sicily, on his return from the Holy Land, is informed of the death of his father, Henry III. 194. Invited to a tournament at Chalons in Burgundy, *ib.* Arrives in London, *ib.* Great rejoicings at his coronation, *ib.* His wife policy, *ib.* Severity to the Jews, 195. His attention to the revenue, *ib.* Projects an expedition against Wales, 196. Conquest of that principality, *ib.* Fresh hostilities between England and Wales, 197. Final conquest of Wales, 198. Massacre of the Welch bards, *ib.* Edward meditates a treaty between Alphonso, king of Arragon, and Charles of Salerno, *ib.* Returns to England, and punishes the judges, 199. Affairs in Scotland, *ib.* Contest about the succession to the crown of Scotland, is referred to Edward, *ib.* The king asserts his own feudal

superiority, and marches northwards with an army, *ib.* Convention at Norham, *ib.* Answer of the Scottish barons to the claim of Edward, 200. Commissioners appointed to determine the contest, 201. Exorbitant demand of Edward, *ib.* The fortresses of Scotland put into his hands, *ib.* Edward's award in favour of Baliol, to whom he gives the kingdom, and resigns the fortresses, 202. Great indignities put on Baliol by Edward, *ib.* Repentment of the Scots, *ib.* Edward's demands, *ib.* He marches northwards with a great army, 203. Several of the nobles make submission to Edward, as does also the castle of Dunbar, and other fortresses, *ib.* Baliol submits to Edward, as does, soon after, the whole kingdom, 204. Edward destroys all the records and ancient monuments of the country, *ib.* Baliol is brought prisoner to London, and banished to France, where he dies, *ib.* Edward returns to England, *ib.* Enters into a war with France, *ib.* Death of the duke of Lancaster, 205. Dissensions with the clergy, *ib.* The king puts them out of the protection of the laws, 206. Their great distresses, *ib.* They make submission, 207. The king's oppressive exactions, *ib.* Great murmur thereupon in the nation, 208. Spirited conduct of the earls of Hereford and Norfolk, *ib.* Edward obliged to apologize for his behaviour, 209. The two earls and their party take advantage of his absence, *ib.* Require a solemn ratification of the charters, with an additional clause, *ib.* The charters are sent to Flanders, where the king signs them with great reluctance, *ib.* He is again obliged to confirm them on his return to England, 210. Peace with France, 211. The Scots take up arms against the English, *ib.* William Wallace the foremost in this arduous attempt, 212. Warrenne marches to Scotland, *ib.* Battle near Stirling, in which the English are defeated, 213. Warrenne retires to England, *ib.* The castles of Roxburgh and Berwick taken by the Scots, *ib.* Wallace makes an irruption into England, and commits great ravages, 214. Edward returns to England, and regains the confidence of his subjects, *ib.* Marches northwards with a numerous army, *ib.* Great dissensions among

I N D E X.

- among the Scots, *ib.* Wallace resigns the regency, *ib.* The Scots draw up their army at Falkirk, 215. Edward marches to attack them, *ib.* Battle of Falkirk, *ib.* The Scots persevere in their efforts for recovering their ancient independence, 216. The English are routed at Rossing, and all the fortresses in Scotland submit to the regent, *ib.* Edward again attacks Scotland with great force, and entirely subdues the kingdom, 217. His great severities, *ib.* Wallace is taken and brought to London, where he is executed, *ib.* Great discontents in Scotland, 218. Robert Bruce aspires to the Scottish crown, *ib.* His intrigues are made known to Edward, 219. He flies from London, *ib.* Incites the Scottish nobles to revolt, *ib.* Murder of Cummin, 220. Bruce is crowned king, *ib.* Defeat of the Scots at Methven, 221. Edward seized with a dysentery on his march to Scotland, dies at Cressly, *ib.* His character, *ib.* Issue by his two queens, 222.
- Edward II. ascends the throne on the death of his father, Edward I. *ib.* 222. Inauspicious preface of his administration, *ib.* His passion for favourites, 223. Piers Gaveston, *ib.* Discontents of the barons, *ib.* They require the banishment of Gaveston, 224. He is appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, *ib.* The king intrigues for Gaveston's return, which is at length accomplished, *ib.* The barons are again discontented at the power of the favourite, *ib.* The government is delegated to twelve persons, 225. Gaveston is again banished, *ib.* The king recalls Gaveston, 226. An insurrection of the barons, *ib.* Gaveston is made prisoner at Scarborough, *ib.* Murder of Gaveston, 227. War with Scotland, *ib.* Success of Robert Bruce, *ib.* Edward marches an army into Scotland, but soon retreats, 228. War with Scotland renewed, *ib.* Battle of Bannockburn, 229. The English receive a total defeat, *ib.* Robert invades England, *ib.* He invades Ireland, but is obliged by a famine in the country to return, 230. Fresh discontents in England, *ib.* Hugh le Despenser, another favourite, 231. Civil commotions, *ib.* The queen is insulted, 232. The king takes revenge, *ib.* Recalls the Despensers, *ib.* Marches with an army against the barons, 233. Lancaster and Hereford retire to the North, *ib.* The rebels are defeated, *ib.* Lancaster made prisoner and executed, *ib.* As are many more of the insurgents, *ib.* Misdemeanour of young Spenser, 234. Dispute with France, *ib.* Intrigues of the queen, 235. Fresh commotions in the kingdom, *ib.* Tumults in London, 236. Execution of the elder Spenser, *ib.* And of the younger, 237. The king made prisoner and dethroned, *ib.* The queen incurs general hatred, 238. Cruel treatment of the king, *ib.* The king murdered, *ib.* His character, 239.
- Edward III. raised to the throne during the life-time of his father, *ib.* 239. The Scots invade England, 240. War with Scotland, *ib.* Peace with Scotland, 241. The English renounce the claim of superiority, *ib.* Execution of the earl of Kent, 242. Great discontents against Mortimer, *ib.* Conspiracy against him, *ib.* Is taken by surprize in Nottingham castle, *ib.* His execution, 243. The queen is confined to her house near London, *ib.* Scotland involved in dissensions fomented by Edward, *ib.* War with Scotland, 244. The Scots defeated near Berwick, *ib.* Edward makes various expeditions to Scotland, *ib.* His claim to the crown of France, 245. Discontents between Edward and the king of France, 246. Edward forms the resolution of invading France, 247. Is assisted by d'Arreville, 248. Consults the parliament, and sails to Flanders, *ib.* Asserts his claim to the French crown, *ib.* Nothing done on either side, except sending mutual defiance, 249. Edward returns to England, and obtains farther supplies, 250. The French navy defeated, *ib.* The Flemings routed at St. Omer, 251. Edward lays siege to Tournay, *ib.* Philip advances towards the place, *ib.* Defiances pass between the two kings, 252. The countess of Hainault endeavours to effect an accommodation, *ib.* A truce concluded, *ib.* The king returns to England, *ib.* And in ill humour, 253. The king's displeasure against him revented by the archbishop of Canterbury, *ib.* The archbishop not summoned to parliament, 254. He walks in procession, and demands admittance, which he afterwards

wards obtains, *ib.* Proceedings of parliament, *ib.* The king's incontinency, 255. His extraordinary declarations, *ib.* He recovers, however, his authority, *ib.* State of Bretagne, *ib.* Alliance between the king and Mountfort, 256. Mountfort made prisoner, 257. Spirited conduct of the countess of Mountfort, *ib.* Renewal of the war with France, 258. Edward lands in France with a body of twelve thousand men, *ib.* Is blocked up at Vannes, *ib.* A truce concluded for three years, *ib.* The king returns to England, 259. War with France renewed, *ib.* Earl of Derby is sent with an army into France, *ib.* The king embarks with an army, and lands at La Hogue, *ib.* Is in great difficulties, 260. Passes the river Somme, *ib.* Battle of Crecy, 261. The prince of Wales distinguishes himself by acts of extraordinary valour, 262. Total defeat of the French army, 263. Moderate views of the king, *ib.* He lays siege to Calais, *ib.* Which, after twelve months, is reduced, 264. The king's cruel resolution in respect to the inhabitants, *ib.* The queen implores mercy for them, and obtains it, *ib.* Truce with France, 265. The French disappointed in their design on Calais, *ib.* A dreadful pestilence, 266. The Scots invade England, *ib.* They are routed by queen Philippa, and their king made prisoner, *ib.* The English again invade France, 267. The king retires to Calais, and thence passes over to England, *ib.* Marches against the Scots, *ib.* Lancaster sent with a small army into France, 268. The Prince of Wales invades France, *ib.* The battle of Poitiers, 269. Signal victory gained, and John, king of France, made prisoner, 270. Moderation of the prince of Wales, who arrives in England with his prisoner, *ib.* The king of Scots set at liberty, 271. Peace concluded with France, and John set at liberty, *ib.* John returns to, and dies in England, 272. Another battle gained by the prince of Wales over the French, *ib.* Farther successes; but the prince of Wales languishing under a consumptive disorder, returns to England, 273. Earl of Pembroke, with his forces, is taken at sea, *ib.* Death of the prince of Wales, 274. Followed in a year after by that of the king,

ibid. His character, *ib.* Issue by his queen Philippa, 275.

Edward, denominated the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour, exerts himself in an heroic manner in the famous battle of Crecy, *i.* 262. Invades France, 268. Totally defeats the French in the famous battle of Poitiers, and makes their king John prisoner, 270. His moderation, *ibid.* Defeats the French again under Bertrand de Guesclin, one of the greatest generals of the age, 272. His death and character, 274. See Guesclin.

——, prince, son to Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou, marries Anne, the younger daughter of Warwick, *i.* 338. Is made prisoner with his mother, and murdered, 342.

—— IV. history of the reign of, *i.* 333. The deposed king Henry VI. equally enslaved in the hands of his enemies and his friends, *ib.* His queen however, determined not to renounce the pretensions of the family, raises a great army, *ib.* Edward marches northwards to meet her, *ib.* Battle of Towton, *ib.* Henry and Margaret fly to Scotland, 334. The queen makes an inroad into England, accompanied by Henry, *ib.* She is defeated at Hexham, *ib.* Strange adventures of the queen, who escapes abroad, *ib.* Henry is taken and confined in the Tower, 335. Warwick goes abroad to negotiate a marriage for the king, who mean while concludes a marriage at home, *ib.* Rupture between the king and Warwick, *ib.* Warwick forms an alliance with the duke of Clarence, *ib.* Insurrection in Yorkshire, *ib.* Battle of Banbury, 336. Another insurrection, *ib.* The rebels are defeated by the king, *ibid.* Warwick and Clarence banished, 337. Confederacy between the party of Margaret and Warwick, *ib.* Prince Edward marries Anne, the younger daughter of Warwick, 338. Clarence is secretly instigated to desert Warwick, *ib.* Warwick maintains a secret correspondence with his brother, *ib.* Warwick and Clarence return, 339. Edward marches to meet him, *ib.* Revolt in the royal camp, *ib.* The king is obliged to fly, *ib.* He embarks at Lynne, *ib.* Lands in Holland, *ib.* Henry is released from the Tower and again proclaimed king, *ib.* Great confusion among the Yorkists, 340. Edward makes a descent in Yorkshire, *ib.* Marches

I N D E X.

to London, and again dethrones Henry, *ib.* Clarence deserts to Edward, *ib.* Battle of Barnet, and death of Warwick, 341. Margaret lands at Weymouth, and takes refuge in the abbey of Beaulieu, *ibid.* Is again encouraged to take arms, but is defeated in the battle of Tewkesbury, *ib.* The queen and prince are made prisoners, 342. Murder of prince Edward, *ib.* Murder of Henry, *ib.* Margaret is confined in the Tower and afterwards ransomed, *ib.* A treaty between Edward, and the duke of Burgundy, 343. Edward invades France, *ib.* Enters into a treaty with Lewis, *ib.* Impolitic conduct of Edward, 344. Trial and execution of the duke of Clarence, *ib.* Preparations for a war with France, 345. Death and character of Edward, *ib.* His issue, *ib.*

Edward V. History of the reign of, *i.* 346. State of the court at the time of his accession, *ib.* Political conduct of his uncle the duke of Gloucester, *ib.* The earl of Rivers arrested, 347. The duke of Gloucester is made protector by the council, *ib.* Lord Rivers, and others, executed at Pomfret, 348. Execution of lord Hastings, 349. The protector aims at the crown, 350. Expedients tried to work on the people, 351. The protector accepts of the crown, and acts as legitimate and rightful sovereign, 352.

Edward, prince, son to Henry VIII. by Jane Seymour, birth of, *i.* 421.

VI. on his accession to the throne, was only nine years of age, *i.* 448. The earl of Hertford, afterwards created duke of Somerset, chosen protector, *ib.* He assumes extraordinary power, 449. Declares in favour of the reformed religion, *ibid.* Gardiner opposes the Reformation, *ib.* He is sent to the Fleet-prison, *ibid.* Conduct of the war with Scotland, 450. The protector enters Scotland, *ib.* The governor of Scotland assembles a great army, *ibid.* Somerset offers to evacuate the kingdom on certain conditions, which are rejected by the Scots, *ib.* Battle of Pinkey, 451. The Scots are defeated, 452. Somerset retires from Scotland, *ibid.* Great honours conferred by the parliament on Somerset, *ibid.* Superstitious practices abolished, *ib.* Affairs of Scotland, 453. The queen of Scots sent to France, and betrothed to

the dauphin, *ib.* Jealousy between the protector and his brother, *ibid.* The protector's brother, lord Thomas Seymour, the admiral, marries the queen dowager, 454. Which in point of precedency gives umbrage to the duchess of Somerset, *ibid.* The admiral's intrigues at Court, *ibid.* Death of the queen dowager, *ib.* The admiral pays his addresses to the princess Elizabeth, 455. Continues his cabals, *ib.* Somerset endeavours to dissuade his brother from his purpose, *ibid.* Attainder of lord Seymour, 456. His execution, *ibid.* Progress of the Reformation, *ib.* Gardiner and Bonner sent to the Tower, *ib.* A commission granted to prosecute heretics, 457. Joan of Kent is burnt, *ib.* Van Paris, burnt, *ibid.* The princess Mary adheres to the mass, *ib.* Great distresses of the people, 458. Commissioners appointed to give the people redress of grievances, *ib.* Insurrections, 459. Factions in the council, 461. The protector becomes extremely unpopular, *ib.* The counsellors conspire against the protector, 462. They address the king, 463. Somerset sent to the Tower, *ib.* Warwick takes the lead in administration, *ibid.* Articles of indictment preferred against Somerset, *ibid.* The prosecution ceases against him, and he recovers his liberty, *ib.* Gardiner is deprived of his bishoprick, 464. Great havock made in the libraries, 465. The foreign commercial company dissolved, *ib.* Warwick procures the estate and title of duke of Northumberland, 466. Somerset is again committed to custody, *ibid.* Trial of Somerset, *ib.* Is condemned and executed, 467. A session of parliament, 468. Bill of attainder against Tostal, bishop of Durham, passes the house of lords, but is rejected by the commons, 469. Means used by Northumberland to obtain a parliament to his will, *ib.* A new parliament, 470. Project of changing the succession, *ib.* Lord Guilford Dudley, Northumberland's fourth son, marries lady Jane Grey, 471. The king's sickness, *ib.* Northumberland prosecutes the scheme of changing the succession, 472. The judges are required to draw the new settlement in favour of lady Jane Grey, *ib.* They hesitate to comply *ib.* Great difficulties in the execution of this settlement, *ib.* The settlement.

I N D E X

- Clement is at last accomplished, 473.
 The king's death and character, *ib.*
 Edwin and Morcar, two English noblemen of great power, revolt of, against William the Conqueror, *i.* 51.
 Edwy, son of Edmund, succeeds his uncle Edred in the throne, *i.* 22. His virtues would have endeared him to his people, had he not been unfortunately engaged in a controversy with the Monks, 23. Is excommunicated, and dies soon after, 24.
 Egbert, a Saxon king of Wessex, in the earlier part of his life, improves under Charlemagne, both in arts and arms, *i.* 10. Recalled from France to take possession of the crown, plans the union of the Heptarchy, which he effects, 11. Totally defeats the Danish invaders of his kingdom, but dies soon after, *ib.*
 Eleanor, queen to Henry II. long troublesome to him by her jealousy of his amours with Rosamond Clifford, *i.* 111. Excites against him his own children, *ib.* Put into confinement, 112.
 ———, daughter of the count of Provence, married to Henry III. *i.* 173.
 Elfrida, by what means she became the wife of Athelwold, *i.* 26. Marries soon after his death king Edgar, 27. Causes his son Edward by his first queen to be assassinated, *ib.* Endeavours to expiate her crime by the penances usual in those times, 28.
 Edgiva, queen to king Edwy, barbarous treatment and unhappy fate of, *i.* 24.
 Elizabeth, princess, her marriage with Henry VII. unites the interests of the houses of York and Lancaster, *i.* 358. Her death, 374.
 ———, princess, birth of, *i.* 403. declared princess of Wales, *ib.* Bastardized after the execution of her mother, 416. Restored to her right of succession, 436. Set aside by means of Northumberland, 470. Joins Mary, with a thousand horse against Northumberland, 478. Queen Mary's dislike to her, 482. Her severe treatment by the queen, 484.
 Elizabeth, queen, her accession, accompanied with the sincere demonstrations of joy of all parties, *ii.* 1. Philip sends over to the queen proposals of marriage which she declines, 2. Re-establishment of the Protestant religion, *ib.* A parliament gives a sanction to her acts of prerogative, *ib.* Peace with France, 3. Disgust between the queen and Mary, queen of Scots, *ib.* Affairs in Scotland, 4. The queen of Scots marries lord Darnley, 5. Murder of Rizzio, *ib.* Its consequences, 7. Mary is delivered of a son, 8. The parliament is solicitous for having the succession declared in favour of the queen of Scots, *ib.* Who has a strong party in England, *ib.* Murder of Darnley, 9. Mary marries the earl of Bothwell, 10. Is imprisoned in the castle of Lochleven, 11. Bothwell flies to the Orkneys, and thence to Denmark, where he dies, *ib.* Elizabeth endeavours to mediate a peace between the queen of Scots, and the associated lords, *ib.* Mary is obliged to resign the crown to her son, *ib.* Escapes from her imprisonment, and is joined by six thousand men, 12. Battle of Langside, *ib.* The queen flies to England, *ib.* She sends a messenger to Elizabeth, who orders her to be respectfully attended, but refuses to see her till she clears herself of Darnley's murder, *ib.* Conference relative to the queen of Scots, 13. Mary is confined in Tutbury-castle, 14. The regent of Scotland is assassinated, *ib.* Mary's partizans make an irruption into the borders, *ib.* Elizabeth sends an army to chastise them, *ib.* The earl of Lenox is appointed regent of Scotland, *ib.* Duke of Norfolk's conspiracy, 15. He is committed to the Tower, *ib.* The queen of Scots is removed to Coventry, *ib.* Insurrection in the North, 16. The earl of Suffex marches with an army against the rebels, who soon disperse, *ib.* Norfolk is released from the Tower, *ib.* Enters into a new conspiracy, 17. Which is discovered by accident, *ib.* Is committed to the Tower, *ib.* His trial and execution, *ib.* Northumberland also for his attempts in favour of the queen of Scots, underwent a trial, and was brought to the scaffold, *ib.* Hostilities between England and Spain, 18. The Spaniards invade Ireland, but are cut off by the earl of Ormond, *ib.* Sir Francis Drake attacks the Spaniards in South America, and sails round the world, *ib.* Conspiracy formed by the Catholics to shoot queen Elizabeth, discovered, 19. Great severity against the Catholics, *ib.* The queen of Scots is put under the care of more severe keepers, *ib.* Babington's conspiracy, 20. Mary approves of the conspiracy, *ibid.* It is discovered, and

I N D E X.

and the conspirators are executed, 21. The queen of Scots is made acquainted with the discovery of the plot, *ib.* And is conducted to Fotheringay Castle, *ib.* Trial of the queen of Scots, 22, & *seq.* Sentence against Mary, 24. Elizabeth affects great reluctance to put the sentence in execution, 25. The king of France sends over an ambassador to intercede with Elizabeth for Mary's life, 26. James, king of Scotland, makes strong applications in her favour, *ib.* Execution of the queen of Scots, 27, & *seq.* Elizabeth's affected sorrow, 30. Davison is tried in the star-chamber, *ib.* The Scots are highly incensed against Elizabeth, 31. A reconciliation with Scotland, *ib.* Drake destroys the Spanish fleet at Cadiz, *ibid.* The invincible armada in preparation for invading England, 32. Preparations in England, 33. The armada arrives in the Channel, 34. Attacked by the English, and in a great degree dispersed and overthrown, *ib.* Returns to Spain much reduced, 35. The earl of Essex, distinguishes himself against the Spaniards, *ib.* Is sent over to Ireland, 36. His misconduct there, *ib.* He concludes a cessation of hostilities with the rebels, *ib.* Returns from Ireland, and is disgraced, 37. Is examined by the privy-council, 38. Is determined to gratify his revenge by proceeding to extremities against his enemies, 39. His conspiracy, 40. Is discovered and prevented, 41. He is tried and condemned with Southampton, 42. Execution of Essex and his associates, 43. The Irish rebellion, suppressed, *ib.* Falshood of the countess of Nottingham, *ib.* The queen's sickness and death, *ib.* Her character, 44. Elizabeth, princess, daughter to James I. marriage of, *ii.* 53. Embezzlement by the committees of the long parliament, *ii.* 119. England, history of, from the relinquishing of Britain by the Romans, to the Norman Conquest, *i.* 1. to 47. From the Norman conquest to the death of king John, 47 to 137. From the death of king John to the death of Edward III. 137 to 239. From the death of Edward III. to the union of the two Roses, 239 to 352. From the union of the two Roses in the person of Henry VII. to the death of

queen Mary, 358 to 474. From the accession of queen Elizabeth to the union of the two crowns, *ii.* 1 to 44. From the accession of James I. to the death of Charles I. 44 to 135. From the death of Charles I. to the Restoration, 135 to 180. From the Restoration to the Revolution, 180 to 265. From the Revolution to the accession of the family of Hanover, 265 to 321. From the accession of the house of Hanover to the peace of Paris in 1762, 321 to 395.

Essex, earl of, his personal accomplishments recommends him to queen Elizabeth's favour, *ii.* 35. Is sent over to Ireland, 36. His misconduct there, *ib.* Returns from Ireland and is disgraced, 37. Re-instated in favour, but again excites against him the queen's rigour, *ib.* Is examined by the privy-council, 38. His conspiracy, 40. Is tried and condemned with Southampton, 42. Executed 43. —, earl of, his fatal catastrophe, *ii.* 243.

Ethelbald, his reign stained with the incestuous marriage of Judith, his mother-in-law, *i.* 13.

Ethelbert, king of Kent, discovers the spirit of enterprize, which had distinguished his ancestor Hengist, *i.* 6. almost reduces the Saxon states, except Northumberland, to a dependence on him, *ib.* Embraces Christianity, 7.

Ethelburga, instrumental to the conversion to Christianity of her husband Edwin, king of Northumberland, *i.* 7.

Ethelfrid, grandson of Ida, establishes one of the most powerful of the Saxon kingdoms by the title of Northumberland, *i.* 5.

Ethelred, a brave Saxon king of England, but whose reign was continually harassed with Danish irruptions, *i.* 13.

— II. succeeds Edward the Martyr, but the imbecillity of his intellects encouraged the Danes to renew their ravages against England, *i.* 23. By what means their prospect of the entire subjection of England was for some time relinquished, 29. Ethelred forms the inhuman resolution of massacring the whole Danish race throughout his dominions, 31. Consequences of this horrid transaction, 32. The English are constrained to submit to the Danish monarch Sweyn, and Ethelred flies into Normandy, 33. But the throne being vacant by Sweyn's

Sweyn's death, Ethelred is invited to return; which he does, and dies despised by his people, *ib.*
 Ethelwolf succeeds his father Egbert, as king of England, *i.* 12. Defeats twice the Danes, *ib.* His pilgrimage to Rome, and unexpected opposition on his return to England, 13. The kingdom divided between him and his son Ethelbald, which transaction he survived only two years, *ib.*
 Evesham, memorable battle of, *i.* 190.
 Evidence, in regard to the murder of Edward IV's sons, inquired after by Henry VII. *i.* 366. See also 352 of this volume.
 Eustace, count of Bologne, his treatment at Dover, and its consequences in regard to earl Godwin, *i.* 41.
 Executions, oppressive, of Edward I. cause great murmurs in the nation, *i.* 208.
 Excise-Scheme, proves abortive by popular tumults, *ii.* 345.
 Excommunication, sentence of, issued by the pope, against king John. *i.* 146.
 ————— of Henry VIII. by the pope, *i.* 408.
 Execution of king Charles I. *ii.* 133.
 Exchequer, shut, *ii.* 201.
 Exclusion bill, *ii.* 228, 237, 252. Passes the house of commons, but is rejected by the lords, 233.

F.

FAIRFAX, lord, appointed general with Cromwell, *ii.* 112. His conduct in the battle of Naseby, 113. Appointed by the parliament general in chief of all the forces in England and Ireland, 120. Resigns his commission in disgust, which is bestowed on Cromwell, 144.
 Falkirk, battle of, in which the Scots are defeated by Edward I. *i.* 215.
 ———, battle of, won by the rebels, *ii.* 365.
 Falkland, lord, his death and character, *ii.* 108.
 Favourites, passion of Edward II. for, proves extremely detrimental to his interest, *i.* 223.
 Felton, the murderer of the duke of Buckingham, some account of, *ii.* 73.
 Fenwick, sir John, bill of attainder against, for being concerned in a plot for assassinating king William, *ii.* 278. Beheaded, *ib.*
 Feudal law, when introduced into England, *i.* 54.
 Fisher, bishop of Rochester, committed

to the Tower, *i.* 405. His trial and execution, 406.
 Fitz-Harris, case of, *ii.* 235.
 Flodden, battle of, fought against the Scots, *i.* 382.
 Fontarabia, expedition to, *i.* 379.
 Fontenoy, battle, account of, *ii.* 360.
 Foreigners, in the reign of Henry III. engross all offices of trust and emolument, and cause great discontents in the nation, *i.* 172, 173, 178.
 Forest, New, Hampshire, depopulated by the laying out of, for the hunting-pleasures of William the Conqueror, *i.* 61. Hunting there and in all other royal forests, prohibited under severe penalties, 62.
 France and Denmark, rupture with, in the reign of Charles II. *ii.* 190.
 French king offers his assistance to James II. but he rejects it, *ii.* 258.
 Friend, sir John, and others, concerned in a plot for assassinating king William, *ii.* 277. Executed, *ib.*

G.

GARDINER, bishop of Winchester, an active man in support of the Catholic religion, in the reigns of Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, *i.* 449. Is sent to the Fleet prison, *ib.* Is sent to the Tower, with Bonner, 456. Deprived of his bishoprick, 464. Re-instated by queen Mary, and has great influence in her council, 497.
 Garter, order of the, instituted by Edward III. *i.* 274.
 Gaveston, Piers, his history, *i.* 223. See Edward II. Made prisoner, and murdered, 227.
 George I. history of the reign of, *ii.* 321. His accession, *ib.* He lands at Greenwich, *ib.* The Whigs engross all public employments, 322. Discontents in the nation, *ib.* The Pretender sends over a manifesto, 323. New parliament, *ib.* Proceedings in, 324. Lord Bolingbroke withdraws to France, *ib.* Committee of secrecy, 325. Resolutions to impeach lord Bolingbroke, the earl of Oxford, the duke of Ormond, and the earl of Strafford, *ib.* Earl of Oxford, sent to the Tower, 326. Proclamation act, 327. Duke of Ormond and lord Bolingbroke attainted, *ib.* Intrigues of the Jacobites, *ib.* The earl of Mar sets up the Pretender's standard in Scotland, 328. Battle of Sheriff Muir, in which both sides claim the victory, 329.

329. Several gentlemen in England committed to prison, 330. Insurrections in England, 331. Surrender of the rebels at Preston, *ib.* The Pretender arrives in Scotland, 332. He reembarks for France, 333. The rebel forces are dismissed, *ib.* The rebel lords are impeached, *ib.* The earls of Derwentwater and Kenmore are beheaded, 334. Trial of the rebels, *ib.* Act for septennial parliaments, 335. Triple alliance between England, France, and Holland, *ibid.* The Swedish minister arrested, *ibid.* The king demands an extraordinary supply, *ib.* Quadruple alliance, *ibid.* Sir George Byng defeats the Spanish fleet, 336. The rupture with Spain revives the drooping expectations of the Pretender and his adherents, *ibid.* Accordingly an expedition is projected under the direction of the duke of Ormond, but it miscarries, 337. Peace with Spain, and its king Philip accedes to the quadruple alliance, *ib.* Trial of the earl of Oxford, *ibid.* Dispute hereupon between the two houses, but, no accusers appearing, he is set at liberty, *ib.* South-Sea scheme, 338. The people awake from their dream of riches, 339. The sufferers redressed as far as could be effected by the authority of the legislature, *ibid.* Rumours of a conspiracy, the consequence of these discontents, 340. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, is committed to the Tower, *ib.* Bill of pains and penalties against him, *ib.* He is driven into exile, 341. Mr. Lyster's trial, and execution, *ib.* Abuses in chancery, *ibid.* Trial on that account of the earl of Macclesfield, 342. Is convicted and fined, *ib.* Admiral Hosier's expedition to South America, *ib.* Unsuccessful, *ib.* The king's death and character, 343.

George II. ascends the throne on the death of his father, *ii.* 343. His ministers, *ib.* Members of the house of commons now distinguished by the appellations of the court and country parties, *ib.* Spanish depredations in America, 344. New mediators offer their interposition, and the affair compromised, 345. Excise scheme, *ib.* The design dropped, the ministry being intimidated by the populace, 346. Motion for the repeal of the septennial act, *ibid.* The parliament dissolved, and a new one called, 347. Bill for a licence to the playhouses,

ib. Convention with Spain, a subject of warm altercation, 348. Misunderstanding between the king and the prince of Wales, *ib.* Encroachments of the Spanish and English subjects in America on each other, 349. War with Spain, 350. Admiral Vernon destroys Porto Bello, *ib.* Commodore Anson sails to the South Sea, *ib.* Takes the Spanish galleon, 351. Expedition to Carthagea, *ib.* Which proves unsuccessful, 352. Clamour in the nation on that account, 353. New parliament, *ibid.* Attempt to disengage the prince of Wales from the country party, *ib.* Walpole entertains apprehensions for the loss of his power, and even danger to his person, *ib.* Resigns all his employments, and is created earl of Orford, 354. His successors pursue exactly the same measures they had so often reprobated in him, *ibid.* The king and prince of Wales are reconciled, *ib.* Army of sixteen thousand men sent over to Flanders, 355. Rapid successes of France and her allies, 356. The queen of Hungary stripped of her inheritance, *ib.* Her desperate situation retrieved, 357. Battle of Dettingen, 358. The French meditate an invasion of England, but are prevented by sir John Norris, 359. Behaviour of the admirals Matthews and Lestock, *ibid.* Trial by a court martial, and strange sentence passed upon them, *ib.* The duke of Cumberland commands the British army, 360. Battle of Fontenoy, wherein the loss was nearly equal, but the victory remained to the French, *ib.* The French take Tournay, *ib.* The young Pretender prepares to embark for Scotland, 361. He lands in Scotland, 362. Sir John Cope is sent against the rebels, *ib.* His troops are put to flight in the battle of Prestonpans, *ib.* The young Chevalier reduces Carlisle, 363. He marches to Manchester, and penetrates to Derby, *ib.* The rebels retreat to Scotland, 364. Carlisle surrenders to the duke of Cumberland, *ibid.* The chevalier invents Stirling, commanded by general Blackeney, *ib.* The king's troops under Hawley are worsted at Falkirk, 365. The duke of Cumberland assumes the command of the forces in Scotland, *ib.* The rebels are totally defeated at Culloden, *ibid.* The young Chevalier, after many difficulties, escapes to France, 366. Trial

and execution of the rebel lords, and of Mr. Radcliffe, 367. Affairs on the continent, 368. Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, 369. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 370. Death of the prince of Wales, *ibid.* Act for preventing clandestine marriages, 371. Act for naturalizing the Jews, *ib.* Execution of Dr. Cameron, *ib.* Dispute about the limits of Nova Scotia, 372. Hostilities commence between the British and French troops in America, 373. Operations of the principal commanding officers, 374. Braddock is defeated and killed, 375. War declared, *ib.* The French threaten an invasion, *ib.* The ministry apply for assistance to the Dutch, who decline granting it, *ib.* Ten thousand Germans brought over to England, *ibid.* The French land in Minorca, and lay siege to Fort St. Philip, *ibid.* Admiral Byng sent out with a squadron to the relief of Minorca, *ibid.* Engagement with La Galissoniere. *ib.* Byng returns to Gibraltar, *ib.* The garrison of Fort St. Philip capitulates, 377. Trial of admiral Byng, who is condemned and executed, *ib.* The French meditate the invasion of Hanover, *ib.* The British ministry enter into a treaty with the czarina, which proves ineffectual, 378. A treaty is concluded between Britain and Prussia, *ibid.* Alliance between France and Austria, 379. To which Russia and Sweden accede, *ibid.* The king of Prussia enters Saxony with a great army, 380. Reduces the Saxon army to the necessity of capitulation, *ibid.* Gains several complete victories over his enemies, *ib.* The Hanoverian army, under the duke of Cumberland, reduced to straits after the battle of Hastenbak, *ib.* Which produces the treaty of Closter Seven, 381. Expedition against Rochfort proves abortive, 382. Expostulation of the king of Prussia with the king of Great Britain upon his despondency, *ib.* Affairs in the East Indies, 383. Calcutta taken, and the prisoners thrown into the Black-hole, *ibid.* Of whom twenty-three only survive, *ib.* The pirate Angria taken, 384. Calcutta retaken, 385. Successes of colonel Clive against the cowardly nabob, or viceroy of Bengal, *ib.* Ali Khan, in his room, proclaimed viceroy of Bengal, Bahar, and Orisa, *ib.* After the conquest of the Indians, colonel Clive turns his arms against the French, *ib.*

Extent of territory acquired equal to any in Europe in fertility and wealth, 389. General Lally sent against the English, *ib.* His character and success in the beginning, *ib.* Enterprize of the Dutch, when no hostile design was suspected on their part, 387. They are defeated, *ib.* As are also the French by colonel Coote, 388. Pondicherry besieged and surrendered, *ib.* War in America, 389. Louifbourg taken, *ib.* Surrender of Fort Niagara, 390. Expedition to Quebec, 391. General Wolfe dies glorious in victory, *ib.* Quebec surrenders, 392. The whole province of Canada soon after reduced by general Amherst, *ib.* War in Germany, *ibid.* Battle of Rosbach, *ib.* The Hanoverians take arms, and are headed by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, 393. Duke of Marlborough sent to Germany with a body of troops, *ib.* Lord G. Sackville succeeds to the command of the English army, *ib.* Battle of Minden, 394. Glorious situation of affairs at this time in regard to Great Britain, 395. But the nation's triumph becomes suspended for a while by the king's death, *ib.* His character, *ib.* Gibraltar, taken by the English, *ii.* 289. the Spaniards make a fruitless attempt to retake it, 290. Ginckle defeats the Irish at Aughrim, *ii.* 272. Glendour, some advantages obtained over, by Henry, prince of Wales, *i.* 293. Defends himself in his fastnesses, but his death frees Henry IV. from all his domestic enemies, *ib.* Gloucester, rebellion raised by the earl of, but soon suppressed, *i.* 192. Gloucester, cabals of the duke of, in the reign of Richard II. *i.* 283. Arrested, and many of his adherents, condemned, 284. Murdered, *ib.* ———, the duchess of, in the reign of Henry VI. tried and condemned for witchcraft, *i.* 319. The duke of, murdered, *ib.* ———, duke of, brother to Edward IV. See Edward V. and his own reign, under the title of Richard III. ———, duke of, brother to Charles II. death of, *ii.* 183. Godfrey, sir Edmundsbury, murder of, *ii.* 217. Godolphin, his discontent, *ii.* 300. Godwin, earl, the most powerful nobleman of his time in England, suffers himself to be gained over by king Harold to perpetrate murder upon Alfred,

I N D E X

H.

fred, descended from the ancient Saxon kings, i. 36. His scheme for that purpose succeeds, but fails in regard to his brother Edward, afterwards styled the Confessor, *ib.* Who preferred an accusation of murder against him to Hardicanute, Harold's successor, 37. The earl's interest, however, found necessary to secure the crown to Edward, 38. He is notwithstanding hated by Edward, 39. And afterwards obliged to give hostages for his good behaviour, 40. Godwin dies, 41. See Eustace.

Gordon, lady Catharine, wife to the impostor Perkin Watbec, generosity of Henry VII. to her, i. 371.

Gourdon, Adam, celebrated for his great strength and bravery, i. 191.

—, Bertram de, his answer to Richard I. when ask'd, what he had done to him for taking away his life, by shooting an arrow at him? i. 135. Gourdon fled alive, and then hanged, 136.

Gournay, one of the perpetrators of the murder of Edward II. beheaded at sea to prevent a discovery of those concerned in the transaction, i. 239.

Government delegated to twelve persons in the reign of Edward II. a weak prince, i. 225. To fourteen in the reign of Richard II. 280.

Granville, sir John, presents the declaration of king Charles II. to the last parliament of the commonwealth, whereupon they unanimously assent to restore him, ii. 179.

Gregory, surnamed the Great, pope, sends Augustine, the monk, to convert to Christianity the British Saxons, i. 6. His instructions to Augustine tempered with prudence and good policy, 7.

Guernsey woman burnt with her infant, i. 493.

Guesclin, Bertrand de, defeats sir Robert Knolles, at the head of thirty thousand men, while the duke of Lancaster's troops, of twenty-five thousand, were diminished to half their number, by flying parties, i. 273. Consequences of these losses to Edward III. *ib.*

Guildhall, adventures of Charles I. at ii. 98.

Guiscard, affair of, who attempts to stab Harley, ii. 310.

Gunpowder-conspiracy, ii. 50, & seq.

Guthrum, prince of the Danes, becomes a convert to Christianity, king Alfred answering for him at the font, i. 16.

VOL. II.

HABEAS Corpus bill, ii. 228.

Hamden, John, trial of, for the non-payment of the tax of ship-money, ii. 79. Loses his cause, *ibid.* His death and character, 103.

Hamilton, duke of, executed by the commonwealth, ii. 137.

Hamilton, duke, and lord Mohun, killed in a duel, ii. 316.

Hardicanute finds, upon the death of his brother Harold, the succession to the English throne open to him, and accordingly is favourably received, i. 37. His detestation of the murder of Alfred how manifested in his treatment of the dead body of his predecessor, *ib.* Dies after a reign of two years a martyr to his intemperance, *ibid.*

Hartfleur taken by storm, by Henry V. i. 298.

Harley, secretary, afterwards created earl of Oxford, his intrigues, ii. 299. The displacing of, lays the foundation of the ruin of the Whig ministry, 301. He accordingly becomes prime minister, 308. Establishes his credit with the queen, 309. Is created earl of Oxford, 318. Falls out with Bolingbroke, and is dismissed, 319. Is permitted to kiss the hand of George I. the next day after his arrival, but is honoured with no other notice, 322. Resolutions to impeach him, 323. Is sent to the Tower, 326. His trial, 337. Upon a disagreement between the two houses, regarding him, he is set at liberty, *ib.*

Harold, second son of Canute the Great, succeeds him as king of England, i. 36. Difference between him and his brother Hardicanute, how settled, *ib.* Dies little regretted, and chiefly memorable for his swiftness in running and walking, 37.

Harold II. upon the death of Edward the Confessor, ascends the vacant throne, i. 43. Public attachment to him, *ib.* The first acts of his reign worthy of the general prejudice in his favour, 44. Pretensions of his brother Tostig frustrated, *ib.* Duke of Normandy lands in England, 45. Battle of Hastings between him and Harold, *ibid.* Various success, 46. Harold defeated and slain, 47. This victory introduces a memorable epoch in the annals of England, 47.

Hastings, a Danish chief, ravages com-

E e mitted

- mitted by him in England, and elsewhere, i. 17.
- Hastings, battle of, between William, duke of Normandy, and king Harold, full account of, i. 45.
- Hastings, lord, executed, i. 349.
- Hawley, general, defeated by the young chevalier at Falkirk, ii. 365.
- Hengist and Horfa, two brothers, chiefs of the Saxons who first came to Britain, defeat the Picts and Scots, i. 2.
- Horfa slain in battle against the Britons, 3. Hengist lays the foundation of the kingdom of Kent, 4. Dies, ib.
- Henrietta, sister to Charles II. married to the duke of Orleans, ii. 183. Visits the king, 196. Dies, 197.
- Henry I. surnamed Beauclerc, succeeds William Rufus, notwithstanding the acknowledged right of his brother Robert, i. 72. Having procured himself to be proclaimed king, he instantly assumed the reins of government, ib. Endeavours to conciliate the affections of his subjects by several concessions made to them, 73. His marriage with Matilda, niece to Edgar Atheling, in order to unite the Norman and Saxon interests, ib. England invaded by his brother Robert, who lays his claim to the crown, 74. Henry's accommodation with Robert, 75. He forms a design, at the solicitation of the Normans to redress the evils of Robert's administration, to make a conquest of Normandy, ib. Accordingly, he totally defeats Robert in the battle of Techebray, and detains him prisoner in England during the remainder of his life, 76. This acquisition of Normandy involves him in frequent wars on the continent, 77. War in Normandy, 78. Valour of the king's nephew, and of the king, ib. Death of prince William, 79. Occasions the king's second marriage, in hopes of male issue, ib. His daughter Matilda married to the emperor Henry V and, after his death, to Geoffrey Plantagenet, eldest son of the count of Anjou, is recognized as heir of all his dominions, ib. Her issue, ib. The king's death and character, 80.
- Henry Plantagenet mounts the throne of England, in consequence of the compromise between him and king Stephen, i. 89. Arrives in England, 90. Dismisses the mercenary troops retained by his predecessor, revokes all his grants and those extorted from his mother Matilda, and restores the value of the coin, ib. Goes to Normandy, and returns to England, ib. Goes back to the continent, 91. His possessions on the continent, ib. Returns to England, ib. Disputes between the civil and ecclesiastical powers, 92. History of Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, 93. Quarrel between the king and Becket, 94. Henry determined to retrench the clerical usurpations, 95. Assembly of the bishops, 96. Constitutions of Clarendon, 97. The pope condemns the Constitutions, 98. The king sues the archbishop, who is convicted of contumacy, 99. Becket accused of having embezzled the king's treasure, ib. He offers a composition, which is rejected, 100. Makes a pompous procession in the royal palace, ib. Appeals to the pope, ib. Is found guilty by the civil power of perjury and treason, 101. Makes his escape to the continent, ib. The fulminations of the church employed to counteract Henry's measures, 102. They render him in the end desirous of an accommodation, ib. Compromise with Becket, 103. Who thereupon returns from banishment, 104. His insolence and pride, ib. Is murdered, 105. Consequences of this affair, ibid. The king's grief and submission, 106. The perpetrators of the murder submit to the pope's judgment, ib. State of Ireland, ib. The king of Leinster solicits the assistance of Henry, 107. Conquest of Ireland by Strongbow and others, ibid. Henry lands in Ireland, 108. Returns to England, ib. Goes to Normandy, 109. His accommodation with the court of Rome, ibid. Prosperous condition of the king's affairs, but the smiling scene overcast by domestic dissensions, 110. Queen Eleanor, long troublesome to the king, by her jealousy of his amours with Rosamond Clifford 111. Excites against him his own children, ib. Revolt of young Henry and his brothers, ibid. The queen put into confinement, 112. Insurrections in different parts of the king's dominions, ibid. The young princes, by the influence of the king of France, enabled to procure on the continent a powerful confederacy in their favour, ibid. Conference between the kings of England and France, 113. Penance of Henry for Becket's murder, 114.

I N D E X.

Depredations of the Scots revenged, and their king, William, made prisoner, 115. King Henry returns to Normandy, *ibid.* His accommodation with his sons, *ibid.* The king of Scotland does homage to him for his dominion, 116. Having restored peace to all his dominions, he employs himself for several years in domestic regulations, *ibid.* Death of young Henry, 117. Richard becomes heir apparent to the crown, *ibid.* Death of prince Geoffrey, 118. Another crusade, *ib.* Revolt of prince Richard, 119. Fruitless conferences, *ib.* Richard excommunicated by the pope's legate, *ib.* Treaty of Azay, 120. Death of Henry, before which he pronounced a malediction against his undutiful children, 121. His character, *ibid.* Depredations committed in London by eminent citizens upon their neighbours, *ib.* The king's legitimate surviving issue, Richard and John, and three daughters, 122. His issue by Rosamond, daughter of lord Clifford, *ib.*

Henry the Young, eldest son of Henry II. death of, i. 117.

Henry III. a prince, only nine years old, was the legal successor to the crown on the death of his father king John, when all England was in a state of anarchy and distraction, i. 163. The conduct of Lewis gives umbrage to the nation, 164. The earl of Pembroke, espouses the cause of young Henry, who is crowned at Gloucester, and grants a new charter of liberties, *ib.* Another charter added, styled, *Charta Foresta*, *ib.* Pembroke, the protector, writes letters to the male-content barons, many of whom come over to the king's party, 165. The French army is routed at Lincoln, *ib.* A French fleet also routed, 166. Lewis sues for peace, and quits the kingdom, *ib.* Punishment is inflicted on the clergy who adhered to Lewis, *ib.* Death of the protector, 167. Is succeeded in the government by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, and Hubert de Burgh, the judiciary, *ib.* Usurpation of the barons, *ib.* Bad effects of the lenity of government, *ib.* Rioters in London, severely punished, 168. The charter is again confirmed, *ib.* The pope grants a bull, declaring the king to be of full age, 169. An insurrection of several barons, *ib.* The king of France invades Poitou and Galcony,

but is repelled, 170. Richard gives disturbance to the king, his brother, *ib.* Hubert de Burgh is displaced, 171. Bishop of Winchester appointed minister, *ib.* Foreigners encrease all offices of trust and emolument, 172. Great discontents in the nation, *ib.* The foreigners are dismissed, *ib.* The king's marriage with Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence, 173. Foreigners again encouraged, *ib.* The king attempts to resume all grants; but is prevented, *ib.* More foreigners arrive, *ib.* Many grievances complained of, civil and ecclesiastical, 174. Great exactions of the church, 175. The pope offers the kingdom of Sicily to Richard, earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, who rejects it, *ib.* It is accepted by king Henry, *ib.* Who contracts an immense debt for the conquest of Sicily, 176. He applies to parliament for a supply, *ib.* The members refuse to take the king's demands into consideration, *ib.* The pope levies an exaction in England, for supporting the Sicilian war, *ib.* Attempts to introduce a new exaction, 177. The parliament refuses to supply the king, and is dissolved, *ib.* The new parliament proves no less refractory, *ib.* The king is in great necessity, *ib.* The parliament at length grants a supply, *ib.* The Great Charter is again ratified with particular solemnity, 178. The affairs of the nation are still conducted by foreigners, *ib.* Conspiracy of Montford, earl of Leicester, 179. The parliament obliges the king to make great concessions, *ib.* A committee of twenty-four barons is invested with supreme power to reform the government, 180. Usurpation of the barons, *ib.* The knights of the shire remonstrate against the conduct of the barons, 181. Conduct of prince Edward, *ib.* Great complaints against the barons, 182. The people have recourse to prince Edward, *ib.* The king summons a parliament, in which his authority is ratified, *ib.* The barons are obliged to submit, *ib.* The earl of Leicester forms a confederacy with the prince of Wales, *ib.* The king is obliged to make a disadvantageous peace with the barons, who renew their usurpations, 183. The civil war again breaks out, *ib.* Both parties agree to refer their cause to the king of France, *ib.* Lewis summons an assembly of

I N D E X.

- the states of Amiens, where he examines into the dispute, and awards his sentence, 184. Leicester and his party refuse to submit to the award, and renew hostilities, *ib.* The king prepares for defence, 185. Hostilities commence on both sides, *ib.* A battle is fought near Lewes, where the king and his brother, with many barons, are made prisoners, 186. Prince Edward made prisoner, 187. The convention of Lewes, *ib.* Leicester violates the treaty, and governs in the most arbitrary manner, *ib.* He discovers great treacheries, *ib.* Summons a new parliament, 188. Origin of the house of commons, *ib.* Great dissensions among the barons, 189. Prince Edward is released from prison, *ib.* He makes his escape from the earl of Leicester's army, 190. The prince assembles an army and defeats Leicester's son, *ib.* Battle of Evesham, *ib.* The king expresses great resentment against the Londoners, 191. General submission of the rebels, *ib.* A rebellion raised by Gloucester, but soon suppressed, 192. Prince Edward goes with an army to the Holy Land, *ib.* Great disorders again prevail in the kingdom, *ib.* The king's health declines, *ib.* His death and character, 193. Issue, *ib.*
- Henry IV. duke of Lancaster, elected king, succeeds the deposed Richard II. i. 288. His title, and solemnity of his coronation, 289. Divisions in parliament, *ib.* An insurrection, *ib.* Many persons of distinction executed, *ib.* Invasion of the Scots, 290. Insurrection in Wales, *ib.* Battle of Homeldon, *ib.* Insurrection of the earl of Northumberland, *ib.* Henry marches to meet the Northumbrians, 291. Battle of Shrewsbury, *ib.* Hotspur is slain, and the king obtains the victory, *ib.* A fresh insurrection, 292. Which is defeated by a stratagem, *ib.* The archbishop of York and the earl of Nottingham are made prisoners and executed, 293. Henry next turned his arms against Glendour, over whom his son, the prince of Wales, had obtained some advantages, *ib.* A clergyman burnt alive, 294. Proceedings of the house of commons, *ib.* Irregularities of the prince of Wales, *ib.* The king's health declines, 295. His death and character, *ib.* Issue, *ib.*
- Henry, prince of Wales, afterwards king Henry V. wounded in the face by an arrow, fighting by his father's side in the battle of Shrewsbury, i. 291. Obtains some advantages over Glendour, 293. His irregularities, for which he is committed to prison by the chief-justice, sir William Gascoigne, 294. See Henry V.
- Henry V. in ascending the throne, renounces his dissipated course of life, and shews himself worthy of that elevation, i. 296. Progress of Lollardism, *ib.* Lord Cobham executed on that account, 297. Conspiracy and execution of the earl of Cambridge and lord Scrope, *ib.* State of France, 298. The king sends ambassadors to France with proposals of alliance, *ib.* Invasion of France, *ib.* Harfleur taken by storm, *ib.* Battle of Azincour, 299. The king in person attacked by the duke of Alençon, whom he strikes to the ground, 300. Great slaughter of the French, and number of prisoners, 301. The king returns to England, *ib.* New invasion of France, 302. Negotiations for peace, *ibid.* Marriage of the king, *ibid.* He comes over to England, *ib.* Arrives again in France, 303. Birth of a prince, *ib.* The king sensible his end was approaching from the effects of a fistula, a malady in his time incurable, settles the regency of the kingdom, *ib.* His death and character, 304. Issue, *ib.*
- Henry VI. on his accession, had the duke of Bedford, his uncle, regent, and protector of the kingdom, i. 304. The success of the English in France prosecuted, and Henry, though yet an infant, solemnly invested with regal power by legates from Paris, 305. State of France, *ib.* Siege of Orleans, 306. Battle of Herrings, 307. The maid of Orleans, called Joan d'Arc, 308. Is seized with a wild desire of extricating her sovereign, if possible, from his present distresses, *ib.* The court determined to make an experiment of this champion against the enemy, 309. She commands the English in the name of the omnipotent Creator, immediately to raise the siege of Orleans and evacuate the kingdom, *ib.* Successful attacks of the French, 310. The English raise the siege, *ib.* Farther successes of the French, *ib.* The king of France crowned at Rheims, 311. Henry crowned king at Paris, *ib.* The maid of Orleans made prisoner, 312. She is tried at Rouen for witchcraft, *ib.* And is condemned and

and burnt alive, 313. The English affairs decline, *ib.* Defection of the duke of Burgundy, 314. Proposals for an accommodation between France and England, 315. Death of the duke of Bedford, 316. He is succeeded by the duke of York, *ib.* The English are oblig'd to evacuate Paris, *ib.* The duke of Burgundy lays siege to Calais, *ib.* Siege of Calais raised, *ib.* Truce between England and the duke of Burgundy, 317. Division in the English councils, *ib.* A truce with France, 318. Marriage of Henry with Margaret of Anjou, *ib.* The duchess of Gloucester tried for witchcraft, and condemned, 319. Murder of the duke of Gloucester, *ib.* Intestine disorders in the kingdom, *ib.* Claim of the duke of York to the crown, 320. Impeachment of the duke of Suffolk, 321. His banishment and murder, 322. Popular insurrections, *ib.* John Cade marches to London, at the head of the Kentish rioters, 323. Execution of lord Say, *ib.* The rioters disperse, and their leader is slain, 324. The court is suspicious of the duke of York, *ib.* Parties of York and Lancaster, 325. Violent proceedings of the house of commons, 326. The first armament of the duke of York, *ib.* The king's indisposition, 327. York is appointed protector, *ib.* The king resumes the royal power, *ib.* York levies an army, *ib.* First battle of St. Alban's, *ib.* The king is made prisoner by the duke of York, *ib.* The king resumes his authority, 328. An appearance of reconciliation takes place at London between the two parties, *ib.* Fresh dissensions break forth, 329. Battle of Blore-heath, *ib.* The Yorkists disperse, *ib.* Warwick lands in Kent, and assembles an army, *ib.* Battle of Northampton, *ib.* The royalists are defeated, and the king again made prisoner, *ib.* The parliament meets, *ib.* The succession is secured by parliament to the duke of York, 330. The queen collects an army in the North, 331. The duke of York marches northwards, *ib.* Battle of Wakefield, *ib.* The duke of York killed in the action, *ib.* Battle of Mortimer's-croft, 332. Edward IV. assumes the crown, 333.

Henry VII. History of the reign of, *i.* 358. Henry, by marrying the princess Elizabeth, unites the interests of the

houses of York and Lancaster, *ib.* He makes a progress into the North, *ib.* An insurrection, 359. The rebels disperse, *ib.* Birth of prince Arthur, *ib.* The king's government still unpopular, *ib.* A priest, forms the design of disturbing Henry by raising a pretender to the crown in the person of Lambert Simnel, 360. Revolt of Ireland thereupon, *ib.* The queen-dowager imprisoned, 361. Simnel comes over to England, *ib.* Battle of Stoke, *ib.* The rebels entirely defeated, *ib.* The king's severity, 362. An insurrection in the North, 363. Suppressed, *ib.* The king invades France, but concludes a peace, *ib.* Perkin Warbeck is made personate Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, 364. He appears in Ireland, 365. Is invited to Paris by the king of France, *ib.* Quits the court of France, and retires to that of Burgundy, *ib.* Is avowed by the duchess of Burgundy, *ib.* And by many of the English nobility, 366. A conspiracy against the king, *ib.* The king discovers the plot, *ib.* Punishment of the conspirators, 367. Execution of Stanley, *ib.* Perkin arrives on the coast of Kent, but refuses to land, *ib.* A number of his attendants are taken and executed, *ib.* Perkin retires to Scotland, where he meets with assistance, 368. The king of Scotland invades England, and proclaims Perkin as sovereign, *ib.* Perkin returns to Scotland, but is obliged to quit that kingdom, *ib.* A parliament grants the king fresh supplies, *ib.* Another insurrection, *ib.* The king marches an army against them, *ib.* Battle of Blackheath, *ib.* The rebels are defeated, 370. The king of Scotland invades England, *ib.* Truce between the two kingdoms, *ib.* Perkin arrives in Cornwall, and is joined by many of the inhabitants, *ib.* Great preparations to attack the rebels, 371. Perkin takes sanctuary in Beaulieu, *ib.* The rebels submit to the king, *ib.* The king's generosity to Perkin's wife, *ib.* Perkin quits the sanctuary, and is brought to London, where he confesses his imposture, *ib.* He makes his escape to the sanctuary of Shene, 372. But is again pardoned and confined to the Tower, *ib.* Where he enters into a conspiracy with the earl of Warwick to murder the lieutenant of the Tower, *ib.* Perkin executed,

I N D E X.

- ib. Fall of Warwiek executed, 373. Discontents prevail in the kingdom, ib. The king's alliance is courted by foreign powers, ib. Marriage of prince Arthur with Catharine of Aragon, 374. Death of prince Arthur, ib. The espousals of prince Henry with the infanta Catherine, ib. Marriage of the princess Margaret with the king of Scotland, ib. Death of the queen, ib. Oppression of the people, ib. A parliament notwithstanding grants the king the subsidy he demanded, 376. Sickness of the king, ib. His death and character, ib. Many wholesome laws enacted by him, ib.
- Henry, prince.** afterwards Henry VIII. his espousals with Catharine of Aragon, i. 374.
- Henry VIII.** ascends the throne with a popularity in proportion to the odium incurred by the king his father, i. 377. His natural and acquired endowments, parties of pleasure, and amusements, 378. Punishment of Empson and Dudley, ib. War with France, 379. Expedition to Fontarabia, ib. Bravery of admiral Howard, 380. The king arrives at Calais with an army, ib. Siege of Trecenne, 381. A truce with France, 382. War with Scotland, ib. Battle of Flodden, 383. Wolsey becomes minister, 384. His promotions and distinctions, 385. Tournay ceded to France, 386. Interview between Henry and Francis, ib. Tournament between them, 387. Trial and condemnation of the duke of Buckingham, 380. Dissipation of the immense treasures of the late king, causes an application to parliament for a supply, ib. The king stretches the prerogative, ib. Wolsey declines in the king's favour, 389. State of the church, 390. The doctrines of Luther meet with many partizans in England, 391. Henry writes against Luther, and receives the title of Defender of the Faith, ib. Scruples concerning the king's marriage, ib. The king enters into those scruples, 392. Anne Boleyn acquires an ascendant over his affections, 393. Henry applies to the pope for a divorce, 394. The pope is favourable, ib. Yet in great perplexity, ib. His secret proposals to Henry's ministers, 395. Fresh messengers dispatched to Rome, ib. Trial of the king's marriage, ib. The cause evoked to Rome, 396. Wolsey incurs the king's displeasure, 397. His fall, ib. The seals are delivered to sir Thomas More, ib. Wolsey is indicted in the Star-Chamber, ib. The house of lords votes a charge against him, ib. The charge is sent to the house of commons, 398. Violence of Wolsey's enemies, ib. He is pardoned by the king, but ordered to remove to his see of York, ib. An order is sent to arrest him for high-treason, ib. He sets off for London, but sickens on the road, and dies at Leicester-abbey, 399. Thomas Cranmer succeeds him in the king's favour, ib. The universities are consulted about the king's marriage, 400. Intrigues of the king and the emperor, ib. The universities give their opinion in favour of the king, ib. Oxford and Cambridge at first hesitate, but at last declare against the marriage; as do the convocations of Canterbury and York, ib. The pope cites Henry to appear at Rome, but he refuses, ib. The parliament favours the king's measures, and he is declared to be supreme head of the church, 401. Progress of the Reformation, ib. The king privately marries Anne Boleyn, who is soon after acknowledged queen, 402. The marriage with Catherine declared invalid, ib. Coronation of Anne Boleyn, ib. Birth of princess Elizabeth, 403. She is created princess of Wales, ib. The king's daughter by queen Catherine is excluded the succession, 404. Sir Thomas More, and the bishop of Rochester, committed to the Tower, 405. Religion of the king, ib. Religion of the queen and the ministers, ib. Bainham and some others are burnt as heretics, 406. Trial and execution of Fisher, bishop of Rochester, ib. And of sir Thomas More, 407. The king is excommunicated by the pope, 408. Henry forms alliances on the continent, ib. Death of Queen Catherine, ib. The Monks endeavour to inflame the people against the king, who forms the resolution of extirpating them, 409. Visitation of the monasteries, 410. Suppression of the lesser monasteries, ib. The king seizes their revenues, ib. Total suppression of the monasteries, 411. New Translation of the Scriptures, ib. Disgrace of queen Anne, ib. Is sent to the Tower, 412. None dare to interpose in her favour,

favour, 413. Her trial, 414. And execution, 415. Jane Seymour married the day after her execution, 416. Queen Elizabeth bastardized, *ib.* And the king empowered by parliament to dispose of the crown, by will, or letters patent, *ib.* Other proceedings in parliament, as also of the convocation, extremely obsequious to the king, 417. Discontents among the people, 418. Insurrection in Lincolnshire, 419. The duke of Suffolk is sent against the rebels, *ib.* They disperse, and their leaders are executed, 420. Insurrections in the North, *ib.* The rebels disperse, *ib.* Birth of prince Edward, and death of queen Jane, 421. Disputation with Lambert upon the real presence, 422. Lambert is burnt, 423. As are several others, *ib.* Scurrility of the parliament, *ib.* Proclamations made equal to laws, *ib.* Henry's projects of marriage, 424. He marries Anne of Cleves, 425. Dislikes her, *ib.* Fall of Cromwell, 426. Is condemned to death, *ib.* And executed, 427. King's divorce from Anne of Cleves, *ib.* His marriage with Catharine Howard, *ib.* Persecution of the Protestants, 428. And of the Papists, *ib.* A rebellion in Yorkshire, but suppressed, *ib.* Execution of the countess of Salisbury, 429. Discovery of the queen's disolute life, *ib.* The king has recourse to a parliament, his usual instrument of tyranny, 430. Bill of attainder passed against the queen and the viscountess Rocheford, *ib.* They are beheaded on Tower-hill, 431. The king seizes the revenues of colleges, hospitals, &c. *ib.* Commissioners appointed to chuse a religion for the people, *ib.* Institution of a Christian Man, in a small volume, soon after published, 432. But Henry, not satisfied with it, gave orders for composing a new one, entitled, *The Erudition of a Christian Man, ib.* Amendments of other Books, 433. His intention of quarrelling with the king of Scots, *ib.* A skirmish, 434. Rout of the Scots at Solway-moss, *ib.* Death of James V. 435. Henry projects the marriage of prince Edward with the heiress of Scotland, *ib.* A war projected against France, *ib.* The king marries Catharine Parr, 436. A new parliament settles the succession of

the crown, *ib.* Methods practised by the king to fill his coffers, 437. He sends a fleet and army to Scotland, *ib.* They land at Leith, and march to Edinburgh, which they pillage and burn, *ib.* Lay waste the county of East Lothian, and then retreat into England, *ib.* The king and the emperor form a plan for the entire conquest of France, 438. The king passes over to Calais with a great army, *ib.* The emperor makes a separate peace with France, *ib.* Henry returns to England, *ib.* War with Scotland, 439. A fresh inroad into Scotland, *ib.* The English are defeated, *ib.* The Scots make an inroad into England; as do the English into Scotland, 440. The king of France equips a fleet to make a descent in England, *ib.* An action between the French and English fleets, *ib.* Henry levies a body of Germans, *ib.* Who mutiny and return to their own country, *ib.* The parliament grants the king the revenues of the universities; but he refrains from seizing them, 441. A body of forces sent to Calais, *ib.* Peace with France, *ib.* The king allows the Litany to be recited in the vulgar tongue, *ib.* Cabals in the council against Cranmer, 442. He is supported by the king, *ib.* Persecution of Anne Ascue, and others, on the score of religion, 443. Henry dislikes the queen's religious principles, 444. Orders articles of impeachment to be drawn up against her, *ib.* Great address of the queen, *ib.* The king is reconciled to her, 445. The duke of Norfolk and his son are arrested, *ib.* And sent to the Tower, 446. The earl of Surry executed, *ib.* Attainder of the duke of Norfolk, 447. Ordered for execution, but the king dying, the lieutenant deferred obeying the warrant, *ib.* His character, 448.

Henry prince of Wales, son of James I. death of, *ib.* 52.

Heptarchy, or the seven Saxon kingdoms, when and where established, *i.* 5. Consist of the kingdoms of Kent, 6. Northumberland, East Anglia, 7. Mercia, Essex, Suffex, 8. Wessex 9. This last subverts the independence of the Heptarchy, 10. All the kingdoms united in one great state, and denominated England, 11. Hereford and Norfolk, earls of, their

I N D E X.

pitted conduct in regard to Edward I. i. 208. Take advantage of the king's absence, 209. Require a solemn ratification of the charters, with an additional clause, *ib.* The charters sent to Flanders, where the king signs them with great reluctance, *ib.* And is obliged to confirm them on his return to England, 210.

Herrings, battle of, gained by sir John Fastolfe, i. 307.

Hexham, total defeat of queen Margaret, in the battle of, i. 334.

Hierarchy, proceedings of the commons in the long parliament, against, ii. 74.

High-treason, accusation of, in the house of peers, against lord Kimbolton, and against five commons, ii. 96. The five members demanded by the king, 97.

La Hogue, sea fight off, in which the French are defeated, ii. 274.

Holland, rupture with, in the reign of Charles II. ii. 189.

Homeldon, an account of the battle of, i. 290.

Hosier, admiral, his expedition to South America, unsuccessful, ii. 342.

Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, burnt, i. 491.

Howard, sir Edward, admiral, the bravery of, i. 380.

Hubba, a Danish commander, killed in a desperate effort formed against him by the earl of Devonshire, i. 16.

Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary, valiantly defends Dover against the French, i. 165. On the death of the earl of Pembroke, guardian of the king, and protector, succeeds in the administration, 167. Gets possession of Rockingham castle, *ib.* His proceedings against the London rioters, 168. Applies to the pope for declaring the king of full age, 169. Eleven displaced, 171. His character, *ib.*

Hungary, queen of, stripped of her inheritance, ii. 376. Her desperate situation retrieved by England, 357.

I.

JACOBITES, intrigues of the, ii. 327.

James king of Scotland, his prediction on his death-bed, i. 435.

James I. of England, and VI. of Scotland, ascends the throne after the

death of Elizabeth, with the general approbation of all orders of the state, ii. 44. His hereditary right unquestionable, *ib.* He distributes honours with great profusion, 45. Cecil continues to be prime minister, *ib.* Conspiracy of lords Cobham and Grey, and sir Walter Raleigh, *ib.* Conference at Hampton court, *ib.* Parliament delayed on account of the plague, now assemblies, 46. The king proposes a union of the two kingdoms, 48. Peace with Spain, *ib.* The Catholics mistaken in their expectations from king James, *ib.* Plot for his destruction, &c. 49. Gunpowder conspiracy, 50. The design discovered, 51. Some Catholic lords fined, 52. Death of prince Henry, 53. Marriage of the princess Elizabeth, *ib.* Rise of Robert Carre, earl of Somerset, 54. Criminal correspondence between him and the lady Frances Howard, *ib.* Overbury's advice to him, *ib.* Overbury sent to the Tower. 55. Is poisoned, *ib.* Some accomplices of Overbury's murder are executed, 56. The earl and countess of Somerset, are found guilty, but pardoned, *ib.* Somerset supplanted in the king's favour by means of a new minion, *ib.* Villers introduced at court, *ib.* Created duke of Buckingham, 57. The cautionary towns are delivered up to the Dutch, *ib.* Raleigh is released from the Tower, *ib.* And sails on an enterprize to Guiana, 58. His execution, 59. Disgrace of chancellor Bacon, *ib.* Reasons appear for James's complaisance to the court of Spain in the case of Raleigh, *ib.* This was the project of marrying the the prince of Wales with a daughter of the king of Spain, *ib.* The prince's journey to Spain, 60. This Spanish match is broken off, *ib.* Treaty of marriage between the prince of Wales and princess Henrietta of France, *ib.* Disputes between the king and the parliament, *ib.* Affairs of Germany, 61. War with Spain and the emperor, *ib.* Sickness and death of the king, 62. His character and surviving issue, *ib.*

James II. History of his reign, ii. 244. He goes openly to mass, *ib.* Sends an agent to Rome, *ib.* Oates convicted of perjury, 245. Monmouth's invasion, *ib.* He assumes the title of king, 246. Is defeated and taken, 247. His execution, *ib.* Cruelty of colonel

- colonel Kirke, *ib.* And of judge Jefferies, 248. New parliament, *ib.* Dissolved, 250. Breach between the king and the church, *ib.* Court of ecclesiastical commission, 251. The bishop of London suspended, *ib.* Declaration for liberty of conscience, *ib.* The king sends an ambassador to Rome, *ib.* The pope's nuncio is received at Windsor, *ib.* The king prosecutes Magdalen-college at Oxford, 252. Six bishops present a petition to the king, 253. Are committed to the Tower, 254. Their trial and acquittal, *ib.* Birth of the prince of Wales, 255. Political conduct of the prince of Orange, 256. He is applied to by the English, 257. His preparations, *ib.* The French king offers James his assistance, but he rejects it, 258. The king receives intelligence of an invasion, and is alarmed, *ib.* He takes some steps for the satisfaction of the people, *ib.* Prince of Orange's declaration, 259. He embarks, *ib.* Lands in England, *ib.* Is joined by many persons of distinction, 260. The king is abandoned by his own daughter, *ib.* He attempts to fly the kingdom, 261. Returns to London, 262. Retires to Rochester, *ib.* Convention summoned, 263. The prince of Orange assumes the reins of government, *ib.* The commons vote that king James had abdicated the throne, *ib.* The lords concur in the vote of the commons, *ib.* Private declaration of the prince of Orange, 264. Settlement of the crown, *ib.* William and Mary proclaimed king and queen of England, *ib.*
- Jane Shore, some account of her unmerited treatment, i. 349.
- Jane Grey, lady, proclaimed queen, i. 476. Executed with her husband lord Guildford Dudley, 485.
- Ida, a prince of great valour, subdues the Northern parts of Britain, and assumes the title of the king of Bernicia, i. 5. See Ethelfrid.
- Jefferies, Judge, cruelties of *ii.* 248.
- Jesuits, five, and Langhorn, trial of, an account of the Popish plot, *ii.* 222.
- Jews, massacre of the, in England, imagined to be by order of king Richard I. i. 123. Severity of Edward I. 195.
- act for naturalizing, *ii.* 371.
- Ina, a Saxon king of Wessex, the most renowned of all the kings in England during the ages of the Heptarchy, i. 9. Compiles a system of jurisprudence the foundation of that afterwards promulgated by Alfred, *ib.* Retires to, and dies in a convent, *ib.*
- Indemnity, act of, in the beginning of the reign of Charles II. *ii.* 181.
- Inquisition, attempts to introduce it in the reign of queen Mary, i. 494.
- Insurrection, in the reign of Henry IV. defeated by stratagem, i. 292.
- Insurrections, against the measures of Henry VIII. in different parts of England, i. 419, & seq. Suppressed, 421.
- in the reign of Edward VI. on account of religion, i. 459.
- in the reign of queen Elizabeth, upon various pretences *ii.* 16.
- in England, soon after the accession of George I. *ii.* 371.
- Interdict of the kingdom of England under king John, i. 145.
- Interment of William the Conqueror, and upon what account prohibited, when his corpse was carrying to the grave, i. 63.
- Interview between Henry VIII. and Francis I. i. 386. Tournament between them, 387.
- Joan d'Arc, see Maid of Orleans.
- of Kent, burnt for heresy, in the reign of Edward VI. i. 457.
- John, upon the death of his brother Richard I. is put, without any obstruction, in possession of the English throne, i. 137. New war between him and Philip of France, who espouses the succession of Arthur, son of John's late brother Geoffry, *ib.* They conclude a treaty of peace, *ib.* John marries Isabella, daughter of the count of Angouleme. 138. Insurrection in the continental provinces, *ib.* The king goes to Normandy, *ib.* Prince Arthur and his mother fly for protection to Philip, 139. Arthur is made prisoner, and at length cruelly murdered by the king in the castle of Rouen, 140. The atrociousness of this deed renders John universally detested, 141. He is summoned to a trial before the king of France, who invades his dominions, *ib.* The French provinces reunited to the crown of France, *ib.* John returns to England, and levies exactions on the barons for a Norman expedition, *ib.* He passes over to Rochelle, but immediately

I N D E X.

mediately returns, 141. Election of the archbishop of Canterbury, 143. The pope nominates to the primacy, *ib.* Sends the king a present of four rings, *ib.* Quarrel between the king and the pope, 144. Interdict of the kingdom, 145. John takes revenge on the clergy, *ib.* Oppresses the barons, 146. The pope issues the sentence of excommunication, *ib.* Great discontent in the kingdom, *ib.* John desires a conference with the archbishop Langton, 147. Sentence of deposition against John, and grant of the crown of England to the king of France, by the pope, *ib.* A crusade also published against him, *ib.* Philip levies a great army, *ib.* He projects an invasion of England, 148. John assembles an army at Dover, *ib.* Pandolf, the Pope's legate, has an interview with John at Dover, *ib.* The king submits to the pope, 149. Extraordinary oath taken by him on this occasion, *ib.* Pandolf returns to France, and inhibits Philip from making any attempt upon England, 150. The French king exclaims against the conduct of the pope, and resolves to accomplish the enterprize, *ib.* The French ships burnt by the English admiral in their harbours, and Philip obliged to abandon his enterprize, *ib.* John's cruelty to Peter the Hermit, *ib.* John entertains a design of invading France, but is deserted by the barons, 151. He and his kingdom are absolved from the papal censures, *ib.* Langton projects a plan of reforming the government, 152. The barons meet at St. Edmundsbury, 153. Present their demands to the king, *ib.* The king courts the interest of the clergy, *ib.* Both parties apply to the pope, 154. Who favours the interests of the king, *ib.* The confederates determine to persevere, *ib.* Their demands are presented to the king, who breaks out into a violent passion, 155. The confederates take arms, *ib.* The king is obliged to surrender, 156. Magna Charta *ib.* Its principal stipulations in regard to the clergy, the barons, and the people, 157. What was stipulated by the barons, 158. John's dissimulation in complying with the terms of the charter, 159. He retires to the Isle of Wight to meditate on the expediency of his affairs, *ib.* Enlists foreign troops, and complains to the pope, *ib.*

Who annuls the charter, and excommunicates all who adhere to it, *ib.* Renewal of the civil wars, *ib.* The king lays siege to the castle of Rochester, which surrenders, 160. He commits great devastations, *ib.* The barons invite over prince Lewis of France, 161. Lewis arrives in England, *ib.* The king is deserted by his foreign troops, *ib.* Lewis arrives in London, and assumes the executive power, *ib.* He disgusts the English by his partiality to his own countrymen, 162. Many desert from him and join the king, *ib.* John is seized with a fever, and dies at Newark, *ib.* His character, *ib.* Issue, 163. Was the first king that gave by charter to the city of London, the right of electing annually a mayor out of its own body, *ib.*

John, king of France, defeated and made prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, by Edward, the Black Prince, i. 270. Set at liberty, 271. Not able to ratify the peace, returns to England, 272. Dies in the Savoy, *ib.*

John, Henry St. afterwards the famous lord Eolingbroke, his character, ii. 299. Is chosen by Harley for his coadjutor, *ib.* Made secretary of state, 309. Is called up to the house of peers, 318. Causes the dismissal of Harley, 319. Undergoes every species of mortification at the accession of George I. 321. Withdraws to France, 324. Resolution to impeach him, 325. Attainted, 327. Engages in the service of the Chevalier, and corresponds with the Tories in England, 328. Obtains afterwards, for some secret reasons, his majesty's pardon, and returns to England, 341.

Joyce, a taylor, but raised to the rank of cornet in Cromwell's army, seizes Charles I. at Holmby castle, ii. 118.

Ireland, state of, in the reign of Henry II. i. 106. Conquered by Strongbow and others, 107.

Irish insurrection, and massacre, ii. 91, & seq.

— troops, to the amount of fourteen thousand, who had fought for king James, emigrate into France, ii. 272.

Isabella, of France, queen to Edward II. insulted at the castle of Leeds in Kent, where she desired a night's lodging, and was refused admittance, i. 232. The king takes revenge, *ib.* The queen's intrigues, 235. Her unnatural conduct upon the dethroning

I N D E X.

ing of the king, for which the incurs a general hatred, 238. Her criminal commerce with Mortimer, *ib.*
See Mortimer. Is confined, 243
Judges, punished for corruption by Edward I. i. 199.
Juxon, bishop, attends king Charles I. in his dying moments, ii. 133.

K.

KIRKE, colonel, cruelty of, ii. 247.

L.

LALLY, general, sent against the English in India, ii. 386. His character, *ib.* All his endeavours in the end unprosperous, 388.
Lambert Simnel, is made, by the subtlety of a priest, to personate Richard, duke of York, son of Edward IV. i. 360. See Henry VII. for his history.

Lambert, disputation with, on the real presence, i. 421. Lambert, and several others, are burnt, 423.

———, and his adherents, oppose Cromwell, ii. 166. Banished, 188.

Lancaſter, duke of, brother to Edward I. death of, i. 205.

———, in rebellion against Edward II. is made prisoner and executed, i. 233.

———, duke of, afterwards king Henry IV. his ambitious views in the reign of Richard II. i. 286. His cause almost universally espoused by the nation, *ib.* Calls a parliament, 287. See Henry IV.

——— and York, parties of, and their arguments, i. 324, & seq.

Langſide, battle of, remarkable for the defeat of the queen of Scots by the earl of Murray, and her flight into England, ii. 12.

Langton, cardinal, nominated by the pope to the archbishoprick of Canterbury, in order to set aside the election of the monks on one part, and of the bishops on the other, i. 143. Conference between him and king John, 147. He projects a plan of reforming the government, 152.

Luther, his doctrines, meet with many partizans in England, i. 391.

Latimer, bishop of Worcester, burnt, i. 493.

Laud; archbishop of Canterbury, his

character, ii. 75. Is impeached, 88. His trial and execution, 110.

Laver, Mr. his trial and execution for enlisting men for the Pretender, ii. 341.

Lenity of government, bad effects of the, i. 167.

Leopold, duke of Austria, imprisons Richard I. of England, i. 127. News of his captivity arrives, 130. His severe treatment, 131. Is ransomed, 133.

Levellers, suppressed by Cromwell, ii. 124.

Lewes battle, and convention of, i. 187.

Lewis, prince of France, invited over by the barons against king John, i. 161. He arrives in England, and assumes the executive power, *ib.* Disgusts the English by his partiality to his own countrymen, 162. Many desert from him and join the king, *ib.* After the death of king John his conduct gives umbrage to the nation, 164. His army routed at Lincoln, 165. A French fleet also defeated, 166. Lewis sues for peace, and quits the kingdom, *ib.*

Libraries, great havock made in the, on the pretext of reformation, in the reign of Edward VI. i. 465.

Limerick capitulates with king William's forces, ii. 272.

Lincoln, battle near, in which king Stephen is made prisoner, i. 85.

Litany, allowed to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, i. 441.

Liturgy of the church of England abolished, ii. 110.

Lollardism, the heresy of Wickliffe, so called, several of note put to death for embracing, i. 296.

London, tumults in, in the reign of Edward II. i. 236.

———, fire of, ii. 192.

Londonderry, siege of, ii. 267. Raised, 268.

Londoners, great resentment of king Henry III. against, i. 191.

Longchamp, bishop of Ely, and Hugh, bishop of Durham, administrators of England, during the absence of Richard I. on the crusade, cause many mischiefs in the kingdom, i. 128.

Longshanks, whence Edward I. acquired that name, i. 221.

Lords, four, counsellors to Charles I. request to be punished in his room, ii. 132.

Louisbourg taken, ii. 388.

M.

- M**ACCLESFIELD, earl of, tried and convicted of abuses in Chancery, ii. 342. Fined. *ib.*
- Magna Charta, the principal stipulations of, in regard to the clergy, the barons, and the people of England, i. 157. This charter annulled by the pope, and all adherents to it excommunicated, 159.
- Maid of Orleans, called Joan d'Arc, gives rise to one of the most singular revolutions that occur in history, i. 308. See a full account of this heroine under the reign of Henry VI. Is tried and burnt for a witch, 313.
- Malediction, denounced by Henry II. against his unquiet children, i. 121.
- Malplaquet, battle, account of, ii. 309.
- Ministry, Whig, in the reign of queen Anne, dissolution of, ii. 309.
- Mar, earl of, sets up the Pretender's standard in Scotland, ii. 328. Fights with the duke of Argyle the battle of Sheriff Muir, 329.
- Margaret of Arjou, the famed queen of Henry VI. i. 318. What share she had in the murder of the duke of Gloucester, uncertain, 319. She collects an army in the North, and defeats the duke of York in the battle of Wakefield, wherein he is killed, 321. Obtains a victory over the earl of Warwick, 322. Raises a great army against Edward IV. 333. Who defeats her in the battle of Towton, in Yorkshire, *ib.* She flies to Scotland with her husband Henry, 334. Makes an inroad into England, accompanied by him, but is defeated at Hexham, *ib.* Strange adventures of this queen, who escapes abroad, *ib.* Confederacy between her party and Warwick, 337. Upon her husband's being again proclaimed king, she lands at Weymouth, where she receives the fatal news of the death of Warwick, and the total destruction of her party. 341. Takes refuge in the abbey of Beaulieu, *ib.* Is again encouraged to take arms, but is defeated in the battle of Tewkesbury, *ib.* Is made prisoner with the prince her son, who is murdered, 342. Is confined in the Tower, and afterwards ransomed, *ib.*
- Margaret, princess, daughter of Henry VII. marriage of, with the king of Scotland, i. 374.
- Mariborough, duke of, gains an unbounded influence over queen Anne, and chiefly by the means of his wife, her particular confidante, ii. 181. The queen embraces his counsel in regard to war against France, according to the plan of her predecessor, 282. He is appointed general of the allied army, 283. His progress in Flanders, *ib.* His second campaign also in Flanders, 285. The next, he marches into Germany, 286. Is joined by prince Eugene, *ib.* Defeats with him the French in the battle of Blenheim, 287. Battle of Ramilies, in which he is equally successful, 292. Causes of his discontent, 300. Still remains at the head of the allied army, and distinguishes himself by great, though dear-bought victories, 304. Resigns all his employments, 307. Is accordingly dismissed, 311. Retires to the continent, 316. Is restored to the command of the army by George I. 312. And is made a member of the cabinet council, or *junto*, *ib.*
- Marriage, projects of, by Henry VIII. i. 424.
- , clandestine, act for preventing, ii. 371.
- Marston-moor, battle of, in which the royalists are defeated, ii. 109.
- Mary, Henry VIII's daughter by queen Catharine, excluded the succession, i. 404. Restored to that right, 436. Adheres to the mass, 457. Set aside from inheriting by the intrigues of Northumberland, 470. Her title, however, to the crown, is universally acknowledged, and she is proclaimed queen, 477.
- I. history of the reign of, i. 474. On the death of Edward, four princesses might assert their title to the crown, *ib.* Of these, two only put in their pretensions, and Jane Grey, upon the support of the duke of Northumberland, *ib.* Mary writes to the nobility and gentry, desiring their support, 475. Lady Jane is constrained to accept of the succession, 476. Is proclaimed in London, *ibid.* Mary's cause is espoused by great numbers, *ib.* Northumberland sets out with some troops to oppose Mary, 477. The council declares for Mary, *ib.* Whose title to the crown is universally

I N D E X.

- versally acknowledged, *ib.* Princess Elizabeth joins her with a thousand horse, 478. Northumberland is arrested, *ib.* Is tried and executed, *ib.* Mary makes her entrance into London, 479. Popular acts of the queen, *ib.* Catholic religion restored, *ib.* Several bishops sent to prison, *ib.* Judge Hales for opposing those practices, is thrown into prison, 480. Severe treatment of Cranmer, *ib.* Numbers of Protestants quit the kingdom, 481. A parliament, *ib.* Mass is celebrated before the two houses, *ib.* The statutes of the late reign, concerning religion, are repealed, *ib.* The queen's dislike to the princess Elizabeth, 482. The parliament is dissolved, *ib.* The mass restored, *ib.* Articles of the queen's marriage with Philip of Spain, 483. Treaty of marriage signed, *ib.* Wyatt's insurrection, *ib.* Suppressed, and Wyatt executed, 484. Severe treatment of princess Elizabeth, *ib.* Execution of lady Jane Grey, and lord Guildford Dudley, 485. Execution of the duke of Suffolk, 486. Trial of sir Nicholas Throgmorton, *ib.* The people are disarmed, *ib.* A new parliament, *ib.* The emperor sends over money to bribe the members, 487. The parliament dissolved, *ib.* The queen impatient for Philip's arrival, *ib.* He arrives in England, 488. His extreme reserve, *ib.* A new parliament, *ib.* Cardinal Pole arrives, as legate from the pope, 489. Extraordinary address of the parliament to the king and queen, *ib.* The queen's supposed pregnancy proves to be a dropical disorder, 490. The parliament dissolved, 491. Gardiner and cardinal Pole have great influence in the council, *ib.* Violent persecutions, *ib.* Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, and Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, are condemned to be burnt, *ib.* Execution of Sanders and Taylor, 492. The bishops of London, Worcester, and St. David's are burnt, 493. A Woman of Guernsey burnt with her infant, *ib.* The administration becomes extremely odious, 494. Gross artifice of Philip, *ib.* An attempt made to introduce the inquisition, *ib.* An arbitrary proclamation, *ib.* Numbers of people executed, *ib.* Embassy sent to Rome, 495. Discontents in the nation, 496. A parliament, *ib.* Dissolved, *ib.* The queen's extortions and arbitrary government, 497. Execution of Cranmer, 498. Cardinal Pole is made archbishop of Cantrebury, 499. Preparations for war with France, 500. The queen continues to exact money by arbitrary means, *ib.* An army is sent over to the Low Countries, 501. Many of the gentry are carried to the Tower, *ib.* Calais is taken by the French, *ib.* The queen much affected at this loss, 502. Her death and character, *ib.*
- Mary, queen of Scots, disgust between her and queen Elizabeth, *ii.* 3. See Elizabeth, for the particulars regarding this queen to her death.
- Masham, Mrs. possesses great favour with queen Anne, *ii.* 298. The tool of Mr. Harley, secretary of state, *ib.* She afterwards favours Bolingbroke, and Harley is dismissed, 319.
- Massacre, projected, of the Normans, soon after their conquest of England, *i.* 51.
- Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III. king of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling, marries Henry I. of England, *i.* 73.
- Matilda, daughter to Henry I. marries the emperor Henry V. and, after his death, Geoffry Plantagenet, eldest son of the duke of Anjou, *i.* 79. Is recognized as heir of all her father's dominions, *ib.* After Stephen's becoming king, is proclaimed by her uncle, David, king of Scotland, 82. Lands in England, 84. Stephen made prisoner in the battle near Lincoln, 85. Matilda flies to Winchester upon the revolt of the Londoners, where she is besieged, 86. Her brother, the earl of Gloucester, made prisoner, and Stephen released for him, 87. Matilda deposed, and Stephen recognized, whereupon she quits the kingdom, *ib.*
- Matthews and Lestock, admirals, their behaviour in the Mediterranean, *ii.* 359. Tried by a court-martial, and strange sentence passed upon them, *ib.*
- Mayor, the right by charter of electing annually a, first given by king John to the city of London, *i.* 163.
- Meal-tub plot, *ii.* 230.
- Millenarians, conspiracy of, against Cromwell, *ii.* 169. Insurrection of, under Charles II. 184.
- Minden, battle of, *ii.* 394.
- Ministers of Richard II. their expulsion or execution, *i.* 281.
- Monasteries. See Monks.

- Monk, general, to whom was reserved the glory of re-establishing monarchy, some account of, ii. 174. Negotiation between him and the committee of safety, 175. Enters London, 176. Marches into the city, and destroys the gates, *ib.* New models his army to the purposes he had in view, 177. Privately receives a message from the king, 178. And seconds the views of his restoration, 179. Created duke of Albemarle, acts as a gallant admiral against the Dutch, ii. 190. His conduct when de Ruyter appeared in the Thames, 191.
- Monks endeavour to inflame the people against Henry VIII. i. 409. Their revenues seized, 410. Their monasteries totally suppressed, 411.
- Monmouth, the king's declaration in regard to the illegitimacy of, ii. 231. His invasion, 245. Assumes the title of king, 246. Is defeated, taken, and executed, 247.
- Montford, earl of Leicester, conspiracy of, i. 179. Still ardent in pursuit of his ambitious prospects, forms a confederacy with the prince of Wales, who had invaded England with thirty thousand men, 182. Violence of his faction overspreads the kingdom, 183. Refuses, with his party, to submit to the award of Lewis IX. of France, and renews hostilities, 184. Gains the battle of Lewes, violates the treaty there entered into, and governs in the most arbitrary manner, 187. Summons a new parliament, 188. Is totally defeated in the battle of Evesham by prince Edward, and killed, 191.
- Montrose arrives in Scotland, ii. 141. Is defeated and taken, *ib.* His speech before his execution, 142. Is hanged on a gallows thirty feet high, 143.
- More, sir Thomas, has the seals delivered to him on the king's displeasure against Wolsey, i. 397. Is committed to the Tower, 405. His trial, 407. Beheaded, 408.
- Mortimer, his criminal commerce with the queen of Edward II. more than suspected, i. 238. His impatience to accelerate the king's death, *ib.* Procures the earl of Kent, brother to Edward II. to be executed, 242. Great discontents against him, *ibid.* Conspiracy against him, *ib.* Is taken by surprise, and executed, 243.
- Mortimer's Cross, battle of, signal for deciding the contest between the Yorkists and Lancastrians, when Edward IV. assumed the crown, i. 332.
- Mountfort makes an alliance with Edward III. i. 256. Made prisoner, 257. Spirited conduct of the counsellors of Mountfort, *ib.*
- Murray, earl of, regent of Scotland, ii. 12. Assassinated, 14.

N.

NASEBY, battle of, proves decisive of the fate of Charles I. ii. 113.

Navy, French, defeated in the reign of Edward III. i. 250.

Newark, adventures of Charles I. in the Scottish camp at, ii. 114.

Newport, treaty of, ii. 125. How made ineffectual, 127.

Niagara, fort, surrendered, ii. 390.

Nimeguen, peace of, ii. 213.

Norfolk, duke of, and his son, the earl of Surrey, sent to the Tower, and attainted, i. 446. Warrant for their execution suspended by the death of Henry VIII. 447.

——— duke of, his conspiracy against queen Elizabeth, ii. 14. Is committed to the Tower, 15. Released from the Tower, *ib.* Enters into a new conspiracy, discovered by accident, 17. Committed again to the Tower, tried, and executed, *ib.*

Normans, the settlement of the, in France, how effected, i. 30.

Norris, sir John, prevents a French invasion, ii. 359.

Northampton, battle of, wherein the Lancastrians are defeated, i. 329.

Northumberland, duke of, in the reign of Edward VI. means used by him to obtain a parliament to his will, i. 469. His project of changing the succession, 470. A son of his marries lady Jane Grey, 471. The judges hesitate to comply with his settlement in favour of lady Jane Grey, which is at last accomplished, 473. Northumberland sets out with troops to oppose Mary, 477. Is arrested, tried, and executed, 478. Declares himself a member of the church of Rome at his execution, *ib.*

———, duke of, executed in the reign of queen Elizabeth for favouring Mary, queen of Scots, ii. 17.

Nottingham, countess of, informs queen Elizabeth on her death-bed, of the fatal

I N D E X.

fatal circumstance of the ring, given her by Essex to deliver to her majesty, ii. 43.
 Nova Scotia, dispute about the limits of, ii. 372.

O.

OAK, Charles II. after his defeat at Worcester by Cromwell, conceals himself among the boughs of an, ii. 149.
Oath, consequence of taking a false, as related by monkish historians, i. 20.
 —, extraordinary, taken by king John on his submission to the pope, i. 149.
Oates's narrative of the Popish plot, ii. 215. Convicted of perjury, 245. Sentence passed upon, ib.
Odo, uterine brother to William the Conqueror, upon what account imprisoned by him, i. 62. Released with difficulty about the time of William's death, 63.
Ofa, a Saxon king of Essex, makes a vow of chastity, notwithstanding his marriage with Keneswitha, a Mercian princess, i. 8.
Orange, William prince of, married to the lady Mary, daughter of the duke of York, ii. 213. His political conduct, 256. Is applied to by the English, 257. His preparations, ib. His declaration, 259. He embarks, ib. Lands in England, ib. Is joined by many persons of distinction, 260. Assumes the reins of government, 263. His private declaration, 264. Proclaimed king, and his wife Mary, queen, *ibid.*
Orleans, memorable siege of, in the reign of Henry VI. i. 305.
Ormond, earl of, cuts off the Spaniards, who had invaded Ireland, ii. 18.
 —, duke of, his success at Vigo, ii. 283. Upon the dismissal of the duke of Marlborough is invested with the supreme command of the British forces, 314. Refuses to cooperate with prince Eugene, 315. Is dismissed from his command by George I. 322. Resolutions to impeach him with others, 325. Is attainted, 327. Retires to France, 328. Engages in the service of the Chevalier, and corresponds with the Tories in England, *ib.* Expedition projected at the court of Spain, to be under his direction, but miscarries, 337. His visit to the

earl of Oxford in the Tower, before he left England, 338.
Osborn, Fitz, commonly called Longbeard, at the head of the populace of London, causes a riot, which threatened that capital with destruction, *ib.* 136. His gibbet, believed by the mob to be endowed with preternatural power, 137.
Otho, a king of Mercia, treacherously destroys Ethelbert, king of the East-Angles, at an entertainment, i. 8. Makes a pilgrimage to Rome, and procures the papal absolution, *ibid.* Conciliates farther the pontifical favour by a yearly donation *ib.*
Overbury, sir Thomas. See Carre, earl of Somerset. Some accomplices of his murder are executed, ii. 56.

P.

PANDOLF, the pope's legate, in an interview with king John, receives his submission to the pope, i. 149. See Philip of France.
Par, Catharine, married to Henry VIII. i. 436. Her great address when orders were issued for articles of impeachment to be drawn up against her, 444. The king is reconciled to her, 445. Married again to the admiral, lord Thomas Seymour, 454. Dies in child-bed, 455.
Paris, Van, burnt for heresy, in the reign of Edward VI. 457.
Parliament and convocation, their extreme obsequiousness to Henry VIII. i. 417.
Parliament, long, ferment begun in, at length pervaded the nation, ii. 89. Purged, 128. Dissolved, 171.
 —, last, or the Commonwealth, whereby Charles II. is restored to the crown of England, ii. 179.
 —, first, of Charles II. dissolved, ii. 224.
Parliaments, two, sitting at the same time, ii. 108.
Parties, state of, in the beginning of the reign of queen Anne, ii. 281. Towards the middle of her reign, 293.
Paulinus, a learned bishop, induces Edwin, king of Northumberland, and his counsellors to embrace Christianity, i. 7.
Peada, the Saxon king of Mercia, by the persuasion of his queen, adopts with his subjects the Christian religion, i. 8.
 —, Pembroke,

I N D E X.

- Pembroke, earl of, and marshal of England at the death of king John, espouses the cause of his son young Henry, and has him solemnly crowned, i. 164. Makes him grant a new charter of liberties, together with the Charta Foresta, ib. Is chosen guardian to the king and protector of the kingdom, ib. Dies, 167. See Lewis, prince of France.
- , earl of, with his forces, taken at sea, by a fleet of the king of Castile, i. 273.
- Penn and Venables take Jamaica, ii. 163.
- Perkin Warbeck, his imposture, i. 364. See Henry VII. for his history.
- Petition of right, ii. 71.
- Petitions, like addresses, presented to the commons of the long parliament, not only from several counties, but from apprentices, porters, and beggars, ii. 99.
- Petition and advice, humble, framed and presented to Cromwell, ii. 167.
- Peter-pence, an impost levied on all England, proves the occasion of many ecclesiastical abuses, i. 8.
- Peter of Pomfret, a hermit, how punished by king John for predicting to him the loss of his crown, i. 151.
- de Roches, bishop of Winchester, appointed minister on the displacing of Hubert de Burgh, i. 171. His character and proceedings, 172.
- Philip, of France, levies a great army to invade England, in consequence of the grant made to him of its crown by the pope, on the deposition of king John, i. 148. Inhibited by the pope's legate from making any attempt upon England, king John having reconciled himself to the pope, 150. King Philip exclaims against the conduct of the pope, and resolves to accomplish the enterprize, ib. But is obliged to abandon it on the English admiral's burning his ships in their harbours, ibid.
- , of Spain, articles of his marriage with queen Mary signed, i. 483. Married to her, 488. His extreme reserve, ib. His gross artifice, 494. Sends over to queen Elizabeth proposals of marriage, which she declines, ii. 2.
- Philip, Fort St. besieged by the French, capitulates, ii. 377.
- Philippa, of Hainault, queen of Edward III. on her knees, and with tears in her eyes, implores and obtains mercy for the citizens of Calais, i. 264. Routs the Scots in a battle, and makes their king, David Bruce, prisoner, 266.
- Picts and Scots renew their invasion of the southern part of Britain. i. 1. Defeated by the Saxons, called in by the Britons to their assistance, 2.
- Piery, surnamed Hotspur, his encounter with Douglas at Otterburn, i. 283. His insurrection, when earl of Northumberland, 290. Henry IV. marches to meet him, 291. Hotspur is slain in the battle of Shrewsbury, ib.
- Pinkey battle, in which the Scots are defeated, i. 451.
- Plantagenet race becomes extinct upon the death of Richard III. i. 358.
- Playhouses, bill for licensing, ii. 347.
- Pole, Michael de la, his prosecution under Richard II. i. 279.
- , cardinal, arrives as legate from the pope, i. 489. His great influence in the council, 491. Is made archbishop of Canterbury, 499. Dies, 502.
- Pope levies an exaction in England, i. 176.
- Popish plot, account of, ii. 213.
- Portuguese ambassador, brother of the, ordered to be beheaded by Cromwell for murder, ii. 159.
- Possessions of Henry Plantagenet, on the continent, i. 91.
- Prelacy restored, 184.
- Prerogative stretched by Henry VIII. i. 388.
- Presbyterian clergy ejected, ii. 188.
- Presbyterians and Independents, divide into parties, each professing different views and interests, ii. 110. These denominations defined, 111.
- Pretender, sends over a manifesto in the beginning of the reign of George I. ii. 322. His standard set up in Scotland, 328. He arrives in Scotland, 332. Reimbarks for France, 333.
- the young, embarks for, and lands in Scotland, ii. 362. Defeats sir John Cope in the battle of Preston Pans, ib. Reduces Carlisle, 363. Marches to Manchester, and penetrates to Derby, ib. Retreats to Scotland, 364. Invests Stirling ineffectually, ib. Routs Hawley at Falkirk, 365. Is totally defeated at Culloden, ib. After many difficulties, escapes to France, 366.
- Pride, Colonel, his purge, ii. 128.
- Proclamations made equal to laws, in the reign of Henry VIII. i. 423.
- Project of trying king Charles I. for high treason, ii. 129.
- Propositions sent by the commons of the

the long parliament to the king, ii. 102. His answer to them, ib.
 Protestant religion, re-established by queen Elizabeth, ii. 2.
 Protestants and Papists, equally persecuted by Henry VIII. i. 428.
 Prussia, king of, his expostulation with king George II. ii. 382.
 Puritans, a new religious sect, dangerous to monarchy, collects strength in England, ii. 75. Split in parties, denominated Independents as well as Presbyterians. See Presbyterians.

Q.

QUADRUPLE alliance, ii. 335.
 _____, Spain accedes to it, 337.
 Quarrel between king John and the pope, i. 144.
 Quebec, expedition to, ii. 391. Surrenders, 392.
 Querouaille, Mademoiselle de, afterwards duchess of Portsmouth, mistress to Charles II. ii. 197.
 Quo Warrantos, ii. 238.

R.

RADCLIFFE, Mr. his trial and execution for rebellion, ii. 367.
 Raleigh, sir Walter, how affected by the revolution of Essex's being restored to the queen's favour, ii. 37. Receives an account of Essex's conspiracy, 41. His conspiracy with the lords Cobham and Grey in the reign of James I. 45. Is released from the Tower, 57. And sails on an enterprize to Guiana, 58. Complaints made against this expedition by Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador, ib. Wherupon his death warrant is signed, and he is executed, 59.
 Ramillies, battle, account of, ii. 292.
 Rebel lords, tried and executed, ii. 367.
 Rebellion in Yorkshire against Henry VIII. suppressed, i. 428.
 Records, all the, and ancient monuments of Scotland, destroyed by Edward I. i. 204.
 Reafen, famous, or enchanted standard, held by the Danes in superstitious veneration, i. 16.
 Vol. II,

Reformation, its great progress in Scotland, ii. 3.
 Regicides, trial and execution of the, ii. 132. Others executed, 187.
 Religion of Henry VIII. his queen, Anne, and his ministers, i. 405.
 _____, Commissioners appointed by Henry VIII. to choose a, for the people, i. 431. Institution of a Christian Man, a small volume published, 432. A new one ordered to be composed, with the title of, Erudition of a Christian Man, 432.
 Remonstrance of the Long Parliament, dictated by a true republican spirit, ii. 94. Answered by Charles I. ib.
 Revenue, settlement of, in the beginning of the reign of Charles II. ii. 181.
 Rhé, expedition to the Isle of, ii. 70.
 Richard I. succeeds without opposition his father Henry II. i. 122. Releases the queen-dowager from her confinement, and behaves exceedingly liberal to his brother John, ib. Goes to Normandy, and is absolved from his crime in taking up arms against his father, 123. Arrives in England, ib. Massacre of the Jews, ib. Richard's expedients to raise money for the crusade, 124. He renounces his superiority over the kingdom of Scotland, ib. The French and English rendezvous at Vezelay, ib. The two armies embark, 125. Are driven to Messina, ib. The English, insulted by the citizens, take the place by assault, ib. The two fleets set sail from Sicily, ib. The English are driven on the island of Cyprus, 126. Richard marries Berengaria, ib. Arrives in Palestine, ib. Acre is taken by the Christians, ib. King of France returns to his own dominions, ib. Richard obtains a victory over Saladin, 127. Takes Ascalon and other cities, ib. Makes a truce with the Saracens, and returns from Palestine, ib. Is imprisoned by order of Leopold, duke of Austria, ib. State of affairs in England, 128. Arbitrary conduct of Longchamp, 129. Council summoned at Reading, ib. Longchamp quits the kingdom, ib. The news of Richard's captivity arrives in England, 130. Treaty between

tween the king of France, and prince John, *ib.* Philip invades Normandy, *ib.* Makes a truce with the English regency, *ib.* John endeavours to raise an insurrection in England, 131. Goes over to France, *ib.* Severe treatment of Richard, *ib.* He is produced before the diet of Worms, *ib.* Refutes the charges brought against him, 132. His spirit and eloquence upon the occasion, *ib.* Is ransomed, 133. Returns to England, 134. Goes to Normandy, *ib.* Hostilities between the king and Philip, which terminate in a truce, *ib.* John makes submission, *ib.* Richard receives a wound in besieging the castle of Chalus, 135. Death of Richard without issue, 136. His character, *ib.* His personal courage procured him the name of Cœur de Lion, *ib.* Often levied taxes without the consent of the states, *ib.* Fitz-Osborn's riot in London, 137. Consequences of it, *ib.*

Richard, earl of Cornwall, king Henry III's brother, gives him disturbance, and forces him by a confederacy to comply with his measures, 171. Rejects the offer from the pope of the kingdom of Sicily, which is accepted by the king, 175.

Richard II. was but eleven years of age, when he ascended the throne of his grandfather, Edward III. *i.* 275. State of the government during his minority, *ib.* Imposition of a tax of three groats, 276. Insurrectionous of the common people, *ib.* Great outrages committed in London, 277. Another body of insurgents break into the Tower, *ib.* Intrepid behaviour of the king, 278. The ringleaders of the rioters severely punished, *ib.* Discontent of the barons, 279. Prosecution of the earl of Suffolk, *ib.* Violent proceedings of parliament, *ib.* The sovereign power is transferred to a committee of fourteen persons, 280. Civil commotions, *ib.* Expulsion or execution of the king's ministers, 281. The king recovers his authority, 282. Battle of Otterburn, 283. The king goes to Ireland, where he quells an insurrection, *ib.* A truce with France, *ib.* Cabals of the duke of Gloucester, *ib.* Is arrested, 284. Many of his adher-

ents condemned, *ib.* Murder of the duke of Gloucester, *ib.* Banishment of the dukes of Norfolk and Hereford, 285. Death of the duke of Lancaster, *ib.* Ambitious views of the duke of Hereford, *ib.* Richard embarks for Ireland, 286. Hereford, now duke of Lancaster, lands in England, *ib.* His cause is almost universally espoused by the nation, *ib.* The king returns to England, 287. He is made prisoner and brought to London, *ib.* Lancaster calls a parliament, *ib.* The king is deposed and murdered, 288. His character, *ib.*

Richard III. History of the reign of, *i.* 352. Gives orders immediately after being seated on the throne, for murdering his nephews, Edward V. and Richard, duke of York, *ib.* Duke of Buckingham, discontented, resolves to declare for Henry, earl of Richmond, 353. Opens a negociation with him, in order to place him on the throne, 354. Insurrection, headed by Buckingham, *ib.* His army disperses, and he is taken and executed, 355. A parliament meets and ratifies the king's authority, *ib.* Richard endeavours to conciliate the Yorkists, *ib.* Projects a marriage with his own niece, 356. Invasion by the earl of Richmond, *ib.* Battle of Bosworth, *ib.* Richard dies, fighting valiantly, 357. His crown placed on the head of the conqueror, 358. Extinction of the Plantagenet race, and the contests between the houses of York and Lancaster, *ib.*

— succeeds his father Oliver Cromwell, in quality of protector to the Commonwealth of England, *ii.* 171. His abdication, 172.

Ridley, bishop of London, burnt, *i.* 493.

Right, divine, hereditary, and inalienable, preached up, *ii.* 76.

Rights, declaration of, at the revolution, *ii.* 264.

Ring, history of, given by queen Elizabeth to Essex, *ii.* 43.

Rings, four, sent as a present from the pope to king John, *i.* 143. Their emblematical devices, *ib.*

Rioters in London severely punished, *i.* 168.

Rippon, treaty of, *ii.* 84. Transferred to London, 85.

I N D E X.

Rivers, earl of, arrested, i. 347. Executed at Pomfret, with others, 346.

Rizzio, David, a favourite with Mary queen of Scots, account of the murder of, ii. 5, & seq.

Robert, son to William the Conqueror, dissention between him and his father, i. 59. Flies to the castle of Gerberoy, 60. Encounters his father by accident, wounds and unhorses him, *ib.* Struck with remorse, begs pardon, but receives his malediction, 61. Reconciled to his father, and carried into England, *ib.* Left by his father's will duke of Normandy, 63. Engages in the crusade, and to appear with dignity therein, mortgages his dukedom to his brother William, 69. On his return from Palestine, falls in love with, and marries Sybilla, an Italian lady of celebrated beauty, 72. This alliance, from the delay he made in that country, excludes him for ever from the sovereignty of England, *ib.* Takes, however, at length possession of the Norman duchy, and laying claim to England, invades it, 74. Accommodation with his brother Henry, who afterwards forms a design of making a conquest of Normandy, 75. Robert is totally defeated by him, and dies detained his prisoner, during a term of twenty-eight years, 76.

Rochford, expedition against, abortive, ii. 382.

Rocheford, countess of, attainted and beheaded with queen Catharine Howard, i. 431.

Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, burnt, i. 492.

Rollo, a chieftain of the Danes, how he effected a settlement in France, i. 30.

Romans relinquish Britain, i. 1.

Rufamond, daughter of lord Clifford, issue of king Henry II. by her, i. 122.

Rosbach, battle of, i. 392.

Round-heads and cavaliers, whence that name of distinction, and for what purposes calculated, ii. 95.

Royalists, their victories in the West, ii. 107.

————— insurrection of, against Cromwell, ii. 160. Suppressed, 161. Conspiracy of, 168.

Rupert, prince, distinguishes himself in most of the battles against the

long parliament, by promptitude and courage, ii. 106.

Rupert's spirited conduct in the reign of Charles II. *ii.* 190.

Russel, lord, trial of, ii. 241. His execution, 242.

Rump-parliament, proceedings of the, ii. 128. Restored, 172. Expelled, 173. Restored, 175.

Rye-house plot, ii. 240. Execution of the conspirators, 241.

Ryswick, treaty of, ii. 273.

S.

SACHEVEREL, Dr. account of, *ii.* 301. His trial, 302. Lenity of his sentence, 303.

Sackville, lord George, declared incapable by a court-martial, of serving in any military command, 394.

Saladin, victory obtained by Richard I. of England, over, in the Holy Land, i. 127.

Salisbury, countess of, executed, i. 429.

Sanders and Taylor burnt, i. 492.

Sandwich, death of that gallant admiral, in the battle of Solebay, ii. 204.

Sarcasin passed by the French king on William the Conqueror's great belly, how retaliated, i. 62.

Sautre, William, a clergyman and follower of Wickliffe, the first that suffered death in England for the sake of religion, i. 294.

Saxons arrive in Britain, i. 2. Defeat the Picts and Scots, *ib.* Fight many battles with the Britons for superiority, and at length defeat them intirely, 3. Spread themselves over Britain, and establish that division of the country known by the name of the Heptarchy, 5. See Heptarchy.

Schomberg, duke of, is sent with an army to Ireland, 269. Is slain in the battle of the Boyne, 270.

Scotland, claim of Edward I. to, how finally decided, i. 201, & seq.

Scotland annexed to the commonwealth of England, ii. 151.

Scots take up arms against the English, i. 211. The English defeated, 213. Great dissentions among them on approach of Edward I. 214. Are defeated by him in the battle of Falkirk, 215. They, however, persevere in their efforts for recovering their ancient independence, 216.

I N D E X.

- Are routed at: Rossing, *ib.* Are again attacked by Edward with great force, and their whole kingdom subdued, 217.
- Scots, in the reign of Henry VIII. routed at Sulway-Mofs, i. 434. See Solway-Mofs.
- Scriptures, new translation of the, published in the reign of Henry VIII. i. 411.
- Scruples entertained by Henry VIII. concerning his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, i. 392.
- Sea-fight of four days, between the English and Dutch, ii. 191.
- Self-denying ordinance, what, ii. 112.
- Senex, John, a man eminent in the city of London, both for wealth and reputation, hanged by order of Henry II. for an attempt to commit a most daring robbery, i. 122.
- Septennial act, motion for the repeal of, ii. 346.
- Seymour, Jane, married to Henry VIII. the very day after the execution of Ann Boleyn, i. 416. Her death, 421.
- lord Thomas, admiral, jealousy between him and his brother the protector, i. 453. Marries the queen dowager, 454. His intrigues at court, *ib.* Pays his address on the dowager's death to the princess Elizabeth, 455. Continues his cabals, is attainted and executed, 456.
- Shaftesbury joins the country party, ii. 206. Is bent upon the ruin of the duke of York, 231. Trial of, 237. His desperate schemes, 239. Retires to Amsterdaim, where he dies, 240.
- Ship-money, levied by Charles I. ii. 68.
- Ships, French, burnt by the English admiral in their harbours, to prevent an intended invasion of England, i. 150.
- Shrewsbury, battle of, between Henry IV. and Hotspur, i. 291.
- Solebay, battle of, between the English and Dutch, ii. 204.
- Somerset, duke of, uncle and protector to Edward VI. See Edward VI. for an account of his administration to his death, i. 448.
- South-sea scheme, how that affair terminated, ii. 33^N.
- Spanish depredations in America, how committed, ii. 345.
- Stafford, earl of, tried and executed, on account of the Popish plot, ii. 223.
- Stanley, lord chamberlain, executed on account of favouring the impostor Perkin Warbec, i. 367.
- Star-chamber, and high-commission courts, severities of the, ii. 78.
- Steele, Mr. expelled the house of commons, ii. 318.
- Stephen, notwithstanding the endeavours of Henry I. to secure the succession to his daughter Matilda, reigns immediately after him, i. 80. He was the son of Adela, Henry's sister, married to the count of Blois, *ib.* Arrives in England, 81. Is crowned, *ib.* Endeavours to obtain the confidence of the nation, 82. Matilda proclaimed by her uncle David, king of Scotland, who makes inroads into the northern parts of England, *ib.* Great disorders in the kingdom, 83. Synod at Westminster, 84. Matilda lands in England, *ib.* Battle near Lincoln, 85. Stephen made prisoner, *ib.* Great discontents in the nation, 86. The Londoners revolt, *ib.* Matilda flies to Winchester, where she is besieged, *ib.* Stephen released for the earl of Gloucester, Matilda's brother, who was made prisoner, 87. Matilda deposed, and Stephen again recognized, *ib.* Matilda flies from Oxford, *ib.* Quits the kingdom, *ib.* Stephen meets with a more powerful competitor in Matilda's son Henry, 88. He invades England, *ib.* Compromise between the king and the prince, 89. Death of the king in about a twelvemonth after, *ib.* His character, *ib.*
- Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, displaced by William the Conqueror, on frivolous pretences, i. 55.
- Stoke, battle of, fought on account of the pretender Lambert Simnel, i. 361.
- Stirling, battle of, in which the English are defeated by the Scots, i. 213.
- Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, his intrepid resentment against king Edward III. i. 253, 254.
- Succession of the crown, settled by parliament before the death of Henry VIII. i. 436.
- Successor, Popish, limitations proposed on a, ii. 227.
- Suffolk, duke of, impeached in the reign of Henry VI. i. 320. Banished and murdered, 322.
- duke of, executed, i. 486.

I N D E X.

Supplies, various methods of raising, ii. 83.
 Swedish minister arrested, on account of the threatened invasion of Charles XII. ii. 335.
 Synod at Westminster, i. 84.

T.

TALLARD, marshal, made prisoner in the battle of Blenheim, ii. 283.
 Tax of three groats, imposition of, in the reign of Richard II. Causes insurrections of the common people, i. 276. Great outrages committed in London, 277. Intrepid behaviour of the king, 278. The ring-leaders of the rioters severely punished, ib.
 Florence, siege of, by Henry VIII. i. 381.
 Test act, ii. 206. Brought into the house of Lords, 210.
 Tofti, brother to king Harold II. his merited fate, i. 44.
 Toolon, miscarriage of the enterprize against, ii. 294.
 Tournament, Edward I. invited to a, when this trial of skill was converted into a hostile contention, i. 194.
 Towton battle, in the county of York, signal for the defeat of queen Margaret, i. 333.
 Treatment, cruel, of the dethroned king Edward II. i. 238.
 Trial for imprisonment, and upon what account. ii. 68.
 Trial of king Charles I. ii. 131.
 Trial of the marriage of Henry VIII. before the two legates Wolsey and cardinal Campeggio, i. 395. The cause evoked to Rome, 396.
 Triennial parliaments, bill for, ii. 276.
 Triple alliance, ii. 194.
 ————— between England, France, and Holland, ii. 335.
 Tudor. See Catherine, queen to Henry V.
 ————— Jasper, earl of Pembroke, defeated by Edward, the new duke of York, in the battle of Mortimer's Cross, i. 332. His father, Owen Tudor, made prisoner, and immediately beheaded, ib.
 Tumults in London, on account of Dr. Sacheverel, ii. 303.
 Tyler and Straw, leaders of a mutinous populace to the amount of

one hundred thousand men. See Tax of three groats.
 Tyrrel, Walter, by accident kills William Rufus, king of England, i. 71.

U.

UNIFORMITY, act of, ii. 186.
 Union between England and Scotland, ii. 295.
 Universities of Europe declare in favour of Henry VIII. concerning his marriage, i. 400.
 Usurpation of the commons of the long parliament, ii. 99.
 Utrecht, conferences for a peace opened at, ii. 313. Treaty concluded there, 317.
 Uxbridge, treaty of, ii. 109. Terminates in reciprocal animosities, ib.

V.

VANE, sir Henry, tried and executed, ii. 188.
 Vigo, success of the English at, ii. 233.
 Villiers, duke of Buckingham, becomes a favourite with king James I. 56. Impeached in the reign of Charles I. 66. Chosen however, chancellor of the university of Cambridge, ib. Is murdered by Felton, 73.
 Vernon, admiral, destroys Porto Bello, ii. 350.
 Vortigern, prince of Damnonium, sends a deputation to Germany, inviting over the Saxons to the protection and assistance of the Britons against the Picts and Scots, i. 2. His character, ib. Deposed, 3. Restored, 4. Entertains a passion for Rowena, the daughter of Hengist, ib. His death, ib.
 Vortimer, chosen leader of the Britons upon the deposing of his father Vortigern, i. 3. Dies, 4.

W.

WAKEFIELD, battle, remarkable for the duke of York's being slain in it, i. 322.
 Wakeman, acquitted in regard to the popish plot, ii. 222.
 Wales, Edward I. projects an expedition

I N D E X.

- tion against, 196. Conquest of that principality, *ib.* Fresh hostilities between England and Wales, 197. Final conquest of Wales, 198.
- Wales, prince of, how that title derived to the heir of the crown of England, i. 193.
- , the prince of, son to king James II. birth of, *ib.* 255.
- , Frederic prince of, misunderstanding between him and the king, *ib.* 348. Attempt to disengage him from the country-party, 353. Reconciled to the king, 354. Dies, 370.
- Wallace, William, the foremost of the Scots to rescue his country out of the hands of the English, i. 212. Some account of him previous to this engagement, *ib.* Attacks and defeats the English under Warrenne, 213. Is presented with the dignity of regent or guardian of the kingdom under the captive Baliol, *ib.* Makes an irruption into England, and commits great ravages, 214. Resigns the regency, *ib.* Is taken and brought to London, where he is executed, 217.
- Walpole, Sir Robert, rises into eminence in the House of Commons, *ib.* 300. Made paymaster of the army at the accession of George I. 322. Impeaches lord Bolingbroke of high-treason, 325. Engrosses the greatest share of power in the reign of George II. 343. His character, *ib.* Sets on foot the excise scheme, 345. Entertains apprehensions for the loss of his power, and even danger to his person, 353. Resigns all his employments, and is created earl of Orford, 354. His successors pursue exactly the same measures they had reprobated in him, *ib.*
- Walsingham, sir Francis, secretary of state under queen Elizabeth, *ib.* 20. Davison's letter to him, 30.
- Walthof, an English nobleman, disaffected to William the Conqueror, betrayed by his wife Judith, i. 58.
- Warrenne marches into Scotland, and is defeated by the Scots, i. 212. Retires to England, 213.
- Warwick, earl of, after the defeat and dispersion of the Yorkists at Bloreheath, lauds in Kent, and assembles an army in their favour, i. 329. Defects the royalists at Northampton, and takes the king prisoner, *ib.* Is defeated by queen Margaret, 332. Goes abroad to negotiate a marriage for king Edward IV. who, meanwhile, concludes a marriage at home, 335. Rupture between him and the king, upon which he forms an alliance with the duke of Clarence, *ib.* Banished with Clarence, 337. He confederates with the party of Margaret, *ib.* whose son prince Edward, marries his daughter, 338. Clarence is secretly instigated to desert Warwick, who maintains a secret correspondence with his brother, *ib.* Warwick and Clarence return, and king Edward is obliged to fly, 339. Warwick hereupon releases king Henry from his confinement, *ib.* Is killed not long after in the battle of Barnet, 341.
- Warwick, earl of, for what executed in the reign of Henry VII. i. 372. See Wilford.
- , earl of, in the reign of Edward VI. takes the lead in the administration, i. 463. Prefers articles of indictment against Somerset, *ib.* Procures the estate and title of duke of Northumberland, 466. See Northumberland.
- Wentworth, Thomas, earl of Strafford, his character, *ib.* 75. Impeached by the long parliament, 86. His trial, 87. Every expedient tried to put off the signing of his death warrant, *ib.* Is at length executed, 88.
- Whig and Tory, epoch of the well-known epithets of, *ib.* 230.
- Whigs, engross all public employments in the reign of George I. *ib.* 322.
- William, a cordwainer's son, personates the earl of Warwick, the last branch of the house of Plantagenet, i. 373.
- William, duke of Normandy, some account of, before he became king of England, i. 41. History of his his reign in England, after the defeat of king Harold, 47. He reduces the town and castle of Dover, *ib.* The English submit to him, 48. He seizes Harold's treasure, 49. Introduces the same strict execution of justice, which his administration in Normandy had been justly celebrated for, *ib.* Places, however, all offices of power in the hands of his own countrymen, *ib.* Returns to Normandy, 50. Insurrection

- recession in Kent, *ibid.* Projected massacre of the Normans, 51. Edwin and Morcar revolt, *ib.* State of the English at this period extremely deplorable, 52. William, commits horrible ravages in the North, 53. His severity to the English, and partiality to the Normans, 54. Proceedings against the clergy, 55. His cruelty to prisoners, 56. He marches north, *ibid.* Takes another voyage to Normandy, and with an English army gains several advantages over Philip of France, 57. Insurrection of the Norman barons, 58. How suppressed, *ibid.* William repairs again to Normandy, 59. Dissension between him and his son Robert, *ibid.* Who flies to the castle of Gerberoy, and encounters his father by accident, 60. Consequences of this affair, 61. Doomsday-book planned and compiled, *ibid.* The New Forest laid out in Hampshire, 62. Odo, bishop of Bayeux, William's uterine brother, for what imprisoned, *ib.* Death of Matilda, William's queen, *ibid.* War in France, 63. William receives a hurt by accident, which proves fatal to him, *ib.* Bequests of his will, *ib.* His death and character, *ib.*
- William Rufus, succeeds his father William the Conqueror, in the throne of England, i. 64. Is crowned by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, *ibid.* Conspiracy against him, 65. The rebels compelled to abandon their enterprise, *ibid.* William pays little regard to the flattering promises he had made the English, 66. Invades Normandy, but an accommodation takes place between the two brothers, *ib.* Distresses of Henry, the other brother; *ibid.* Other discontents, and a conspiracy, 67. Romantic enterprizes of the crusades, 68. His brother Robert, to appear with dignity in them, mortgages to William his dukedom of Normandy, by which it became once more united to England, 69. His quarrel with Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, 70. An accident puts an end to all his ambitious pursuits, 71. Is found slain in the New Forest, *ibid.* His character, *ibid.* Monuments remaining of him, *ib.*
- William III. and Mary II. history of the reign of, ii. 265. A new ministry, *ib.* The convention converted into a parliament, *ib.* William's efforts in favour of the dissenters, *ib.* The Scots recognize king William, 266. The king of France assists James in maintaining possession of Ireland; *ib.* James lands in Ireland, *ib.* Great hardships of the Irish protestants, *ib.* Many of them take refuge in Londonderry and Iniskilling, 267. Siege of Londonderry; *ib.* The siege is raised, 268. Oppression of the Protestants, *ib.* Arbitrary conduct of James, *ib.* Duke of Schomberg is sent with an army to Ireland, 269. William lands in Ireland, *ib.* Battle of the Boyne, 270. The duke of Schomberg killed, *ib.* James embarks for France, 271. Ginckle, defeats the Irish at Aughrim, 272. Limerick capitulates with the king's forces, *ib.* Fourteen thousand Irish emigrate to France, *ib.* Conspiracy against the government, 273. The conspiracy is discovered, *ib.* Preparations for a descent upon England, *ib.* Admiral Russel puts to sea, 274. Battle off La Hogue, *ib.* Unpopular conduct of the king, 275. Bill for triennial parliaments, 276. Conspiracy to assassinate the king, *ib.* The conspiracy is discovered, 277. Execution of sir John Freind, and others, *ib.* Bill of attainder against sir John Fenwick, 279. Treaty of Ryswick, *ibid.* The number of standing forces reduced, 279. Death of the king, 280. His character, and that of his queen, *ibid.*
- Windfor, magnificent castle of, how built by Edward III. i. 274.
- Wolfe, general, dies glorious in victory, ii. 391.
- Wolves extirpated in England, i. 27.
- Woodville, Elizabeth, married to Edward IV. i. 335.
- Woolsey becomes minister. See Henry VIII. for his history to the time of his death.
- Woodstock, manor of, obtained by the duke of Marlborough, where a palace is built for him at the public expence, ii. 129.
- Worcester, rencounter at, ii. 105.
- Charles II. intirely defeated by Cromwell in the battle of, ii. 149.

I N D E X.

World, western, discovered in the reign of Henry VII. i. 377.
 Wyatt's insurrection against queen Mary, i. 483. Suppressed, and Wyatt executed, 484.

Y.

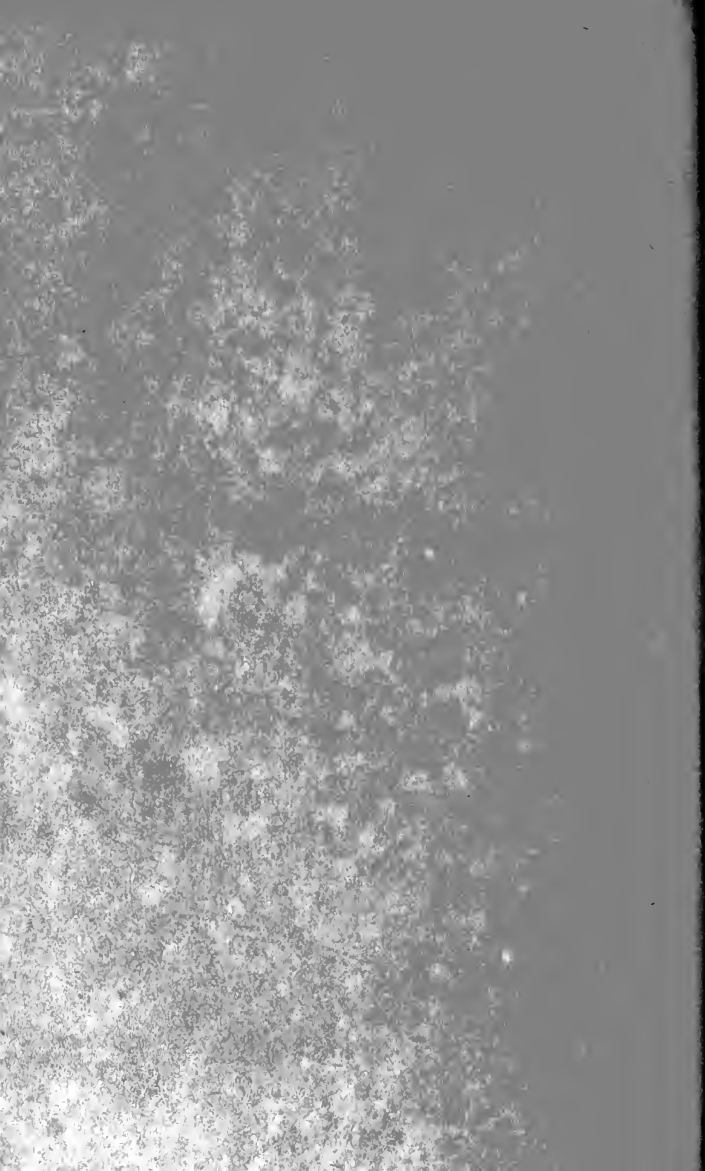
YORK, duke of, son to that earl of Cambridge who suffered under Henry V. succeeds the duke of Bedford in the protectorship of the kingdom, i. 316. His claim to the crown, 320. The court suspicious of him, 324. His first armament, 326. Levies an army, and makes the king prisoner in the

battle of St. Alban's, 327. His army defeated, and he flies to Ireland, 329. His affairs retrieved by the earl of Warwick, *ib.* The succession secured to him by parliament, 330. He is killed in the battle of Wakefield, 331. See Edward IV.

York, James, duke of, marries lady Anne Hyde, ii. 184. His victory over the Dutch admiral Opdam, 190. Declares himself a Catholic, 200. Commands the English and French combined fleets in the battle of Solebay, 204.—Retires to Brussels, 225. Repairs to Scotland, 229. See James II.

E N D O F T H E V O L U M E .









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