introduce a liturgy into public worship, and to render the ecclesiastical government of all his kingdoms regular and uniform.

The liturgy which the king, from his own authority, imposed on Scotland, though he was not by law the head of the Scottish church, was copied, with a few alterations, from that of England: and due notice was given of the intention to commence the use of it on Sunday, July 23, 1637. On that day, accordingly, in the cathedral church of St. Giles, the dean of Edinburgh, arrayed in his surplice, began the service; the bishop himself and many of the privy-council being present. But no sooner had the dean opened the book than the people, clapping their hands, cursing, and crying out, "A pope! a pope! antichrist! stone him!" raised such a tumult, that it was impossible to proceed with the service. The bishop, mounting the pulpit in order to appease the populace, had a stool thrown at him; the council was insulted; and it was with difficulty that the magistrates were able, partly by authority, partly by force, to expel the crowd, and to shut the doors against them. The tumult, however, still continued without: and the bishop, going home, was attacked, and narrowly escaped from the hands of the enraged multitude.

Further riots ensued; yet Charles continued inflexible, though to so violent a combination of a whole kingdom he had nothing to oppose but a proclamation (Feb. 15, 1638); in which he pardoned all past offences, and exhorted the people to be more obedient for the future, and to submit peaceably to the use of the liturgy. This proclamation was instantly encountered with a public protestation, presented by the earl of Hume and lord Lindesey: and this was the first time that men of quality had appeared in any violent act of opposition. But this proved a crisis. The insurrection, which had been advancing by a gradual and slow progress, now blazed up at once. No disorder, however, attended it. On the contrary, a new order immediately took place. Four *tables*, as they were called, were formed in Edinburgh. One consisted of nobility, another of gentry, a third of ministers, a fourth of burgesses. The table of gentry was divided into many subordinate tables, according to their different counties. In the hands of the four tables the whole authority of the kingdom was placed. Orders were issued by them, and everywhere obeyed with the utmost regularity. And among the first acts of their government was the production of the COVENANT. This famous deed consisted first of a renunciation of popery, formerly signed by James in his youth, followed by a bond of union, by which the subscribers obliged themselves to resist religious innovations, and to defend one another against all opposition whatsoever. The people, without distinction of rank or condition, of age or sex, flocked to the subscription of this covenant, and even the king's ministers and counsellors themselves were, most of them, seized by the general

gion. The king now began to apprehend the consequences, and sent the marquis of Hamilton, as commissioner, with authority to treat with the covenanters. He required the covenant to be renounced and recalled: but the popular leaders told Hamilton they would sooner renounce their baptism. Charles, who wanted both decision and sincerity, made concessions; and was at last willing entirely to abolish the canons, the liturgy, and the high commission court, and even to limit extremely the power of the bishops. These successive concessions of the king, which yet came still short of the rising demands of the malcontents, discovered his own weakness and gave no satisfaction. Without waiting for the consent of the crown, they elected a general assembly, which met at Glasgow, Nov. 21, 1638. Episcopacy, the high commission, the canons, and the liturgy, were abolished and declared unlawful; and the whole fabric which James and Charles, in a long course of years, had been rearing with so much care and policy, fell at once to the ground. The covenant likewise was ordered to be signed by every one, under pain of excommunication.

Preparations were now openly made for war. Cardinal Richelieu, in revenge for Charles's opposition to his designs upon Flanders, carefully fomented the first commotions in Scotland, and secretly supplied the covenanters with money and arms. The earl of Argyle, though he long seemed to temporise, at last embraced the covenant, and became the chief leader of that party. Forces were regularly enlisted and disciplined. Arms were commissioned and imported from foreign countries. And the whole country, except a small part where the marquis of Huntley still adhered to the king, being in the hands of the covenanters, was in a very little time put in a tolerable posture of defence. On the other hand, Charles's fleet was formidable and had 5000 land forces on board, under the marquis of Hamilton, who had orders to sail to the firth of Forth, and to cause a diversion in the forces of the malcontents. An army was levied of nearly 20,000 foot and above 3000 horse, and was put under the command of the earl of Arundel. The king himself joined the army, and he summoned all the peers of England to attend him. The whole had the appearance of a splendid court rather than of a military armament; and in this situation, carrying more show than real force with it, the camp arrived at Berwick. Here Charles concluded a sudden pacification, in which it was stipulated that he should withdraw his fleet and army; that within 48 hours the Scots should dismiss their forces; that the king's forts should be restored to him, his authority be acknowledged, and a general assembly and a parliament be immediately summoned, in order to compose all differences (June 18, 1639). The king, whose character was neither vigorous nor decisive, seems to have adopted this measure from observing in his army symptoms of sympathy with the Scotch. He agreed not only to confirm his

former concessions of abrogating the canons, the liturgy, and the high commission, but also to abolish the order itself of bishops, for which he had so zealously contended. But the Scotch parliament, which met soon after, having advanced pretensions which tended to diminish the civil power of the monarch, the war was renewed with great advantages on the side of the covenanters, and disadvantages on that of the king. For no sooner had Charles concluded the pacification than the necessities of his affairs and his want of money obliged him to disband his army; while the more prudent covenanters in dismissing their troops had warned them to be ready on the first summons.

§ 10. The king, with great difficulty, found means to draw together an army; but soon discovered that, all savings being gone, and great debts contracted, his revenue would be insufficient to support them. An English parliament, therefore, formerly so unkind and intractable, must now, after above eleven years' intermission, after the king had tried many irregular methods of taxation, after multiplied disgusts given to the puritanical party, be summoned to assemble amidst the most pressing necessities of the crown. The time appointed for the meeting of parliament was purposely late (April 13, 1640), and very near the time allotted for opening the campaign against the Scots; and hence Charles took occasion to press them for an immediate grant, before they proceeded to offer him petitions for the redress of their grievances; promising that as much as was possible of this season should afterwards be allowed them for that purpose. But, by means of the Scottish insurrection, and the general discontents in England, affairs were drawn so near to a crisis, that the leaders of the House, sagacious and penetrating, began to foresee the consequences, and to hope that the time so long wished for was now come, when public liberty must acquire a full ascendant. The Commons, instead of taking notice of the king's complaints against his Scottish subjects, or his applications for supply, entered immediately upon grievances. They began with examining the behaviour of the speaker the last day of the former parliament, when he refused, on account of the king's command, to put the question; and they declared it a breach of privilege. They proceeded next to inquire into the imprisonment and prosecution of sir John Elliot, Hollis, and Valentine: the affair of ship-money was canvassed: and plentiful subject of inquiry was suggested on all hands. Charles, in order to bring the matter of supply to some issue, solicited the House by repeated messages; and offered to abolish ship-money in return for a supply of 12 subsidies, about 600,000*l*., payable in three years. But to this the Commons objected that, by bargaining for the remission of that duty, they would, in a manner, ratify the authority by which it had been levied; at least, give encouragement

advancing new pretensions of a like nature, in hopes of receiving them on like advantageous conditions. The king was in great doubt and perplexity. He saw that his friends in the House were outnumbered by his enemies. Where great evils lie on all sides, it is difficult to follow the best counsel; nor is it any wonder that the king, whose capacity was not equal to situations of such extreme delicacy, should hastily have formed and executed the resolution of dissolving this parliament; a measure however of which he soon after repented (May 5). This abrupt and violent dissolution naturally excited discontents among the people, and these were increased when some of the members were imprisoned and otherwise ill-treated. An attack was made during the night upon Laud, in his palace of Lambeth, by above 500 persons; and a multitude entered St. Paul's, where the high commission then sat, tore down the benches, and cried out, "No bishop, no high commission." All these instances of discontent were presages of some great revolution, had the court possessed sufficient skill to discern the danger, or sufficient power to provide against it.

§ 11. The king, having raised money by several illegal and arbitrary expedients, was enabled, though with great difficulty, to march his army, consisting of 19,000 foot and 2000 horse. The Scottish army, though somewhat superior, were sooner ready than the king's. The covenanters still preserved the most pathetic and most submissive language; and entered England, they said, with no other view than to obtain access to the king's presence, and lay their humble petition at his royal feet. At Newburn-upon-Tyne they were opposed by a detachment of 4500 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 their ground. The English forces at Newcastle now retreated into Yorkshire, and the Scots took possession of Newcastle. Hence they despatched messengers to the king, who was arrived at York; and they took care, after the advantage which they had obtained, to redouble their expressions of loyalty, duty, and submission to his person, and they even made apologies, full of sorrow and contrition, for their late victory. In order to prevent their advance, the king agreed to a treaty, and named 16 English noblemen, who met with 11 Scottish commissioners at Ripon.

An army newly levied, undisciplined, frightened, seditious, ill-paid, and governed by no proper authority, was very unfit for withstanding a victorious and high-spirited enemy, and retaining in subjection a discontented and zealous nation: and Charles, in despair of being able to stem the torrent, at last determined to yield to it. He had summoned a great council of the peers at York (Sep. 24), but, fore-

secret that they would advise him to call a parliament, he told them in his first speech that he had already taken this resolution. They agreed to pay the Scots a weekly subsidy of 5600*l.*, to be levied on the four northern counties; and the negociation of the treaty was transferred from Ripon to London.

§ 12. The elections, as might have been expected, ran in favour of the popular party. The parliament, memorable as the LONG PARLIAMENT, met on Nov. 3, 1640. The first act of the Commons was to choose Lenthall for their speaker, in opposition to Charles's views, who had intended to advance Gardiner, recorder of London, to that important dignity. Without any interval they entered upon business, and they immediately struck a blow which may in a manner be regarded as decisive, by impeaching the earl of Strafford, who was considered as chief minister. Strafford, sensible of the load of popular prejudices under which he laboured, would gladly have declined attendance in parliament; but Charles, who had entire confidence in the earl's capacity, thought that his counsels would be extremely useful during the critical session which approached. And when Strafford still insisted on the danger of his appearing amidst so many enraged enemies, the king, little apprehensive that his own authority was so suddenly to expire, promised him protection, and assured him that not a hair of his head should be touched by the parliament. The debate respecting Strafford was conducted with locked doors; his impeachment was unanimously voted, and Pym was chosen to carry it up to the Lords. Most of the House accompanied him on so agreeable an errand: and Strafford, who had just entered the House of Peers, and who little expected so speedy a prosecution, was immediately, upon this general charge, ordered into custody (Nov. 11). After a deliberation which scarcely lasted half an hour an impeachment of high treason was also voted against Laud, who was immediately, upon this general charge, sequestered from parliament, and committed to custody. The lord-keeper Finch, and sir Francis Windebank, the secretary, a creature of Laud's, apprehending a similar attack, fled to the continent. Thus, in a few weeks, this House of Commons, not opposed, or rather seconded, by the Peers, had produced such a revolution in the government, that the two most powerful and most favoured ministers of the king were thrown into the Tower, and daily expected to be tried for their life; whilst two other ministers had, by flight alone, saved themselves from a like fate. The Commons, not content with the authority which they had acquired by attacking these great ministers, were resolved to render the most considerable bodies of the nation subject to them. All persons who had assumed powers not authorised by statute were declared *delinquents*. This term was newly come into vogue, and expressed a degree or species of guilt

not exactly known or ascertained. It would comprehend all the sheriffs, and all those who had been employed in assessing ship-money; all the farmers and officers of the customs, who had been engaged during so many years in levying tonnage and poundage; and all those who had concurred in the arbitrary sentences of the courts of star chamber and high commission. No minister of the king, no member of the council, but found himself exposed by this decision. And almost all the bench of bishops, and the most considerable of the inferior clergy, who had voted in the late convocation, were involved, by these new principles, in the imputation of delinquency. 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, ere they proceeded to any violent exercise of it. This was the time when genius and capacity of all kinds, freed from the restraint of authority, and nourished by unbounded hopes and projects, began to exert themselves and be distinguished by the public. Then was celebrated the sagacity of Pym; the mighty ambition of Hampden: then too were known the dark, ardent, and dangerous character of St. John, the impetuous spirit of Hollis, and the enthusiastic genius of young Vane. Even men of the most moderate tempers, and the most attached to the church and monarchy, exerted themselves with the utmost vigour in the redress of grievances, and in prosecuting the authors of them: the lively and animated Digby, the firm and undaunted Capel, the modest and candid Palmer. In this list too of patriot royalists are found the names of Hyde and Falkland. Though in their ultimate views and intentions these men differed widely from the former, in their present actions and discourses an entire concurrence and unanimity were observed.

The harangues of members were now first published and dispersed; the pulpit and the press were delivered from the long silence and constraint in which they had been retained by the authority of Laud and the high commission. The sentence which had been executed against Prynne, as well as against two other puritans, Bastwick and Burton, now suffered a revisal from parliament, and they were released from their prisons in Scilly and the Channel Islands. When the prisoners landed in England they were received and entertained with the highest demonstrations of affection, were attended by a mighty confluence of company, their charges were borne with great magnificence, and liberal presents bestowed on them. The invasion of the Scots had evidently been the cause of assembling the parliament: the presence of their army reduced the king to that total subjection in which he was now held: and the Commons, for this reason, openly professed their intention of retaining these invaders. Eighty thousand pounds a month were requisite for the subsistence of the Scotch and

England arrears, a sum much greater than the subject had ever been accustomed, in any former period, to pay to the public. And though several subsidies, together with a poll-tax, were from time to time voted to answer the charge, the Commons still took care to be in debt, in order to render the continuance of the session the more necessary.

The zeal of the Commons was particularly directed against the bishops and the established church. They introduced a bill for prohibiting all clergymen the exercise of any civil office, as a consequence of which the bishops were to be deprived of their seats in the House of Peers. But the bitter and intolerant spirit displayed by the puritans was now beginning to alienate many of the lords, and the bill was rejected by a large majority. Among other acts of regal executive power which the Commons were every day assuming, they issued orders for demolishing all images, altars, crucifixes. It was now that the zealous sir Robert Harley, to whom the execution of these orders was committed, removed the beautiful crosses at Cheapside and Charing Cross. A committee was elected as a court of inquisition upon the clergy, and was commonly denominated the committee of *scandalous ministers*. The proceedings of this famous committee, which continued for several years, were cruel and arbitrary, and made great havoc both on the church and the universities. They began with harassing, imprisoning, and molesting the clergy, and ended with sequestrating and ejecting them. Charles, who was now aware of the uselessness of resistance, yet opposed, as long as he could, the bill for assembling a parliament at least once in three years (1641). By a statute passed during the reign of Edward III. it had been enacted that parliaments should be held once every year, or more frequently if necessary: but as no provision had been made in case of failure, this statute had been dispensed with at pleasure. The defect was supplied by those vigilant patriots who now assumed the reins of government. It was enacted, that, if the chancellor failed to issue writs by the 3rd of September in every third year, any 12 or more of the peers should be empowered to exert this authority: in default of the peers, that the sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, &c., should summon the voters: and in their default, that the voters themselves should meet and proceed to the election for members, in the same manner as if writs had been regularly issued from the crown. Nor could the parliament, after it was assembled, be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own consent, during the space of 50 days. Nothing could be more necessary than such a statute for completing a regular plan of law and liberty.

§ 13. Immediately after Strafford was sequestered from parliament, and confined in the Tower, a joint committee of the Lords and Commons were appointed to investigate his case, and were bound to secrecy

an oath. To bestow the greater solemnity on this important trial, scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall; where both houses sat, the one as accusers, the other as judges. Besides 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 Strafford were 28 in number; and regarded his conduct as president of the council of York, as deputy or lieutenant of Ireland, and as counsellor or commander in England. From a cumulation of charges it was endeavoured to establish a constructive one of treason. The principal articles were the billeting of soldiers on the Irish, in order to make them submit to his illegal demands, advising the king to employ the army raised in Ireland to subject England, and the taxing of the people of Yorkshire for the maintenance of his troops. The remaining charges were for hasty and imperious expressions and tyrannous acts towards individuals. In order to strengthen the case of the impeachment, Pym produced a paper, found by sir Henry Vane in his father's cabinet, purporting to be notes of a debate in council after the dissolution of the last parliament, in which Strafford was represented as advising the king, that, having tried the affections of his people, he was absolved and loose from all rules of government, and might do what power would admit. And it was pretended that the circumstance of this paper having been seen by Pym, who had copied it, and by young sir Henry Vane, was equivalent to the testimony of two witnesses, the number required by law in cases of treason. Strafford is allowed, on all hands, to have made a noble defence, which is thus characterised by Whitelock, the chairman of the committee which conducted the impeachment: "Certainly never any man acted such a part, on such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and actions, than did this great and excellent person; and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, some few excepted, to remorse and pity."

It was evident that Strafford had gained many friends by the manly modesty of his demeanour and the eloquence of his defence. The result appeared doubtful if the trial proceeded in Westminster-hall; and some of the leaders of the popular party therefore resolved to adopt one of the worst precedents of the reign of Henry VIII., and to proceed against Strafford by bill of attainder.* This course however was opposed by Pym and Hampden, who still believed

* The student should bear in mind the difference between an *Impeachment* and a *Bill of Attainder*. In an Impeachment the Commons are the accusers, and the Lords alone the judges. In a Bill of Attainder the Commons are the judges, as well as the Lords; it may be introduced in either House; it passes through the same stages as any other Bill; and when agreed to by both Houses, it receives the assent of the Crown.

that they could support the charge of treason by impeachment; but these great leaders were outvoted, and the bill of attainder was brought into the lower House. It is a curious fact that Hyde and Falkland, who were shortly afterwards the mainstay of the royalist party, were eager supporters of the attainder, and consequently are chiefly answerable for the death of Strafford.* The bill of attainder passed the Commons with only 59 dissenting votes. A new discovery, made about this time, served to throw everything into still greater flame and combustion. Some principal officers concerted a form of a petition to the king and parliament, to be subscribed by the army, in which they offered to come up and guard the parliament. The draught of this petition being conveyed to the king, he was prevailed on to countersign it himself, as a mark of his approbation. An officer named Goring betrayed the secret to the popular leaders. The alarm may easily be imagined which this intelligence conveyed. The Commons voted a protestation, to be signed by the whole nation, declaring that the subscribers would defend their religion and liberties. About 80 peers had constantly attended Strafford's trial; but such apprehensions were entertained on account of the popular tumults, that only 45 were present when the bill of attainder was brought into the House. Yet of these, 19 had the courage to vote against it. The opinion of the judges had been taken, and was read to the house previously to the division. It was not very decidedly expressed, and did not state that the prisoner was guilty of treason, but that "they are of opinion, upon all that which their lordships have voted to be proved, that the earl of Strafford doth deserve to undergo the pains and forfeitures of high treason by law." The bill was then passed (May 7, 1641). On the following day the populace flocked about Whitehall, and accompanied their demand of justice with the loudest clamours and most open menaces. All the king's servants, consulting their own safety rather than their master's honour, declined interposing with their advice between him and his parliament. Juxon alone, bishop of London, whose courage was not inferior to his other virtues, ventured to advise him, if in his conscience he did not approve of the bill, by no means to assent to it. Some plans for the earl's escape were devised, but abandoned: and Strafford, hearing of Charles's irresolution and anxiety, took a very extraordinary step; he wrote a letter, in which he entreated the king, for the sake of public peace, to put an end to his unfortunate, however innocent, life; and to quiet the tumultuous people by granting them the request for which they were so importunate. After the most violent anxiety

* The opposition of Hampden to Strafford's attainder, and Hyde's support of it, have been proved for the first time by Mr. Forster ('Historical and Biographical Essays,' i. p. 252, foll. London, 1858).

and doubt, Charles at last granted a commission to four noblemen to give the royal assent, in his name, to the bill. Secretary Carleton was sent by the king to inform Strafford of the final resolution which necessity had extorted from him. The earl seemed surprised, and, starting up, exclaimed, in the words of Scripture, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men: for in them there is no salvation." He was soon able, however, to collect his courage; and he prepared himself to suffer the fatal sentence. Only three days' interval was allowed him. The king, who made a new effort in his behalf, and sent, by the hands of the young prince, a letter addressed to the Peers, in which he entreated them to confer with the Commons about a mitigation of Strafford's sentence, and begged at least for some delay, was refused in both requests.

Strafford, in passing from his apartment to Tower-hill, where the scaffold was erected, stopped under Laud's windows, with whom he had long lived in intimate friendship, and entreated the assistance of his prayers in those awful moments which were approaching. His discourse on the scaffold was full of decency and courage: and with one blow a period was put to his life by the executioner (May 12, 1641). Thus perished, in the 49th year of his age, the earl of Strafford, one of the most eminent personages that has appeared in England. That he was legally convicted may well admit of a question; that he was an enemy of his country cannot be doubted. His aim was to establish an absolute monarchy by means of a military force; a scheme to which, in his correspondence with Laud, he gives the significant name of the *Thorough*. Men of different tempers will estimate differently the severity of his sentence; but the sentiments of the age should be taken into the account, and we should endeavour to place ourselves in the situation of those actually engaged in that arduous and violent struggle. It is to be considered that revolutions of government cannot be effected by the mere force of argument and reasoning: and that, factions being once excited, men can neither so firmly regulate the tempers of others, nor their own, as to insure themselves against all exorbitances. Of the conduct of Charles there can hardly be but one opinion; and it is certain that strong compunction for his consent to Strafford's execution attended him during the remainder of his life.

§ 14. On the same day that the king gave his assent to the execution of Strafford he likewise sanctioned a bill, which had been rapidly carried through both houses, that the parliament should not be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned, without their own consent. A bill was also passed to abolish the courts of high commission and star chamber;* and in them to annihilate the principal and most

* For the history of the star chamber see Notes and Illustrations, p. 338.

dangerous article of the king's prerogative. By the same bill the jurisdiction of the king's council was regulated, and its authority bridged. Several other minor reforms were also effected. The parliament then adjourned to the 20th of October; and a committee of both Houses, a thing unprecedented, was appointed to sit during the recess with very ample powers.

A small committee of both Houses was appointed to attend the king on his journey into Scotland, in order, as was pretended, to see that the articles of pacification were executed; but really to be spies upon him, and extend still further the ideas of parliamentary authority, as well as eclipse the majesty of the king. Besides the large pay voted to the Scots for lying in good quarters during a twelvemonth, the English parliament conferred on them a present of 300,000*l.* for their brotherly assistance. In the articles of pacification they were declared to have ever been good subjects; and their military expeditions were approved of, as enterprises calculated and intended for his majesty's honour and advantage. In Scotland, as in England, the king was obliged to strip himself of his most valued prerogatives. Several of the covenanters were sworn of the privy council; and the king, while in Scotland, conformed himself entirely to the established church, assisting with great gravity at the long prayers and longer sermons with which the presbyterians endeavoured to regale him.

§ 15. While the king was employed in pacifying the commotions in Scotland, he received intelligence of a dangerous rebellion which broke out in Ireland, with circumstances of the utmost horror, bloodshed, and devastation. Strafford had raised the army in Ireland from 3000 to 12,000 men, with the secret design of employing them to assert Charles's power in England. The parliament insisted on their being reduced to the original number; nor would they forward the king's plan of enlisting 4000 of these disbanded troops in the Spanish service in Flanders, whence indeed they might have been easily diverted to a different object. By this means, however, not only was the standing army in Ireland greatly reduced, but a large body of discontented papists, trained to the use of arms, was suddenly turned loose on society. The old Irish remarked these false steps of the English, and resolved to take advantage of them. A gentleman called Roger More, much celebrated among his countrymen for valour and capacity, formed the project of expelling the English; and engaged all the heads of the native Irish in the conspiracy, especially sir Phelim O'Neale, the representative of the Tyrone family, and lord Maguire. The commencement of the revolt was fixed on the approach of winter, that there might be more difficulty in transporting forces from England. An attempt to surprise Dublin Castle was betrayed and failed, but O'Neale and his confederates had already

ken arms in Ulster. The Irish, everywhere intermingled with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders and priests to begin hostilities against a people whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and prosperity. The houses, cattle, goods, of the unwary English were first seized. After rapacity had fully exerted itself, a universal massacre commenced. No age, no sex, no condition was spared. But death was the slightest punishment inflicted by those rebels: all the tortures which wanton cruelty could devise, all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not satiate the revenge of the Irish. Amidst all these enormities, the sacred name of Religion resounded on every side. The English, as heretics abhorred of God and detestable to all holy men, were marked out by the priests for slaughter; and, of all actions, to rid the world of these declared enemies to catholic faith and piety was represented as the most meritorious. The English colonies were totally annihilated in the open country of Ulster, whence the flames of rebellion diffused themselves in an instant over the other three provinces of Ireland. In all places death and slaughter were not uncommon, though the Irish, in these other provinces, pretended to act with moderation and humanity. But cruel and barbarous was their humanity! Not content with expelling the English their houses, with despoiling them of their goodly manors, with wasting their cultivated fields, they stripped them of their very clothes, and turned them out, naked and defenceless, to all the severities of the season. The heavens themselves, as if conspiring against that unhappy people, were armed with cold and tempest unusual to the climate, and executed what the merciless sword had left unfinished. The saving of Dublin alone preserved in Ireland the remains of the English name. The number of those who perished by all these cruelties is variously estimated at from 40,000 to 200,000. The English of the pale, or ancient English planters, who were all catholics, were probably not at first in the secret, and pretended to blame the insurrection, and to detest the barbarity with which it was accompanied. By their protestations and declarations they engaged the justices to supply them with arms, which they promised to employ in defence of the government; but in a little time the interests of religion were found more prevalent over them than regard and duty to their mother country. They chose lord Gormanstone their leader; and, joining the old Irish, rivalled them in every act of violence towards the English protestants.

§ 16. The king, to whom the Scots could grant no further aid than to despatch a small body to support the Scottish colonies in Ulster, sensible of his utter inability to subdue the Irish rebels, found himself obliged, in this exigency, to have recourse to the English parliament, and depend on their assistance for supply. The parliament

covered, in every vote, the same dispositions in which they had separated; but the Irish rebellion had increased their animosity against the papists, and many believed, what the Irish rebels pleaded, that they had the king's commission for all their acts of violence; but, though that is altogether incredible, it does not seem improbable that Charles had been privy to the design of seizing Dublin Castle, in order to procure the arms deposited there, with the view of re-organising the Irish army and using it against the parliament. The Commons assumed the whole management of Irish affairs; but while they pretended the utmost zeal against the insurrection, they took no steps towards its suppression, but such as likewise tended to give them the superiority in those commotions which they foresaw must so soon be excited in England. They levied money under pretence of the Irish expedition, but reserved it for purposes which concerned them more nearly; they took arms from the king's magazines, but still kept them, with a secret intention of employing them against himself. To vindicate their conduct and to show that their distrust of the king was well founded, the leaders of the popular party thought proper to frame a general REMONSTRANCE on the state of the nation. This memorable document was not addressed to the king, but was openly declared to be an appeal to the people. Whatever invidious, whatever suspicious, whatever tyrannical measure had been embraced by the king, from the commencement of his reign, is insisted on with merciless rhetoric: the unsuccessful expeditions to Cadiz and the isle of Rhé; the sending of ships to France for the suppression of the Huguenots; the forced loans; the illegal confinement of men for not obeying illegal commands; the violent dissolution of four parliaments; the arbitrary government which always succeeded; the questioning, fining, and imprisoning of members for their conduct in the House; the levying of taxes without consent of the Commons; the introducing of superstitious innovations into the church, without authority of law; in short, everything which had given offence during the course of 15 years, from the accession of the king to the calling of the present parliament. And all their grievances, they said, which amounted to no less than a total subversion of the constitution, proceeded entirely from the formed combination of a popish faction, who had ever swayed the king's counsels, who had endeavoured, by an uninterrupted effort, to introduce their superstition into England and Scotland, and who had now at last excited an open and bloody rebellion in Ireland. But the opposition which the remonstrance met with in the House of Commons was great. For above 14 hours the debate was warmly managed, and the vote was at last carried by a small majority of 11 (Nov. 22). Some time after the remonstrance was ordered to be printed and published, without being

ple were divided in their choice, and were agitated with the most violent animosities and factions. The nobility, and more considerable gentry, dreading a total confusion of rank from the fury of the populace, enlisted themselves in defence of the monarch, from whom they received, and to whom they communicated, their lustre. The city of London, on the other hand, and most of the great corporations, took part with the parliament, and adopted with zeal those democratical principles on which the pretensions of that assembly were founded. The devotees of presbytery became of course zealous partisans of the parliament; the friends of the episcopal church valued themselves on defending the rights of monarchy; but though the concurrence of the church undoubtedly increased the king's adherents, it may safely be affirmed that the high monarchical doctrines, so much inculcated by the clergy, had never done him any real service. The bulk of that generous train of nobility and gentry who now attended the king in his distresses breathed the spirit of liberty, as well as of loyalty; and in the hopes alone of his submitting to a legal and limited government were they willing, in his defence, to sacrifice their lives and fortunes; and all those who aspired to nothing but an easy enjoyment of life, amidst the jovial entertainment and social intercourse of their companions, flocked to the king's standard, where they breathed a freer air, and were exempted from that rigid preciseness and melancholy austerity which reigned among the parliamentary party. On the whole, however, the torrent of general affection ran to the parliament. The neighbouring states of Europe, being engaged in violent wars, little interested themselves in these civil commotions; and this island enjoyed the singular advantage (for such it surely was) of fighting out its own quarrels without the interposition of foreigners. The king's condition, when he appeared at Nottingham, was not very encouraging to his party. His artillery, though far from numerous, had been left at York for want of horses to transport it. Besides the trained bands of the county, raised by sir John Digby, the sheriff, he had not got together above 300 infantry. His cavalry, in which consisted his chief strength, exceeded not 800, 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 6000 men, well armed and well appointed. Had these troops advanced upon him, they must soon have dissipated the small force which he had assembled, and perhaps for ever prevented his collecting an army; but the earl of Essex, the parliamentary general, had not yet received any orders from his masters. In this situation, by the unanimous desire of Charles's counsellors, the earl of Southampton, with sir John Colepeper and sir William Uvedale, was despatched to London with offers of a treaty. Both Houses replied that they could admit

of a treaty with the king till he took down his standard, and recalled his proclamations, in which the parliament supposed themselves to be declared traitors. A second attempt at negociation had no better success.

The courage of the parliament was increased both by their great superiority of force and by two recent events which had happened in their favour. They had obtained possession of Portsmouth, the best fortified town in the kingdom, through the negligence of Goring, the governor (Sept. 20); and the marquis of Hertford, a nobleman of the greatest quality and character in the kingdom, who had drawn together some appearance of an army in Somersetshire, had been obliged to retire into Wales on the approach of the earl of Bedford with the parliamentary forces. All the dispersed bodies 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 15,000 men. The king, sensible that he had no army which could cope with so formidable a force, thought it prudent to retire to Derby, and thence to Shrewsbury. At Wellington, a day's march from Shrewsbury, he made a solemn declaration before his army, in which he promised to maintain the protestant religion, to observe the laws, and to uphold the just privileges and freedom of parliament. 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 that time commanded a body of horse which had been sent to Worcester in order to watch the motions of Essex. Here prince Rupert began the civil wars by routing a body of cavalry near that city. The rencounter, though in itself of small importance, mightily raised the reputation of the royalists, and acquired for prince Rupert the character of promptitude and courage, qualities which he eminently displayed during the whole course of the war.

The king, on mustering his army, found it amount to 10,000 men. The earl of Lindsay, who in his youth had sought experience of military service in the Low Countries, was general; prince Rupert commanded the horse, sir Jacob Astley the foot, sir Arthur Aston the dragoons, sir John Heydon the artillery.

§ 2. With this army the king left Shrewsbury, and directed his march towards the capital, with the intention of bringing on an action. He fell in with the parliamentary forces at Edgehill, near Kineton, in the county of Warwick (Oct. 23, 1642). Though the day was far advanced, the king resolved upon the attack. After a desperate struggle, in which great mistakes were committed on both sides, the battle ended without either party obtaining any decisive advantage. All night the two armies lay under arms, and next morning found themselves in sight of each other. General, as well

carried up to the House of Peers for their assent and concurrence. In this memorable debate Hyde and Falkland, who had previously acted with the popular party, were the chief leaders in opposition to the Remonstrance.

Every measure pursued by the Commons, and still more every attempt made by their partisans, was full of the most inveterate hatred against the hierarchy, and showed a determined resolution of subverting the whole ecclesiastical establishment. The majority of the Peers, who had hitherto supported the Commons, now adhered to the king, though a few, as the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Essex, and lord Kimbolton (soon after earl of Manchester), still took the popular side. The Commons professed to be alarmed for their personal safety. The pulpits were called in aid, and resounded with the dangers which threatened religion, from the desperate attempts of papists and malignants. Multitudes flocked towards Westminster, insulted the prelates and such of the Lords as adhered to the crown, and threw out insolent menaces against Charles himself. Several reduced officers and young gentlemen of the inns of court, during this time of disorder and danger, offered their service to the king. Between them and the populace there passed frequent skirmishes, which ended not without bloodshed. By way of reproach, these gentlemen gave the rabble the appellation of Roundheads, on account of the short-cropped hair which they wore; the latter called the others Cavaliers. And thus the nation, which was before sufficiently provided with religious as well as civil causes of quarrel, was also supplied with party names, under which the factions might rally and signalise their mutual hatred.

The bishops being prevented from attending parliament by the dangerous insults to which they were particularly exposed, drew up a protestation to the king and House of Lords, in which they protested against all laws, votes, and resolutions, as null and invalid, which should pass during the time of their constrained absence. The opportunity was seized with joy and triumph by the Commons. 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. They were, on the first demand, sequestered from parliament and committed to custody.

§ 17. A few days after the king was betrayed into an indiscretion to which all the ensuing disorders and civil wars ought immediately and directly to be ascribed. This was the impeachment of lord Kimbolton and the five members. On Jan. 3, 1642, Herbert, attorney-general, appeared in the House of Peers, and in his ma-

* The best, and indeed the only full and impartial, account of the Remonstrance is given by Mr. Forster in his 'Historical and Biographical Essays,' vol. i. London, 1858.

jesty's name entered an accusation of high treason against lord Kimbolton and five members of the Commons—Hollis, sir Arthur Hazlerig, Hampden, Pym, and Strode. Men had not leisure to wonder at the indiscretion of this measure before a serjeant-at-arms, in the king's name, demanded of the House of Commons 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 members. The king, irritated by all this opposition, came next day in person to the House. He was accompanied by his ordinary retinue, to the number of above 200, armed as usual, some with halberts, some with walking-swords. The king left them at the door, and he himself advanced alone through the hall, while all the members rose to receive him. The speaker withdrew from his chair, and the king took possession of it. He then in a short speech demanded the accused members, who, having received private intelligence, had absented themselves, and he asked the speaker, who stood below, whether any of these persons were in the House? The speaker, falling on his knee, prudently replied, "I have, sir, neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am; and I humbly ask pardon that I cannot give any other answer to what your majesty is pleased to demand of me." The king then said he observed the birds were flown; but he expected the House should send them to him, as they were guilty of foul treason, and he assured them that they should have a fair trial. The Commons were in the utmost disorder; and, when the king was departing, some members cried aloud, so as he might hear them, "Privilege! privilege!" And the House immediately adjourned till next day. By this act of violence the king alienated many who had begun to think more favourably of him. That evening the accused members, to show the greater apprehension, removed into the city, which was their fortress. The citizens were the whole night in arms.

Next morning Charles, attended only by three or four lords, went to Guildhall, and made a speech to the common council containing many gracious expressions; but he departed 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. One of the populace, more insolent than the rest, drew nigh to his coach, and threw in a paper on which was written, "To your tents, O Israel!" the words employed by the mutinous Israelites when they abandoned Rehoboam, their rash and ill-counselled sovereign.

When the House of Commons met they affected the greatest dismay; and adjourning themselves for some days, ordered a committee to sit in Merchant-Tailors' hall in the city. The committee made an exact inquiry into all circumstances attending the king's entry into the House; and an intention of offering violence to the parliament, and of murdering all who should make resistance, was inferred.

The House again met, and, after confirming the votes of their committee, instantly adjourned, as if exposed to the most imminent perils from the violence of their enemies. On the appointed day the accused members were conducted by water to the House. The river was covered with boats and other vessels laden with small pieces of ordnance, and prepared for fight; and on landing, the members were received by 4000 horsemen, who had come up from Buckinghamshire to testify their devotion to Hampden. When the populace, by land and by water, passed Whitehall, they asked, with insulting shouts, "What has become of the king and his cavaliers? And whither are they fled?" For the king, apprehensive of danger from the enraged multitude, had retired to Hampton Court, deserted by all the world, and overwhelmed with grief, shame, and remorse, for the fatal measures into which he had been hurried. His distressed situation he could no longer ascribe to the rigours of destiny or the malignity of enemies: his own precipitancy and indiscretion must bear the blame of whatever disasters should henceforth befall him.

By the flight, or terror, or despondency of the king's party, an undisputed majority remained everywhere to their opponents; and the bill against the votes of the bishops in parliament, which had hitherto stopped with the Peers, now passed, and was presented for the royal assent. The king had attempted to proceed in his purpose of prosecuting the five members; but found himself obliged first to abandon it, then to pardon the members, and finally to offer the House any reparation for the breach of privilege which he had committed. Petitions of the most threatening and seditious kind were presented to the Commons, among which were some signed by many thousands, from the apprentices, from the porters, and from decayed tradesmen. The very 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 they expressed their terror of the papists and prelates, and the dread of like massacres, rapes, and outrages with those which had been committed upon their sex in Ireland. The king's authority was reduced to the lowest ebb. The queen too, being secretly threatened with an impeachment, and finding no resource in her husband's protection, was preparing to retire into Holland.

The Commons were now sensible that the sword alone could guard their acquired power. A large magazine of arms being placed in the

town of Hull, they despatched thither sir John Hotham, a gentleman of considerable fortune in the neighbourhood, and of an ancient family; and they gave him the authority of governor. They sent orders to Goring, governor of Portsmouth, to obey no commands but such as he should receive from the parliament. They never ceased soliciting the king till he had bestowed the command of the Tower on sir John Conyers, in whom alone, they said, they could repose confidence; and after making a fruitless attempt, in which the Peers refused their concurrence, to give public warning that the people should put themselves in a posture of defence against the enterprises of *papists and other ill-affected persons*, they now resolved to seize at once the whole power of the sword, and to confer it entirely on their own creatures and adherents, by means of the militia. A bill was introduced and passed the two Houses, which restored to lieutenants of counties and their deputies the same powers of which the votes of the Commons had bereaved them at the beginning of this parliament; but at the same time the names of all the lieutenants were inserted in the bill, and these consisted entirely of men in whom the parliament could confide; and for their conduct they were accountable, by the express terms of the bill, not to the king, but to the parliament.

When this demand was made, Charles was at Dover, attending the queen and the princess of Orange in their embarkation. He at first attempted to postpone and evade the bill; but the Commons pressed it upon him, and asserted that, unless he speedily complied with their demands, they should be constrained, for the safety of prince and people, to dispose of the militia by the authority of both Houses, and were resolved to do it accordingly; and while they thus menaced the king with their power, they invited him to fix his residence at London. Charles replied by a remonstrance; and lest violence should be used to extort his consent to the militia-bill, he removed by slow journeys to York, taking with him the prince of Wales and the duke of York.

§ 18. The king here found marks of attachment beyond what he had before expected. From all quarters of England the prime 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. Charles, finding himself supported by a considerable party in the kingdom, began to speak in a firmer tone, and persisted in refusing the bill; while the Commons 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, of all the guards, garrisons, and forts of the kingdom. Charles issued proclamations against this manifest usurpation; and the Commons, inventing a

and soldiers on both sides, seemed averse to renew the battle. Essex drew off, and retired to Warwick. The king returned to his former quarters. About 1200 men are said to have fallen, and the loss of the two armies, as far as we can judge by the opposite accounts, was nearly equal. Lindsay, the general, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner.

The king, except the taking of Banbury a few days after, had few marks of victory to boast of. He continued his march, and took possession of Oxford, the only town in his dominions which was altogether at his devotion. Hence he proceeded to Reading, of which Martin was appointed governor by the parliament. Both governor and garrison were seized with panic, and fled with precipitation to London. The parliament, alarmed at the near approach of the royal army, while their own forces lay at a distance, voted an address for a treaty; and the king named Windsor as the place of conference. Meanwhile Essex, advancing by hasty marches, had arrived at London; but neither the presence of his army, nor the precarious hope of a treaty, retarded the king's approaches. Charles attacked at Brentford three regiments quartered there, and after a sharp action beat them from that village, and took about 500 prisoners (Nov. 12). The city trained-bands joined the army under Essex, which now amounted to above 24,000 men, and was much superior to that of the king. After both armies had faced each other for some time, Charles drew off and retired to Reading, and thence to Oxford.

During the winter negociations for a treaty were continued at Oxford. The king insisted on the re-establishment of the crown in its legal powers, and on the restoration of his constitutional prerogative. The parliament required, besides other concessions, that the king should abolish episcopacy, and acquiesce in their settlement of the militia. But the conferences went no further than the first demand on each side. The parliament, finding that there was no likelihood of coming to any agreement, suddenly recalled their commissioners.

§ 3. The campaign of 1643 was opened by the taking of Reading by the earl of Essex (April 27). In the north, where lord Fairfax commanded for the parliament, and the earl of Newcastle for the king, the latter nobleman united in a league for Charles the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the bishopric, took possession of York, and established the king's authority in all the northern provinces. In the south and west sir William Waller, who now began to distinguish himself among the generals of the parliament, took Winchester, Chichester, Hereford, and Tewkesbury; but, on the other hand, all Cornwall was reduced by Sir Ralph Hopton to peace and to obedience under the king.

Essex, finding that his army fell continually to decay after the

siege of Reading, was resolved to remain upon the defensive; and the weakness of the king, and his want of all military stores, had also restrained the activity of the royal army. No action had happened in that part of England, except one skirmish at Chalgrove field in Oxfordshire, which of itself was of no great consequence, and was rendered memorable only by the death of the famous Hampden. He was seen riding off the field before the action was finished, his head hanging down, and his hands leaning upon his horse's neck. He was shot in the shoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broken; and some days after he died, in exquisite pain, of his wound (June 24); nor could his whole party, had their army met with a total overthrow, have been struck with greater consternation. The king himself so highly valued him, that, either from generosity or policy, he intended to have sent him his own surgeon to assist at his cure.

The west now became the principal scene of action. The king sent thither the marquis of Hertford and prince Maurice, with a reinforcement of cavalry, who, having joined the Cornish army, soon overran the county of Devon, and, advancing into that of Somerset, began to reduce it to obedience. On the other hand, the parliament having supplied sir William Waller with a complete army, despatched him westwards. After some skirmishes, a pitched battle was fought at Lansdown, near Bath (July 5), with great loss on both sides, but without any decisive event; and shortly after another near Devizes (July 13), in which Waller was completely defeated, and forced to retire to Bristol. This city surrendered to prince Rupert a few days afterwards (July 27); and Charles having now joined the army in the west, Gloucester was invested on the 10th of August.

The rapid progress of the royalists threatened the parliament with immediate subjection; the factions and discontents among themselves, in the city, and throughout the neighbouring counties, prognosticated some dangerous division or insurrection. In the beginning of this summer a conspiracy had been discovered to oblige the parliament to accept of reasonable conditions, and restore peace to the nation. Edmund Waller, the celebrated poet, and a member of the House of Commons, was at the head of it, with Tomkins his brother-in-law, and Chaloner his friend. Being seized, and tried by a court-martial, they were all three condemned, and the two latter executed on gibbets erected before their own doors. Waller saved his life only by his abject and almost frantic submission, but was fined 10,000*l.*

The news of the siege of Gloucester renewed the cry for peace, and the parliament seemed disposed to consent to more moderate terms; but the zealous puritans redoubled their efforts, and the parliament was persuaded to make preparations for the relief of this city. Essex, carrying with him a well-appointed army of 14,000 men, took the

and of Bedford and Leicester; and on his approach to Gloucester the king was obliged to raise the siege. But being deficient in cavalry, Essex would willingly have avoided an engagement, and therefore proceeded towards London; but when he reached Newbury in Berkshire, he was surprised to find that the king, by hasty marches, had arrived before him. An action was now unavoidable, and was fought on both sides with desperate valour and a steady bravery (Sept. 20). The militia of London especially, though utterly unacquainted with action, equalled on this occasion what could be expected from the most veteran forces. While the armies were engaged with the utmost ardour, night put an end to the action, and left the victory undecided. Next morning Essex proceeded on his march, and reached London in safety. In the battle of Newbury fell, among others on the king's side, lord Falkland, secretary of state. Falkland had at first stood foremost in all attacks on the high prerogatives of the crown, and displayed that masculine eloquence and undaunted love of liberty which, from his intimate acquaintance with the sublime spirits of antiquity, he had greedily imbibed; but when civil convulsions proceeded to extremities, and it became requisite for him to choose his side, he embraced the defence of those limited powers which remained to monarchy, and which he deemed necessary for the support of the English constitution. From the commencement of the war his natural cheerfulness and vivacity became clouded; and among his intimate friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, he would with a sad accent reiterate the word "Peace." On the morning of the battle he had observed, "I am weary of the times, and foresee much misery to my country; but believe that I shall be out of it ere night." The loss sustained on both sides in the battle of Newbury, and the advanced season, obliged the armies to retire into winter quarters.

In the north, during the summer, appeared two men on whom the event of the war finally depended, and who began about this time to be remarked for their valour and military conduct. These were sir Thomas Fairfax, son of the lord of that name, and Oliver Cromwell, son of a gentleman of Huntingdon. The former gained a considerable advantage at Wakefield over a detachment of royalists; the latter obtained a victory at Gainsborough over a party commanded by the gallant Cavendish, who perished in the action; but both these defeats of the royalists were more than sufficiently compensated by the total rout of lord Fairfax at Atherton Moor, near Bradford, and the dispersion of his army. After this victory the marquis of Newcastle, with an army of 15,000 men, sat down before Hull, but was ultimately obliged to abandon the siege. Hotham was no longer governor of this place. That gentleman and his son, being detected in a conspiracy to deliver it to Newcastle, were arrested and sent

prisoners to London, where, without any regard to their former services, they were executed.

While the military enterprises were carried on with vigour in England, and the event became every day more doubtful, both parties cast their eye towards the neighbouring kingdoms. The parliament had recourse to Scotland, the king to Ireland. The Scots beheld with the utmost impatience a scene of action of which they could not deem themselves indifferent spectators. The struggle in England was the topic of every conversation among them; and the famous curse of Meroz, that curse so solemnly denounced and reiterated against neutrality and moderation, resounded from all quarters. Charles having refused to assemble a Scottish parliament, the conservators of the peace, an office newly erected in Scotland, resolved to summon, in the king's name, but by their own authority, a convention of states, an assembly which, though it meets with less solemnity, has the same authority as a parliament in raising money and levying forces. The English parliament, which was at that time fallen into great distress by the progress of the royal arms, gladly sent to Edinburgh commissioners with ample powers to treat of a nearer union and confederacy with the Scottish nation. In this negotiation the man chiefly trusted was Vane, who in eloquence, address, capacity, as well as in art and dissimulation, was not surpassed by any one, even during that age so famous for active talents. By his persuasion was framed at Edinburgh that SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT which effaced all former protestations and vows taken in both kingdoms, and long maintained its credit and authority. In this covenant the subscribers, besides engaging mutually to defend one another against all opponents, bound themselves to endeavour, without respect of persons, the extirpation of popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; to maintain the rights and privileges of parliaments, together with the king's authority; and to discover and bring to justice all incendiaries and malignants. The English parliament, having first subscribed it themselves, ordered it to be received by all who lived under their authority (Sept. 25); and the Scots, having received 100,000*l.* from England, and having added to their other forces the troops which they had recalled from Ireland, were ready about the end of the year to enter England, under the command of their old general the earl of Leven, with an army of above 20,000 men.

The king, foreseeing this tempest which was gathering upon him, cast his eye towards Ireland. The army in that country, by reinforcements from England and Scotland, now amounted to 50,000 men. The justices and council of Ireland had been engaged, chiefly by the interest and authority of Ormond, the commander-in-chief, to support the king's cause; and a committee of the English House of

Commons, which had been sent over to Ireland in order to conduct the affairs of that kingdom, had been excluded the council. Ormond now sent over to England considerable bodies of troops, most of which continued in the king's service; but a small part, having imbibed in Ireland a strong animosity against the catholics, and hearing the king's party universally reproached with popery, soon after deserted to the parliament.

§ 5. The king, that he might make preparations during winter for the ensuing campaign, summoned to Oxford all the members of either House who adhered to his interests; and endeavoured to avail himself of the name of parliament, so passionately cherished by the English nation. The House of Peers was pretty full, and contained more members than that which sat at Westminster. The House of Commons amounted not to above half of the other House of Commons The parliament at Westminster having voted an *excise* on beer, wine, and other commodities, those at Oxford imitated the example, and conferred that revenue on the king. This impost had been hitherto unknown in England. This winter the famous Pym died, a man as much hated by one party as respected by the other. He had been so little studious of improving his private fortune in those civil wars of which he had been one principal author, that the parliament thought themselves obliged, from gratitude, to pay the debts which he had contracted. The military operations were carried on with vigour in several places, notwithstanding the severity of the season. The forces brought from Ireland were landed at Mostyn in North Wales, and reduced Cheshire; but Fairfax, by an unexpected attack, defeated and captured a great part of them at Nantwich (Jan. 25, 1644), and the parliamentary party revived in those north-west counties of England. The invasion from Scotland was attended with consequences of much greater importance. The marquis of Newcastle at first succeeded in keeping the Scots at bay; but sir Thomas Fairfax, returning from Cheshire with his victorious forces, routed colonel Bellasis and a considerable body of troops at Selby in Yorkshire. Afraid of being enclosed between two armies, the marquis of Newcastle, the commander of the royal forces in the north, retreated; and Leven having joined lord Fairfax, they sat down before York, to which the army of the royalists had retired. On the whole the winter campaign had been unfavourable to the king in all quarters. On the approach of summer the earl of Manchester, having taken Lincoln, united his army to that of Leven and Fairfax; and York was now closely besieged by their combined forces. That town, though vigorously defended by Newcastle, was reduced to extremity, when on a sudden prince Rupert advanced to its relief with an army of 20,000 men. The Scottish and parliamentary generals raised the siege, and, drawing up on Marston Moor, purposed to give battle to the royalists. Prince Rupert approached

town by another quarter, and, interposing the river Ouse between him and the enemy, safely joined his forces to those of Newcastle. The marquis endeavoured to persuade him not to hazard an engagement; but the prince, having positive orders from the king, immediately issued orders for battle, and led out the army to Marston Moor (July 2). Prince Rupert, who commanded the right wing of the royalists, was opposed to Cromwell, who conducted the choice troops of the parliament, inured to danger, animated by zeal, and confirmed by the most rigid discipline. After a sharp combat the cavalry of the royalists gave way; and such of the infantry as stood next them were likewise borne down and put to flight. Newcastle's regiment alone, resolute to conquer or to perish, obstinately kept their ground, and maintained, by their dead bodies, the same order in which they had at first been ranged. Lucas, who commanded the royalists on the other wing, made a furious attack on the parliamentary cavalry, threw them into disorder, pushed them upon their own infantry, and put that whole wing to rout. When ready to seize on their carriages and baggage, he perceived Cromwell, who was now returned from pursuit of the other wing. Both sides were not a little surprised to find that they must again renew the combat for that victory which each of them thought they had already obtained. The front of the battle was now exactly counterchanged, and each army occupied the ground which had been possessed by the enemy at the beginning of the day. This second battle was equally furious and desperate with the first; but after the utmost efforts of courage by both parties, victory wholly turned to the side of the parliament. The prince's train of artillery was taken, and his whole army driven off the field of battle.

This event was in itself a mighty blow to the king, but proved more fatal in its consequences. The marquis of Newcastle, either disgusted with the rejection of his advice, or despairing of the king's cause, went to Scarborough, where he found a vessel which carried him beyond sea. During the ensuing years, till the Restoration, he lived abroad in great necessity, and saw with indifference his opulent fortune sequestered by those who assumed the government of England. Prince Rupert, with equal precipitation, drew off the remains of his army, and retired into Lancashire. York surrendered a few days afterwards; and Fairfax, remaining in the city, established his government in that whole county. The town of Newcastle was taken by the Scottish army on October 29.

While these events passed in the north, the king's affairs in the south were conducted with more success and greater abilities. Ruthven, a Scotchman who had been created earl of Brentford, acted under the king as general. Waller was routed by the royalists at Cropredy-bridge, near Daventry (June 29), and pursued with con-

siderable loss. Stunned and disheartened with this blow, his army decayed and melted away by desertion; and the king thought he might safely leave it, and march westward against Essex. That general, having retreated into Cornwall, and being surrounded on all sides by the royalists, escaped in a boat to Plymouth. Balfour with his horse passed the king's outposts in a thick mist, and got safely to the garrisons of his own party; but the foot under Skippon were obliged to surrender their arms, artillery, baggage, and ammunition. The parliament, however, soon collected another army, which they placed under the command of the earl of Manchester, who gained a victory, though not of a very decisive kind, over Charles at Newbury (Oct. 27), and compelled him to retire to Oxford.

§ 6. During these operations, contests had arisen among the parliamentary generals, which were renewed in London during the winter season. There had long prevailed in the parliamentary party a secret distinction which now began to discover itself with high contest and animosity. The INDEPENDENTS, who had at first taken shelter and concealed themselves under the wings of the PRESBYTERIANS, now evidently appeared a distinct party, and betrayed very different views and pretensions. The independents rejected all ecclesiastical establishments, and would admit of no spiritual courts, no government among pastors, no interposition of the magistrate in religious concerns, no fixed encouragement annexed to any system of doctrines or opinions. According to their principles, each congregation, united voluntarily and by spiritual ties, composed within itself a separate church, and exercised a jurisdiction, but one destitute of temporal sanctions, over its own pastor and its own members. Of all Christian sects this was the first which, during its prosperity as well as its adversity, always adopted the principle of toleration. Popery and prelacy alone, whose genius seemed to tend towards superstition, were treated by the independents with rigour. The political system of the independents kept pace with their religious. They aspired to a total abolition of the monarchy, and even of the aristocracy; and projected an entire equality of rank and order in a republic quite free and independent. In consequence of this scheme they were declared enemies to all proposals for peace, except on such terms as they knew it was impossible to obtain; and they adhered to that maxim, which is in the main prudent and political, that whoever draws the sword against his sovereign should throw away the scabbard. Sir Harry Vane, Oliver Cromwell, Nathaniel Fiennes, and Oliver St. John, the solicitor-general, were regarded as the leaders of the independents. In the parliament a considerable majority, and a much greater in the nation, were attached to the presbyterian party; and it was only by cunning and deceit at first, and afterwards by military violence, that the independents could entertain any hopes of success.

Cromwell, in the public debates, accused the earl of Manchester of having wilfully neglected at Dennington castle, after Charles's retreat from Newbury, a favourable opportunity of finishing the war by refusing him permission to charge the king's army in their retreat. Manchester, by way of recrimination, informed the parliament that at another time, Cromwell having proposed some scheme to which it seemed improbable that parliament would agree, he insisted and said, "My lord, if you will stick firm to honest men, you shall find yourself at the head of an army which shall give law both to king and parliament." So full indeed was Cromwell of these republican projects, that, notwithstanding his habits of profound dissimulation, he could not so carefully guard his expressions but that sometimes his favourite notions would escape him. Cromwell was persuaded that the only mode of carrying them out was by remodelling the army, but how to effect this project was the difficulty. The authority as well as merits of Essex were very great with the parliament. Manchester, Warwick, and the other commanders, had likewise great credit with the public; nor were there any hopes of prevailing over them but by laying the plan of an oblique and artificial attack which would conceal the real purpose of their antagonists. Accordingly, at the instance of Cromwell, a committee was chosen to frame what was called 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. After great debate it passed the House of Commons; the Peers, though the scheme was in part levelled against their order, and though they even ventured once to reject it, durst not persevere in their opposition. The ordinance therefore having passed both Houses (April 3, 1645), Essex, Warwick, Manchester, Denbigh, Waller, Brereton, and many others, resigned their commands, and received the thanks of parliament for their good services. A pension of 10,000*l.* a-year was settled on Essex.

It was agreed to recruit the army to 22,000 men, and sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed general. It is remarkable that his commission did not run, like that of Essex, in the name of the king and parliament, but in that of the parliament alone; and the article concerning the safety of the king's person was omitted. Cromwell, being a member of the lower House, should have been discarded with the others; but he was saved by that political craft in which he was so eminent. At the time when the other officers resigned their commissions, care was taken that he should be sent into the west with a body of horse; and shortly afterwards, at the earnest entreaty of Fairfax, who represented his services as indispensable, his commission was renewed for a short period, and ultimately for the whole campaign. Thus the independents, though the minority, prevailed by art and

running over the presbyterians, and bestowed the whole military authority, in appearance, upon Fairfax—in reality upon Cromwell.

Obverse of medal of sir Thomas Fairfax. GENER · THO : FAIRFAX MILES . MILIT PARLI : DVX. Bust to left.

Nevertheless a conference between the king and the parliament was opened at Uxbridge, June 30, 1645. The subjects of debate were the three important articles, *religion*, the *militia*, and *Ireland*; but it was soon found impracticable to come to any agreement with regard to any of them. In the summer of 1643 an assembly at Westminster, consisting of 121 divines and 30 laymen, had altered the Thirty-nine Articles; and instead of the liturgy had established a new directory for worship, by which, suitably to the spirit of the puritans, the utmost liberty, both in praying and preaching, was granted to the public teachers. By the solemn league and covenant episcopacy was abjured as destructive of all true piety; and the king's commissioners were not therefore surprised to find the establishment of presbytery and the directory positively demanded, together with the subscription of the covenant both by the king and kingdom. But Charles, though willing to make some concessions, was not disposed to go such lengths; and as the parliament would abate nothing, the negotiations on this head fell to the ground. Still less could parties now in a state of open warfare agree upon a militia bill, by which the power of the sword must necessarily have been transferred to one of them.

§ 7. A little before the enactment of the Self-denying Ordinance, archbishop Laud, the most favourite minister of the king, was brought to the scaffold. From the time that Laud had been committed, the House of Commons, engaged in enterprises of greater moment, had found no leisure to finish his impeachment; but they now resolved to gratify their vengeance in the punishment of this prelate. He was accused of high treason in endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and of other high crimes and misdemeanours. After a long trial, and the examination of above 150 witnesses, whose evi-

dence, however, the Commons had not heard, they found so little likelihood of obtaining a judicial sentence against him that they were obliged to have recourse to their legislative authority, and to pass an ordinance for taking away the life of this aged prelate. Notwithstanding the low condition into which the House of Peers was fallen, there appeared some intention of rejecting this ordinance; and the popular leaders were again obliged to apply to the multitude, and to extinguish, by threats of new tumults, the small remains of liberty possessed by the upper House. Seven peers alone voted in this important question; the rest, either from shame or fear, took care to absent themselves. Laud, who had behaved during his trial with the spirit and vigour of genius, sunk not under the horrors of his execution; but though he had usually professed himself apprehensive of a violent death, he found all his fears to be dissipated before that superior courage by which he was animated. "No one," said he, "can be more willing to send me out of life than I am desirous to go." He quietly laid his head on the block, and it was severed from the body at one blow (Jan. 10, 1645). Sincere he undoubtedly was, and, however misguided, actuated by pious motives in all his pursuits; and it is to be regretted that he had not entertained more enlarged views, and embraced principles more favourable to the general happiness of society.

§ 8. While the king's affairs declined in England, the numerous victories of the earl of Montrose in Scotland seemed to promise him a more prosperous issue of the quarrel. That young nobleman had entirely devoted himself to the king's service, and with the aid of a few adherents, and a small body of troops brought over from Ireland, achieved on a small scale a series of brilliant victories over the covenanters in the north of Scotland. Meanwhile in England, Fairfax, or, more properly speaking, Cromwell, under his name, introduced at last the *new model* into the army. From the same men new regiments and new companies were formed, different officers appointed, and the whole military force put into such hands as the independents could rely on. At the same time a new and more exact plan of discipline was introduced. Never surely was a more singular army assembled. To the greater number of the regiments chaplains were not appointed; the officers assumed the spiritual duty, and united it with their military functions. The private soldiers, seized with the same spirit, employed their vacant hours in prayer, in perusing the Holy Scriptures, and in spiritual conferences, where they compared the progress of their souls in grace, and mutually stimulated each other to further advances in the great work of their salvation. When they were marching to battle the whole field resounded as well with psalms and spiritual songs adapted to the occasion as with the instruments of military music; and every man endeavoured to drown

sense of present danger in the prospect of that crown of glory which was set before them. The forces assembled by the king at Oxford, in the west, and in other places, were equal, if not superior, in number to their adversaries, but actuated by a very different spirit. That licence which had been introduced by want of pay had risen to a great height among them, and rendered them more formidable to their friends than to their enemies.

The English campaign of 1645 also opened with some advantage to the royalists. In the west, the parliamentarians indeed under Weldon succeeded in relieving Taunton, but were afterwards shut up in that place by Granville. Further north the king in person gained more distinguished successes. After compelling the army of the parliament to raise the siege of Chester, he assaulted and took Leicester, a garrison of the parliament's, on his march back to Oxford. Meanwhile the last town, exposed by the king's absence, had been invested by Fairfax; but, alarmed at Charles's success, Fairfax abandoned the siege, and marched towards the king with an intention of offering him battle. The king was advancing towards Oxford in order to raise the siege, which he apprehended was now begun; and both armies, ere they were aware, had advanced within six miles of each other. The boiling ardour of prince Rupert persuaded an engagement; and at Naseby, near Market Harborough, in Northamptonshire, was fought, with forces nearly equal, a decisive and well-disputed action between the king and parliament. The main body of the royalists was commanded by the king himself, who displayed all the conduct of a prudent general and all the valour of a stout soldier. The battle was chiefly lost through a mistake of prince Rupert, who, having routed the enemy's left wing under Ireton, was so inconsiderate as to lose time in summoning and attacking the artillery of the enemy, which had been left with a good guard of infantry. Meanwhile the royalists were hard pressed by the valour and conduct of Fairfax and Cromwell; and when Rupert rejoined the king he found the infantry totally discomfited. Charles exhorted this body of cavalry not to despair, and cried aloud to them, "One charge more, and we recover the day." But the disadvantages under which they laboured were too evident, and they could by no means be induced to renew the combat. Charles was obliged to quit the field, and leave the victory to the enemy. The parliament lost 1000 men; Charles not above 800; but Fairfax made 500 officers prisoners, and 4000 private men; took all the king's artillery and ammunition, and totally dissipated his infantry: so that scarcely any victory could be more complete than that which he obtained. Among the other spoils was seized the king's cabinet, with the copies of his letters to the queen, which the parliament afterwards ordered to be published.

After the battle the king retreated with that body of horse which remained entire, first to Hereford, then to Abergavenny; and remained some time in Wales, from the vain hope of raising a body of infantry in those harassed and exhausted quarters. In the beginning of the campaign he had sent the prince of Wales, then 15 years of age, to the west, with the title of general; and had given orders, if he were pressed by the enemy, that he should make his escape into a foreign country, and save one part of the royal family from the violence of the parliament. Prince Rupert had thrown himself into Bristol, with an intention of defending that important city; whilst Goring was besieging Taunton. Thither Fairfax directed his march, on whose approach the royalists raised the siege, and retired to Lamport, an open town in the county of Somerset. Fairfax, having beaten them from this post, and taken successively Bridgewater, Bath, and Sherborne, laid siege to Bristol. Much was expected from the reputation of prince Rupert, but a poorer defence was not made by any town during the whole war. No sooner had the parliamentary forces entered the lines by storm than the prince capitulated, and surrendered the city to Fairfax (Sept. 10). Charles, who was forming schemes and collecting forces for the relief of Bristol, was astonished at so unexpected an event, which was little less fatal to his cause than the defeat at Naseby. Full of indignation, he instantly recalled all prince Rupert's commissions, and sent him a pass to go beyond sea.

The king's affairs now went fast to ruin in all quarters. The Scots, having made themselves masters of Carlisle after an obstinate siege, marched southwards and laid siege to Hereford, but were obliged to raise it on the king's approach; and this was the last glimpse of success which attended his arms. Having marched to the relief of Chester, which was anew besieged by the parliamentary forces, he was defeated, with the loss of 600 slain and 1000 prisoners. The king, with the remains of his broken army, fled to Newark, and thence escaped to Oxford, where he shut himself up during the winter season. Before the expiration of the winter Fairfax reduced all the west, and completely dispersed the king's army in that quarter; while Cromwell brought all the middle counties of England to obedience under the parliament. The prince of Wales, in pursuance of the king's orders, retired to Scilly, and thence to Jersey, whence he joined the queen at Paris. News too arrived that Montrose himself, after some more successes, was at last routed at Philip-haugh, near Selkirk; and this only remaining hope of the royal party finally extinguished.

§ 9. The condition of the king during this whole winter was to the last degree disastrous and melancholy. The parliament deigned not to make the least reply to several of his messages, in which he

desired a passport for commissioners to treat of peace. At last, after reproaching him with the blood spilt during the war, they told him that they were preparing bills for him, and his passing them would be the best pledge of his inclination towards peace: in other words, he must yield at discretion. He desired a personal treaty, and offered to come to London upon receiving a safe-conduct for himself and his attendants: they absolutely refused him admittance, and issued orders for the guarding, that is the seizing, of his person in case he should attempt to visit them. A new incident which happened in Ireland served to inflame the minds of men. The king being desirous of concluding a final peace with the Irish rebels, and obtaining their assistance in England, accordingly authorised Ormond, the lord-lieutenant, to promise them an abrogation of all the penal laws enacted against catholics; but as the Irish might probably demand further concessions than could be openly granted them, the king privately gave to the earl of Glamorgan a commission to levy men and to coin money, and employ the revenues of the crown for their support; and engaged to ratify any treaty he might make, even if contrary to law. But the commission was purposely drawn up and sealed in an informal manner, in order that the king might have a pretence to disclaim it if necessary, which indeed took place. Glamorgan concluded a peace with the rebels; and agreed, in the king's name, that they should enjoy all the churches of which they had ever been in possession since the commencement of their insurrection, on condition that they should assist the king in England with a body of 10,000 men. The articles of the treaty were found among the baggage of the titular archbishop of Tuam, who was killed by a sally of the garrison of Sligo; and were immediately published everywhere, and copies of them sent over to the English parliament. The discovery of this treaty tended much to render abortive the king's negotiations with the parliament. To save appearances, Glamorgan was thrown into prison, but soon released.

The king seemed to be now threatened with immediate destruction. Fairfax was approaching with a powerful and victorious army, and was taking the proper measures for laying siege to Oxford, which must infallibly fall into his hands. In this desperate extremity Charles began to entertain thoughts of leaving Oxford, and flying to the Scottish army, which at that time lay before Newark. He considered that the Scottish nation had been fully gratified in all their demands, and had no further concessions to exact from him; whilst, on the other hand, they were disgusted with the English parliament. The progress of the independents gave them great alarm, and they were scandalised to hear their beloved covenant spoken of every day with less regard and reverence. The king hoped, too, that in their present disposition the sight of their native prince flying to them in

his extremity of distress would rouse every spark of generosity in their bosoms, and procure him their favour and protection. With these views he left Oxford in the night of April 26, 1646, accompanied by none but Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, and went out at that gate which leads to London. He rode before a portmanteau, calling himself Ashburnham's servant, and arrived at the Scottish camp before Newark (May 5). The Scottish general and commissioners affected great surprise on the appearance of the king; and though they paid him all the exterior respect due to his dignity, they instantly set a guard upon him, under colour of protection, and made him in reality a prisoner. They informed the English parliament of this unexpected incident, and assured them that they had entered into no private treaty with the king; but hearing that the parliament laid claim to the entire disposal of the king's person, they thought proper to retire northwards, and to fix their camp at Newcastle. Charles had very little reason to be pleased with his situation. The Scots required him to issue orders to Oxford, and all his other garrisons, commanding their surrender to the parliament; and the king, sensible that their resistance was to very little purpose, immediately complied. Ormond, having received like orders, delivered Dublin and other forts into the hands of the parliamentary officers.

The parliament and the Scots laid their proposals before the king, which were little worse than what were insisted on before the battle of Naseby. The power of the sword, instead of 10 years, which the king now offered, was demanded for 20, together with a right to levy whatever money the parliament should think proper for the support of their armies. The other conditions were in the main the same with those which had formerly been offered to the king, and he was peremptorily required to give his consent or refusal in 10 days. The parliament now entered into negotiations with the Scots. The Scottish commissioners resolved to keep the king as a pledge for those arrears which they claimed from England. After many discussions it was at last agreed that, in lieu of all demands, they should accept of 400,000*l.*, one-half to be paid instantly, another in two subsequent payments. Great pains were taken by the Scots (and the English complied with their pretended delicacy) to make this estimation and payment of arrears appear a quite different transaction from that for the delivery of the king's person, but common sense requires that they should be regarded as one and the same. Thus the Scottish nation incurred the reproach of betraying their prince for money. The king, being delivered over by the Scots to the English commissioners (Jan. 30, 1647), was conducted under a guard to Holmby, in Northamptonshire. On his journey the whole country flocked to behold him, moved partly by curiosity, partly by compassion and affection. The commissioners rendered his confinement

Holmby very rigorous, dismissing his ancient servants, and cutting off all communication with his friends or family. The parliament, though earnestly applied to by the king, refused to allow his chaplains to attend him, because they had not taken the covenant. During the time that the king remained in the Scottish army at Newcastle, died the earl of Essex, the discarded but still powerful and popular general of the parliament. The presbyterian or the moderate party among the Commons found themselves considerably weakened by his death, and the small remains of authority which still adhered to the House of Peers were in a manner wholly extinguished.

§ 10. The dominion of the parliament was of short duration. No sooner had they subdued their sovereign than their own servants rose against them, and tumbled them from their slippery throne. Soon after the retreat of the Scots, the presbyterians, seeing everything reduced to obedience, began to talk of diminishing the army; and on pretence of easing the public burdens, they levelled a deadly blow at the opposite faction. They purposed to embark a strong detachment for the service of Ireland, and they openly declared their intention of making a great reduction of the remainder. Considerable arrears were due to the army; and many of the private men, as well as officers, had nearly a twelvemonth's pay still owing them; and as no plan was pointed out by the Commons for the payment of arrears, the soldiers dreaded that, after they should be disbanded or embarked for Ireland (a most unpopular service), their enemies, who predominated in the two Houses, would entirely defraud them of their right, and oppress them with impunity. On this ground or pretence did the first commotions begin in the army. Combinations were formed, and petitions handed about; and few could be found to enlist for Ireland. Their petition to the parliament bore a very imperious air: in a word, they felt their power, and resolved to be masters. The expedient which the parliament now made use of was the worst imaginable. They sent Skippon, Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood, to the head-quarters at Saffron Walden in Essex; and empowered them to make offers to the army, and inquire into the cause of its *distempers*. These very generals, at least the last three, were secretly the authors of all the discontents, and failed not to foment those disorders which they pretended to appease. By their suggestion, a council of the principal officers was appointed after the model of the House of Peers, and a more free representative of the army was composed by the election of two private men or inferior officers, under the title of *adjutators*, afterwards called agitators, from each troop or company. This terrible court, when assembled, having first declared that they found no *distempers* in the army, but many *grievances*, under which it laboured, immediately voted the offers

of the parliament unsatisfactory; and they presently struck a blow which at once decided the victory in their favour. A party of 500 horse appeared at Holmby, conducted by one Joyce, who had once been a tailor by profession, but was now advanced to the rank of cornet, and was an active agitator in the army (June 4). Joyce came into the king's presence armed with pistols, and told him that he must immediately go along with him. "Whither?" said the king. "To the army," replied Joyce. Charles appointed to meet him at the door at six o'clock the next morning, where the troopers were drawn up; and in answer to his repeated inquiries for his authority, Joyce pointed to the soldiers, tall, handsome, and well accoutred. "Your warrant," said Charles, smiling, "is written in fair characters, legible without spelling;" and yielding himself up, was safely conducted to the army, who were hastening to their rendezvous at Triplow Heath, near Cambridge. The parliament were thrown into the utmost consternation. Fairfax himself, to whom this bold measure had never been communicated, was no less surprised at the king's arrival. The parliamentary leaders, having discovered that the most active officers and agitators were entirely Cromwell's creatures, secretly resolved that next day, when he should come to the House, an accusation should be entered against him, and he should be sent to the Tower. Being informed of this design, Cromwell hastened to the camp, where he was received with acclamation, and was instantly invested with the supreme command, both of general and army. Without further deliberation, he advanced the army upon the parliament, and arrived in a few days at St. Albans. But London still retained a strong attachment to presbyterianism; and its militia, which had by a late ordinance been put into hands in which the parliament could entirely confide, was now called out, and ordered to guard the lines which had been drawn round the city in order to secure it against the king. On further reflection, however, it was thought more prudent to submit. The declaration by which the military petitioners had been voted public enemies was erased from the journal-book. This was the first symptom which the parliament gave of submission, and the army rose every day in their demands. Having obtained the sequestration of eleven of the chief presbyterian members, the army, in order to save appearances, removed, at the desire of the parliament, to a greater distance from London, and fixed their headquarters at Reading. They carried the king along with them in all their marches, who now found himself in a better situation than at Holmby. All his friends had access to his presence; his correspondence with the queen was not interrupted; his chaplains were restored to him, and he was allowed the use of the liturgy; his children were once allowed to visit him, and they passed a few days at Caversham,

where he then resided. Cromwell, as well as the leaders of all parties, paid court to him; and fortune, notwithstanding all his calamities, seemed again to smile upon him.

§ 11. The impatience of the Londoners brought matters to a crisis between the parliament and army. At the instance of the latter the parliament had voted that the militia of London should be changed, the presbyterian commissioners displaced, and the command restored to those who, during the course of the war, had constantly exercised it. A petition against this alteration was carried to Westminster, attended by the apprentices and seditious multitude, who besieged the door of the House of Commons; and by their clamour, noise, and violence, obliged them to reverse that vote which they had passed so lately. No sooner was intelligence of this tumult conveyed to Reading than the army was put in motion, to vindicate, they said, against the seditious citizens, the invaded privileges of parliament. In their way to London they were drawn up on Hounslow Heath—a formidable body 20,000 strong, and determined to pursue whatever measures their generals should dictate to them. Here the most favourable event happened to quicken and encourage their advance. The speakers of the two Houses, Manchester and Lenthal, attended by 8 peers and about 60 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 to the parliament of England; and the army, being provided with so plausible a pretence, advanced to chastise the rebellious city, and to reinstate the violated parliament. Without experiencing the least resistance the army marched in triumph through the city, but preserved the greatest order, decency, and appearance of humility (Aug. 6). They conducted to Westminster the two speakers, who took their seats as if nothing had happened. The eleven impeached members were expelled; seven peers were impeached; the mayor, one sheriff, and three aldermen sent to the Tower; several citizens and officers of the militia committed to prison; every deed of the parliament annulled, from the day of the tumult till the return of the speakers; the lines about the city levelled; the militia restored to the independents; and the parliament being reduced to a regular formed servitude, a day was appointed of solemn thanksgiving for the restoration of its liberty.

The leaders of the army, having established their dominion over the parliament and city, ventured to bring the king to Hampton Court; and he lived for some time in that palace with an appearance of dignity and freedom. He entertained hopes that his negotiations with the generals would be crowned with success. It appears that Cromwell and Ireton really desired to save the king, but that

Charles's insincerity and duplicity at last convinced them that they could put no trust in his promises. Charles now took suddenly a resolution of withdrawing himself; and attended only by three persons, he privately left Hampton Court (Nov. 11). His escape was not discovered till nearly an hour after, when those who entered his chamber found on the table some letters directed to the parliament, to the general, and to the officer who had attended him. All night he travelled through the forest, and arrived next day at Titchfield, a seat of the earl of Southampton's, where the countess-dowager resided, a woman of honour to whom the king knew he might safely intrust his person. The king could not hope to remain long concealed at Titchfield. He took refuge with Colonel Hammond, the governor of the Isle of Wight, who was nephew to Dr. Hammond, the king's favourite chaplain. By Hammond he was conducted to Carisbrooke castle, where, though received with great demonstrations of respect and duty, he was in reality a prisoner.

§ 12. Cromwell, being now entirely master of the parliament and of the king, applied himself seriously to quell those disorders in the army which he himself had so artfully raised. A party had sprung up in the army called *levellers*, who were not only in favour of abolishing royalty and nobility, but of levelling all ranks of men. The saints, they said, were the salt of the earth; an entire parity had place among the elect; and, by the same rule that the apostles were exalted from the most ignoble professions, the meanest sentinel, if enlightened by the Spirit, was entitled to equal regard with the greatest commander. In order to wean the soldiers from those licentious maxims, Cromwell had issued orders for discontinuing the meetings of the agitators; but the levellers, having experienced the sweets of dominion, would not so easily be deprived of it. They secretly continued their meetings; they asserted that their officers, as much as any part of the church or state, needed reformation. But this distemper was soon cured by the rough but dexterous hand of Cromwell. He chose the opportunity of a review, that he might display the greater boldness and spread the terror the wider. He seized the ringleaders before their companions, held in the field a council of war, shot one mutineer instantly, and struck such dread into the rest that they presently threw down the symbols of sedition which they had displayed, and thenceforth returned to their wonted discipline and obedience.

At the suggestion of Ireton, Cromwell then secretly called, at Windsor, a council of the chief officers, in order to deliberate concerning the settlement of the nation, and the future disposal of the king's person. In this conference, which commenced with devout prayers, poured forth by Cromwell himself and the other officers, was first opened the daring counsel of bringing the king to justice. Charles

had offered, by a message sent from Carisbrooke castle, to resign, during his own life, the power of the militia and the nomination to all the great offices, provided that, after his demise, these prerogatives should revert to the crown. At the instigation of the independents and army, the parliament neglected this offer, and framed four proposals, which they sent him as preliminaries:—1. To invest the parliament with the military power for 20 years; 2. to recall all his proclamations and declarations against the parliament; 3. to annul all the acts, and void all the patents of peerage, which had passed the great seal since it had been carried from London by lord-keeper Littleton, and to renounce for the future the power of making peers without consent of parliament; 4. to give the two Houses power to adjourn as they thought proper. The king having refused his consent to these proposals, it was voted by the parliament that no more addresses should be made to him, nor any letters or messages received from him; and that it should be treason for any one, without leave of the two Houses, to have any intercourse with him (Jan. 13, 1648). By this vote of non-addresses (so it was called) the king was in reality dethroned, and the whole constitution formally overthrown; and it having been discovered that the king had attempted to escape from Carisbrooke castle, Hammond, by orders from the army, removed all his servants, cut off his correspondence with his friends, and shut him up in close confinement.

§ 13. The Scots, however, were much displeased with the proceedings adopted towards the king, as well as with the contempt which the independents displayed for the covenant, which was profanely called in the House of Commons an almanac out of date. They sent commissioners to London to protest against the four propositions that had been offered to the king; and when they accompanied the English commissioners to the Isle of Wight, they secretly formed a treaty with the king for arming Scotland in his favour. The duke of Hamilton obtained a vote from the Scottish parliament to arm 40,000 men in support of the king's authority, and to call over a considerable body under Monro, who commanded the Scottish forces in Ulster; and though he openly protested that the covenant was the foundation of all his measures, he secretly entered into correspondence with the English royalists, sir Marmaduke Langdale and sir Philip Musgrave, who had levied considerable forces in the north of England. While the Scots were making preparations for the invasion of England, every part of that kingdom was agitated with tumults, insurrections, conspiracies, discontents. The general spirit of discontent had seized the fleet. Seventeen ships, lying in the mouth of the river, declared for the king; and putting their admiral ashore, sailed over to Holland, where the prince of Wales took the command of them.

Cromwell and the military council prepared themselves with vigour for defence, and the revolts which had broken out in various parts of England were soon either checked or subdued. A navy fleet was manned and sent out, under the command of Warwick, to oppose the revolted ships. But while the forces were employed in all quarters, the parliament regained its liberty, and the presbyterian party recovered the ascendant which it had formerly lost. The vote of non-addresses was repealed; and commissioners (five peers and ten commoners) were sent to Newport in the Isle of Wight, in order to treat with the king (Sept. 18). When Charles presented himself to this company, a great and sensible alteration was remarked in his aspect. The moment his servants had been removed, he had allowed his beard and hair to grow, and to hang dishevelled and neglected. His hair was become almost entirely grey; and his friends, perhaps even his enemies, beheld with compassion that "grey and discrowned head," as he himself terms it in a copy of verses, which the truth of the sentiment, rather than any elegance of expression, renders very pathetic. As these negotiations produced no result, it is unnecessary to enter into particulars. Religion was the chief obstacle; and 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. The treaty was spun out to such a length that the invasions and insurrections were everywhere subdued, and the army had leisure to execute their violent and sanguinary purpose.

Hamilton, having entered England with a numerous though undisciplined army, durst not unite his forces with those of Langdale, because the English royalists had refused to take the covenant; and the Scottish presbyterians, though engaged for the king, refused to join them on any other terms. Cromwell, though his forces were not half so numerous as those of the allies, attacked Langdale by surprise, near Preston in Lancashire. Hamilton was next attacked, put to rout, and pursued to Uttoxeter, where he surrendered himself prisoner (Aug. 20). Cromwell followed his advantage; and, marching into Scotland with a considerable body, joined Argyle, who was also in arms; and having suppressed the moderate presbyterians, he placed the power entirely in the hands of the violent party. The ecclesiastical authority, exalted above the civil, exercised the severest vengeance on all who had a share in Hamilton's engagement, as it was called. Never in this island was known a more severe and arbitrary government than was generally exercised by the patrons of liberty in both kingdoms. The capture of Colchester by Fairfax (Aug. 28), and the barbarous execution of sir Charles Lucas and sir George Lisle, who had bravely defended it, terminated the last struggle for the king.

§ 14. The catastrophe was now approaching. A remonstrance was drawn by the council of general officers, and sent to the parliament. They complained of the treaty with the king, demanded his punishment for the blood spilt during the war, and required a dissolution of the present parliament. The foremost men in this measure were colonel Ludlow and Ireton. Fairfax disapproved of it, but had not the courage to oppose it. The parliament lost not courage, notwithstanding the danger with which they were so nearly menaced. Hollis, the present leader of the presbyterians, was a man of unconquerable intrepidity; and many others of that party seconded his magnanimous spirit. It was proposed by them that the generals and principal officers should, for their disobedience and usurpations, be proclaimed traitors by the parliament. But the parliament was dealing with men who would not be frightened by words, nor retarded by any scrupulous delicacy. The generals, under the name of Fairfax (for he still allowed them to employ his name), marched the army to London, and surrounded the parliament with their hostile armaments. The parliament nevertheless proceeded to close their treaty with the king; and after a violent debate of three days, it was carried, by a majority of 129 against 83, in the House of Commons, that the king's concessions were a foundation for the Houses to proceed upon in the settlement of the kingdom. Next day (Dec. 5), when the Commons were to meet, colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, had environed the House with two regiments; and, directed by lord Grey of Groby, he seized in the passage 52 members of the presbyterian party, and sent them to a low room which passed by the appellation of *hell*, whence they were afterwards carried to several inns. Above 160 members more were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the most determined of the independents, and these exceeded not the number of 50 or 60. This invasion of the parliament commonly passed under the name of *colonel Pride's purge*. Cromwell was at this time on his way from Scotland. The remains of the parliament (often called *the Rump*) instantly reversed the former vote, and declared the king's concessions unsatisfactory; they renewed their former vote of non-addresses, and they committed to prison several leaders of the presbyterians.

These sudden and violent revolutions held the whole nation in terror and astonishment. To quiet the minds of men, the generals, in the name of the army, published a declaration in which they expressed their resolution of supporting law and justice; and the council of officers took into consideration a scheme called *the agreement of the people*, being the plan of a republic, to be substituted in the place of that government which they had so violently pulled in pieces. To effect this, nothing remained but the public trial and execution of their sovereign. In the House of Commons a committee

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 Charles for this newly-invented treason. The House of Peers, which assembled to the number of sixteen, without one dissenting voice, and almost without deliberation, instantly rejected the vote of the lower House, and adjourned themselves for ten days, hoping that this delay would be able to retard the furious career of the Commons; but the Commons were not to be stopped by so small an obstacle. Having declared *that the people are the origin of all just power*, that the Commons of England are the supreme authority of the nation, and that whatever is enacted by them hath the force of law, without the consent of king or House of Peers, the ordinance for the trial of Charles Stuart, king of England (so they called him), was again read and unanimously assented to (Jan. 6, 1649); after which colonel Harrison, the most furious enthusiast in the army, was sent with a strong party to conduct the king to London. He had been transferred from Carisbrooke to Hurst castle, on the coast of Hampshire, on Nov. 30, and was conducted to St. James's, Dec. 22. From thence he was transferred to Windsor castle, and was conducted to Whitehall on Jan. 19.

The high court of justice assembled in Westminster Hall on Jan. 20. It consisted of 133 persons, as named by the Commons, but there scarcely ever sat above 70. Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, and the chief officers of the army, were members, together with some of the lower House, and some citizens of London. The judges were at first appointed in the number; but as they had affirmed that it was contrary to law to try the king for treason, their names, as well as those of some peers, were struck out. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president. Cook was appointed solicitor for the people of England. In calling over the court, when the crier pronounced the name of Fairfax, which had been inserted in the number, a voice came from one of the spectators, and cried, "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, "Not a tenth part of them." Axtell, the officer who guarded the court, giving orders to fire into the box whence these insolent speeches came, it was discovered that lady Fairfax was there, and that it was she who had had the courage to utter them.

The pomp, the dignity, the ceremony of this transaction, corresponded to the greatest conception that is suggested in the annals of human kind—the delegates of a great people sitting in judgment upon their supreme magistrate, and trying him for his misgovernment and breach of trust. The solicitor, in the name of the Commons, represented that Charles Stuart, being admitted king of England, and

trusted with a limited power, yet nevertheless, from a wicked design to erect an unlimited and tyrannical government, had traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present parliament, and the people whom they represented; and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth. The king was then called on for his answer. Though long detained a prisoner, and now produced as a criminal, Charles sustained, by his magnanimous courage, the majesty of a monarch. With great temper and dignity he declined to submit himself to the jurisdiction of the court, on the ground that he was their native hereditary king; nor was the whole authority of the state, though free and united, entitled to try him who derived his dignity from the Supreme Majesty of Heaven. Three times was he produced before the court, and as often declined their 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.

It is confessed that the king's behaviour during this last scene of his life does honour to his memory; and that in all appearances before his judges he never forgot his part, either as a prince or as a man. The soldiers, instigated by their superiors, were brought, though with difficulty, to cry aloud for justice. "Poor souls!" said the king to one of his attendants, "for a little money they would do as much against their commanders." One soldier, seized by contagious sympathy, having demanded from Heaven a blessing on oppressed and fallen majesty, his officer, overhearing the prayer, beat him to the ground in the king's presence. "The punishment, methinks, exceeds the offence." This was the reflection which Charles formed on that occasion.

The Scots protested against the proceedings; the Dutch interceded in the king's behalf; the prince of Wales sent a blank sheet of paper, subscribed with his name and sealed with his arms, on which his father's judges might write what conditions they pleased as the price of his life. Solicitations were found fruitless with men whose resolutions were fixed and irrevocable.

§ 15. Three days were allowed the king between his sentence and his execution. This interval he passed with great tranquillity, chiefly in reading and devotion. All his family that remained in England were allowed access to him. It consisted only of the princess Elizabeth and of prince Henry, afterwards duke of Gloucester, for the duke of York had made his escape. The palace of Whitehall was destined for the execution: for it was intended, by choosing his own

public, to display more evidently the triumph of popular justice over royal majesty. The scaffold was erected in front of the central window of the banqueting-hall; and when Charles stepped out of the window upon the scaffold he found it so surrounded with soldiers that he could not expect to be heard by any of the people; he addressed therefore his discourse to the few persons who were about him; justified his own innocence in the late fatal wars, though 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. When he was preparing himself for the block, bishop Juxon, who had been allowed to attend him, called 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 you shall 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." At one blow was his head severed from his body. A man in a vizor performed the office of executioner; another, in a like disguise, held up to the spectators the head streaming with blood, and cried aloud, "This is the head of a traitor!" (Jan. 30, 1649).

Charles was of a comely presence; of a sweet, but melancholy, aspect. His face was regular, handsome, and well-complexioned; his body strong, healthy, and justly proportioned; and being of a middle stature, he was capable of enduring the greatest fatigues. He excelled in horsemanship and other exercises; and he possessed all the exterior as well as many of the essential qualities which form an accomplished prince. The greatest blemish in his character was a want of sincerity: "a fault," says Mr. Hallam (*Const. Hist.*, ii. 229) "that appeared in all parts of his life, and from which no one who has paid the subject any attention will pretend to exculpate him."

In a few days the Commons passed votes to abolish the House of Peers and the monarchy, and they ordered a new great seal to be engraved, on which their house was represented, with this legend, ON THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD'S BLESSING, RESTORED, 1648. The forms of all public business were changed from the king's name to that of the keepers of the liberties of England. And it was declared high treason to proclaim, or any otherwise acknowledge, Charles Stuart, commonly called prince of Wales. The duke of Hamilton, as earl of Cambridge in England, lord Capel, and the earl of Holland, were condemned and executed for treason.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1625. Accession of Charles I. and marriage with Henrietta of France.
" First parliament.
1626. Second parliament.
1627. Buckingham's expedition to the isle of Rhé.
1628. Third parliament.
" Petition of right.
" Buckingham assassinated by Felton.
1637. Trial of Hampden for refusing to pay ship-money.
1638. The covenant established in Scotland.
1639. War with the Scots.
1640. Fourth parliament, after 11 years' cessation. Meets April 13, dissolved May 5.
" The Scots invade England. Battle of Newburn.
" Meeting of the Long Parliament, Nov. 3.
1640. Impeachment of Strafford.
1641. Triennial act. Attainder and execution of Strafford. The Star Chamber and High Commission Court abolished. Irish rebellion. The "Remonstrance."
1642. Accusations of lord Kimbolton and the five members. The king sets up his standard at Nottingham.
" Battle of Edge-hill.
1643. Hampden killed at Chalgrave field.
1644. Battle of Marston Moor.
1645. Archbishop Laud executed.
" Battle of Naseby.
1647. The king given up by the Scots.
1648. Colonel Pride "purges" the House of Commons.
1649. Trial and execution of the king.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

ICON BASILIKÉ.

Shortly after the execution of Charles I. appeared a work entitled 'Icon Basilikè (εἰκὼν βασιλική, *kingly image*), or a Portraiture of His Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings,' which made a great impression on the public, and is said by lord Shaftesbury (*Characteristics*, i. 193) to have contributed in no small degree to obtain for Charles the titles of saint and martyr. It consists of meditations or soliloquies on the king's calamities, and was generally believed at the time to be the composition of Charles himself. Hence it met with a great sale, and in the middle of last century it was computed that 47 editions, or 48,500 copies, had been issued (Jos. Ames, in *London Magazine* for 1756). In 1649, Milton was commissioned by the parliament to answer it, which he did in a treatise called 'Iconoclastes' (εἰκονοκλάστης, *the image breaker*). In this piece Milton treats the 'Icon Basilikè' as a genuine work, though in the preface he intimates a doubt respecting its authorship. Charles appears, at all events, to have seen the work in manuscript when a prisoner in Carisbrooke Castle, and to have revised some passages of it with his own hand; but the revised copy is not that which has been printed. It is now pretty generally allowed that the 'Icon' is not the work of King Charles, but of Dr. Gauden, a clergyman of Bocking, and author of a Life of Hooker. Lord Anglesey left a memorandum in his handwriting that he was told in 1675, both by Charles II. and by the duke of York, that the work was not written by their father (Wagstaff's *Vindication of King Charles*, p. 3). Burnet was also told by James, in 1673, that the book was the composition of Dr. Gauden (*Works*, vol. i. p. 76). It is remarkable too that Lord Clarendon, in his long and laboured panegyric of king Charles, says not a word about this production; and it would seem from a passage in his correspondence that he was aware it was not genuine. After the restoration, Dr. Gauden made known at court his claims to the authorship of the book, and received as the price of his secrecy, first the bishopric of Exeter, and afterwards that of Worcester. Nevertheless Dr. C. Wordsworth has undertaken to vindicate the authorship of king Charles, in a work published in 1824, entitled, *Who wrote Eikon Basilike?* Those who desire to enter more fully into this subject of literary controversy are referred to that work, and to Harris, *Life of Charles I.*, ii. 124; Lingard, *Hist. of England*, viii. app. R R R; Hallam's *Constitutional History*, ii. 230.

Pattern for a crown of the protector Oliver Cromwell. Obv.: OLIVAR . D . G . R . P . ANG . SCO . HIB &C PRO. Bust of protector to left. Rev.: PAX . QVÆRITVR . BELLO. Crowned shield with arms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the coat of Cromwell in an escutcheon of pretence: above, 1658.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE COMMONWEALTH. 1649–1660.

§ 1. State of England, Scotland, and Ireland. § 2. Cromwell's campaign in Ireland. § 3. Charles II. in Scotland. Cromwell's campaign in Scotland. Battle of Dunbar. § 4. Charles crowned at Scone. He advances into England. Battle of Worcester. Flight and escape of Charles. § 5. Settlement of the Commonwealth. § 6. Dutch war. Blake and Van Tromp. § 7. Cromwell expels the parliament. § 8. Barebone's parliament. Cromwell protector. § 9. Defeat of the Dutch and peace with Holland. § 10. Cromwell's administration. His first parliament. Royalist insurrection. War with Spain. § 11. Blake's naval exploits. Jamaica conquered. Death of Blake. § 12. Cromwell's vigorous government. His character. § 13. His second parliament. He refuses the crown. The "humble petition and advice." § 14. Dunkirk taken. Discontents and insurrections. § 15. Cromwell's sickness, death, and character. § 16. Richard Cromwell protector. His deposition. § 17. Long Parliament restored and expelled. Committee of safety. § 18. General Monk declares for the parliament. The parliament restored. Monk enters London. Long Parliament dissolved. § 19. A new parliament. The Restoration.

§ 1. The death of the king was followed by a dissolution of all authority, both civil and ecclesiastical. Every man had framed the model of a republic; every man had adjusted his own system of religion. The millenarians, or fifth monarchy men, required that government itself should be abolished, and all human powers be laid in the dust, in order to pave the way for the dominion of Christ,

whose second coming they suddenly expected. One party declaimed against tithes and a hireling priesthood; another inveighed against the law and its professors. The royalists, consisting of the nobles and more considerable gentry, were inflamed with the highest resentment and indignation against those ignoble adversaries who had reduced them to subjection. The presbyterians, whose credit at first supported the arms of the parliament, were enraged to find that, by the treachery or superior cunning of their associates, the fruits of all their successful labours were ravished from them. The young king, poor and neglected, living sometimes in Holland, sometimes in France, sometimes in Jersey, comforted himself amidst his present distresses with the hopes of better fortune.

The only solid support of the republican independent faction was an army of nearly 50,000 men. But this army, formidable from its discipline and courage, as well as its numbers, was actuated by a spirit that rendered it dangerous to the assembly which had assumed the command over it. Cromwell alone was able to guide and direct all these unsettled humours. But though he retained for a time all orders of men under a seeming obedience to the parliament, he was secretly paving the way to his own unlimited authority.

The parliament began gradually to assume more the air of a legal power. They admitted a few of the excluded and absent members, but on condition that they should sign an approbation of whatever had been done in their absence with regard to the king's trial. 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 an executive council of state, 38 in number; and as soon as they should have settled the nation, they professed their intention of restoring the power to the people, from whom they acknowledged they had entirely derived it.

The situation alone of Scotland and Ireland gave any immediate disquietude to the new republic. After the successive defeats of Montrose and Hamilton, and the ruin of their parties, the whole authority in Scotland fell into the hands of Argyle and the rigid churchmen. Though invited by the English parliament to model their government into a republican form, they resolved still to adhere to monarchy, which, by the express terms of their covenant, they had engaged to defend. After the execution, therefore, of the king, they immediately proclaimed his son and successor Charles II. (Feb. 5); but upon condition of his strict observance of the covenant. The affairs of Ireland demanded more immediate attention. When Charles I. was a prisoner among the Scots, he sent orders to Ormond, if he could not defend himself, rather to submit to the English than the Irish rebels; and accordingly, the lord-lieutenant, being reduced

to the enemies, delivered up Dublin, Drogheda Dundalk, and other garrisons, to colonel Jones, who took possession of them in the name of the English parliament. Ormond himself went over to England, and after some time joined the queen and the prince of Wales in France. Meanwhile the Irish catholics, disgusted with the indiscretion and insolence of Rinuccini, the papal nuncio, and dreading the power of the English parliament, saw no resource or safety but in giving support to the declining authority of the king. The earl of Clanricarde secretly formed a combination among the catholics: he attacked the nuncio, whom he chased out of the island; and he sent to Paris a deputation, inviting the lord-lieutenant to return and take possession of his government.

Ormond, on his arrival in Ireland, had at first to contend with many difficulties. But in the distractions which attended the final struggle in England, the republican faction totally neglected Ireland, and allowed Jones, and the forces in Dublin, to remain in the utmost weakness and necessity. The lord-lieutenant, having at last assembled an army of 16,000 men, advanced upon the parliamentary garrisons. Dundalk, Drogheda, and several other towns surrendered or were taken. Dublin was threatened with a siege; and the affairs of the lieutenant appeared in so prosperous a condition, that the young king entertained thoughts of coming in person into Ireland.

When the English commonwealth was brought to some tolerable settlement, men began to cast their eyes towards the neighbouring island. After the execution of the king, Cromwell himself began to aspire to a command where so much glory, he saw, might be won, and so much authority acquired; and he was appointed by the parliament lord-lieutenant and general of Ireland.

§ 2. The new lieutenant immediately applied himself, with his wonted vigilance, to make preparations for his expedition. He sent a reinforcement of 4000 men to colonel Jones, who unexpectedly attacked Ormond near Dublin; chased his army off the field; seized all their tents, baggage, ammunition; and returned victorious to Dublin, after killing 1000 men, and taking above 2000 prisoners (Aug. 2). This loss, which threw some blemish on the military character of Ormond, was irreparable to the royal cause. Cromwell soon after arrived with fresh forces in Dublin, where he was welcomed with shouts and rejoicings (Aug. 18). He hastened to Drogheda, which, though well fortified, was taken by assault, Cromwell himself, along with Ireton, leading on his men. A cruel slaughter was made of the garrison, orders having been issued to give no quarter (Sep. 12). Cromwell pretended to retaliate, by this severe execution, the cruelty of the Irish massacre: but he well knew that almost the whole garrison was English; and his justice was only a barbarous policy, in order to terrify all other garrisons

om resistance. His policy, however, had the desired effect. Wexford was taken, and the same severity exercised as at Drogheda. Every town before which Cromwell presented himself now opened its gates without resistance. Next spring, having received a reinforcement from England, he made himself master of Kilkenny and Clonmel, the only places where he met with any vigorous resistance. Ormond soon after left the island, and delegated his authority to Clanricarde, who found affairs so desperate as to admit of no remedy. The Irish were glad to embrace banishment as a refuge. Above 40,000 men passed into foreign service; and Cromwell, well pleased to free the island from enemies who never could be cordially reconciled to the English, gave them full liberty and leisure for their embarkation.

§ 3. While Cromwell proceeded with such uninterrupted success in Ireland, which in the space of nine months he had almost entirely subdued, fortune was preparing for him a new scene of victory and triumph in Scotland. Charles, by the advice of his friends, who thought it ridiculous to refuse a kingdom merely from regard to episcopacy, had been induced to accept the crown of Scotland on the terms offered by the commissioners of the covenanters. But what chiefly determined him to comply, was the account brought him of the fate of Montrose, which blasted all his hopes of recovering his inheritance by force. That gallant but unfortunate nobleman, having received some assistance from a few of the northern powers, had landed in the Orkneys with about 500 men, most of them Germans. He armed several of the inhabitants of the Orkneys, and carried them over with him to Caithness; but was disappointed in his hopes that affection to the king's service, and the fame of his former exploits, would make the Highlanders flock to his standard. Strahan, one of the generals of the covenanters, fell unexpectedly on Montrose, who had no horse to bring him intelligence. The royalists were put to flight, all of them either killed or taken prisoners, and Montrose himself, having put on the disguise of a peasant, was perfidiously delivered into the hands of his enemies by a friend to whom he had intrusted his person. In this disguise he was carried to Edinburgh, amid the insults of his enemies; when he was tried and condemned by the parliament, and hanged with every circumstance of ignominy and cruelty (May 21, 1650).

The king, after the defeat of Montrose, assured the Scotch parliament that he had forbidden his enterprise, though there can be no doubt that he had sanctioned it. He then set sail for Scotland, but before he was permitted to land he was required to sign the covenant; and many sermons and lectures were made him, exhorting him to persevere in that holy confederacy. He soon found that he was considered as a mere pageant of state, and that the few remains

royalty which he possessed served only to draw on him the greater indignities. He was constrained by the covenanters to issue a declaration wherein he desired to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit, because of his father's opposing the covenant and shedding the blood of God's people throughout his dominions; lamented the idolatry of his mother, and the toleration of it in his father's house; and professed that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant. Still the covenanters and the clergy were diffident of his sincerity; and he found his authority entirely annihilated, as well as his character degraded. He was consulted in no public measure; and his favour was sufficient to discredit any pretender to office or advancement.

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 a war, which, they saw, would in the end prove inevitable. Cromwell, having broken the force and courage of the Irish, was sent for; and he left the command of Ireland to Ireton. It was expected that Fairfax, who still retained the name of general, would continue to act against Scotland. But he entertained insurmountable scruples against invading the Scots, whom he considered as united to England by the sacred bands of the covenant; and he accordingly resigned his commission, which was bestowed on Cromwell, who was declared captain-general of all the forces in England. Cromwell crossed the Tweed on July 16, and entered Scotland with an army of 16,000 men. Lesley, the Scotch general, entrenched himself in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith, and took care to remove everything from the country which could serve for the subsistence of the English army. Cromwell, having advanced to the Scottish camp, and vainly endeavoured to bring Lesley to a battle, began to be in want of provisions, which reached him only by sea. He therefore retired to Dunbar. Lesley followed him, and he encamped on Down hill, which overlooked that town. There lay many difficult passes between Dunbar and Berwick, and of these Lesley had taken possession. The English general was reduced to extremities. He 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. 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 the sectarian and heretical army, together with Agag, meaning Cromwell, was delivered into 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;

foretold, without the help of revelations, that the Lord had delivered them into *his* hands. He gave orders immediately for an attack (Sept. 3). 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. About 3000 of the enemy were slain, and 9000 taken prisoners. Cromwell pursued his advantage, and took possession of Edinburgh and Leith. The remnant of the Scottish army fled to Stirling. The approach of the winter season, and an ague which seized Cromwell, kept him from pushing the victory any further.

§ 4. The defeat of the Scots was regarded by the king as a fortunate event, as the vanquished were now obliged to give him more authority, and apply to him for support. He was crowned at Scone Jan. 1, 1651, with great pomp and solemnity. But amidst all this appearance of respect, Charles remained in the hands of the most rigid covenanters, and was little better than a prisoner. As soon as the season would permit, the Scottish army was assembled under Hamilton and Lesley; and the king was allowed to join the camp before Stirling. Cromwell, having failed to bring the Scottish generals to an engagement, crossed the firth, and took Perth, the seat of government.

Charles now embraced a resolution worthy of a young prince contending for empire. Having the way open, he resolved immediately to march into England, and persuaded most of the generals to enter into the same views. But Argyle obtained permission to retire to his own home. The army, to the number of 14,000 men, rose from their camp, and advanced by great journeys towards the south. Cromwell was surprised at this movement of the royal army; but he quickly repaired his oversight by his vigilance and activity, and, leaving Monk with 7000 men to complete the reduction of Scotland, he followed the king with all the expedition possible.

Charles found himself disappointed in his expectations of increasing his army. The Scots, terrified at the prospect of so hazardous an enterprise, fell off in great numbers. The English presbyterians and royalists, having no warning given them of the king's approach, were not prepared to join him. When he arrived at Worcester he found that his forces, extremely harassed by a hasty and fatiguing march, were not more numerous than when he rose from his camp at Stirling. With an army of about 30,000 men, Cromwell fell upon Worcester, and, attacking it on all sides, after a desperate resistance of four or five hours, broke in upon the disordered royalists (Sep. 3). The streets of the city were strewed with dead. The whole Scottish army was either killed or taken prisoners. The country people, inflamed with national antipathy, put to death the few that escaped from the field of battle.

The king left Worcester at six o'clock in the afternoon, and, without halting, travelled about 26 miles, in company with 50 or 60 of his friends. To provide for his safety, he thought it best to separate himself from his companions; and he left them without communicating his intentions to any of them. By the earl of Derby's directions, he went to Boscobel, a lone house, in the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Penderell, a farmer. To this man Charles intrusted himself. The man had dignity of sentiments much above his condition; and though death was denounced against all who concealed the king, and a great reward promised to any one who should betray him, he professed and maintained unshaken fidelity.* He took the assistance of his four brothers, equally honourable with himself; and having clothed the king in a garb like their own, they led him into the neighbouring wood, put a bill into his hand, and pretended to employ themselves in cutting faggots. Some nights he lay upon straw in the house, and fed on such homely fare as it afforded. For a better concealment, he mounted upon an oak, where he sheltered himself among the leaves and branches for twenty-four hours. He saw several soldiers pass by. All of them 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 passed through many other adventures, assumed different disguises, in every step was exposed to imminent perils, and received daily proofs of uncorrupted fidelity and attachment. The sagacity of a smith, who remarked that his horse's shoes had been made in the north, not in the west, as he pretended, once detected him, and he narrowly escaped. At Shoreham, in Sussex, a vessel was at last found, in which he embarked, and after 41 days' concealment he arrived safely at Fécamp in Normandy (Oct. 17). No fewer than 40 men and women had, at different times, been privy to his concealment and escape.

§ 5. Notwithstanding the late wars and bloodshed, and the present factions, the power of England had never, in any period, appeared so formidable to the neighbouring kingdoms as it did at this time, in the hands of the commonwealth. The power of peace and war was lodged in the same hands with the power of imposing taxes; a numerous and well-disciplined army was on foot; and excellent officers were formed in every branch of service. The confusion into which all things had been thrown had given opportunity to men of low stations to break through their obscurity, and to raise themselves by their courage to commands which they were well qualified to exercise, but to which their birth could never have entitled them. Blake, a

* Two of the descendants of this family still receive pensions for their services on this occasion.

…n of great courage and a generous disposition, who had defended Lyme and Taunton with unshaken obstinacy against the late king, was made an admiral; and though he had hitherto been accustomed only to land-service, into which too he had not entered till past fifty years of age, he soon raised the naval glory of the nation to a greater height than it had ever attained in any former period. A fleet was put under his command, with which he chased into the Tagus prince Rupert, to whom the king had intrusted that squadron which had deserted to him. The king of Portugal having refused Blake admittance, and aided prince Rupert in making his escape, the English admiral made prize of twenty Portuguese ships richly laden; and he threatened still further vengeance. The king of Portugal, dreading so dangerous a foe to his newly acquired dominion, made all possible submission to the haughty republic, and was at last admitted to negociate the renewal of his alliance with England.

All the settlements in America, except New England, which had been planted entirely by the puritans, adhered to the royal party, even after the settlement of the republic, but were soon subdued. With equal ease were Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the Isle of Man, brought under subjection to the republic; and the sea, which had been much infested by privateers from these islands, was rendered safe to the English commerce. The countess of Derby defended the Isle of Man, and with great reluctance yielded to the necessity of surrendering to the enemy. Ireton, the new deputy of Ireland, at the head of an army 30,000 strong, prosecuted the work of subduing the revolted Irish; and he defeated them in many rencounters, which, though of themselves of no great moment, proved fatal to their declining cause. He died of the plague at Limerick, after he had captured that town by a vigorous siege. The command of the army in Ireland devolved on lieutenant-general Ludlow. The civil government of the island was intrusted to commissioners.

The successes which attended Monk in Scotland were no less decisive. After taking Stirling castle (whence the national records and regalia were conveyed to London), and gaining other advantages, he carried Dundee by assault; and following the example and instructions of Cromwell, put all the inhabitants to the sword, in order to strike a general terror into the kingdom. Warned by this example, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Inverness, and other towns and forts, yielded, of their own accord, to the enemy. Argyle made his submissions to the English commonwealth; and Scotland, which had hitherto, by means of its situation, poverty, and valour, maintained its independence, was reduced to total subjection. The English parliament sent sir Harry Vane, St. John, and other commissioners, to settle that kingdom.

1653. By the total reduction and pacification of the British dominions, the parliament had leisure to look abroad, and to exert their vigour in foreign enterprises. The Dutch were the first that felt the weight of their arms. After the death (in 1650) of William, prince of Orange, who had married an English princess, and whose policy had been favourable to the royal cause, the parliament thought that the time had arrived for cementing a closer confederacy with the Dutch republican party, which had now gained the ascendant. St. John, chief justice, who was sent over to the Hague, had entertained the idea of forming a kind of coalition between the two republics; but the States offered only to renew the former alliances with England. And the haughty St. John, disgusted with this disappointment, as well as incensed at many affronts which had been offered him with impunity by the retainers of the palatine and Orange families, and indeed by the populace in general, returned into England, and, by his influence over Cromwell, determined the parliament to change the purposed alliance into a furious war against the United Provinces. To cover these hostile intentions the parliament embraced such measures as they knew would give disgust to the States. They framed the famous act of navigation, which prohibited all nations from importing into England in their bottoms any commodity which was not the growth and manufacture of their own country. By this law the Dutch were principally affected, because they subsisted chiefly by being the general carriers and factors of Europe. Letters of reprisal were granted to several merchants, who complained of injuries, and above 80 Dutch ships were made prizes. Tromp, an admiral of great renown, with a fleet of 42 sail, being forced by stress of weather, as he alleged, to take shelter in the road of Dover, there met with Blake, who commanded an English fleet much inferior in number. Who was the aggressor in the action which ensued between these two admirals, both of them men of such prompt and fiery dispositions, it is not easy to determine. Blake, though his squadron consisted only of 15 vessels, reinforced, after the battle began, by 8 under Captain Bourne, maintained the fight with bravery for five hours, and sunk one ship of the enemy, and took another (May 19, 1652). Night parted the combatants, and the Dutch fleet retired towards the coast of Holland. The Dutch despatched their Pensionary Paw to conciliate matters; but the imperious parliament would hearken to no explanations or remonstrances. They demanded that, without any further delay or inquiry, reparation should be made for all the damages which the English had sustained. And when this demand was not complied with, they despatched orders for commencing war against the United Provinces (July 8). Several naval engagements followed.

George Ayscue, though he commanded only 40 ships, engaged Plymouth, the famous De Ruyter, who had under him 50 ships of war, with 30 merchantmen (Aug. 16). Night parted them in the greatest heat of the action. De Ruyter next day sailed off with his convoy. The English fleet had been so shattered in the fight, that it was not able to pursue. Near the coast of Kent, Blake, seconded by Bourne and Penn, met a Dutch squadron nearly equal in numbers, commanded by De Witt and De Ruyter (Sept. 28). A battle was fought much to the disadvantage of the Dutch. Their rear-admiral was boarded and taken. Two other vessels were sunk, and one blown up. The Dutch next day made sail towards Holland. On Nov. 28, Tromp, seconded by De Ruyter, met, near the Goodwins, with Blake, whose fleet was inferior to the Dutch, but who resolved not to decline the combat. In this action the Dutch had the advantage, and Blake himself was wounded. After this victory, Tromp, in a bravado, fixed a broom to his main-mast, as if he were resolved to sweep the sea entirely of all English vessels.

Great preparations were made in England in order to wipe off this disgrace. A gallant fleet of 80 sail was fitted out. Blake commanded, and under him Monk, who had been sent for from Scotland. When the English lay off Portland (Feb. 18, 1653), they descried, near break of day, a Dutch fleet of 76 vessels sailing up the channel, along with a convoy of 300 merchantmen. Tromp, and under him De Ruyter, commanded the Dutch. This battle was the most furious that had yet been fought between these warlike and rival nations. Three days was the combat continued with the utmost rage and obstinacy; and Blake, who was victor, gained not more honour than Tromp, who was vanquished. The Dutch admiral made a skilful retreat, and saved all the merchant-ships except 30. He lost, however, 11 ships of war, had 2000 men slain, and near 1500 taken prisoners. The English, though many of their ships were extremely shattered, had but one sunk. Their slain were not much inferior in number to those of the enemy.

§ 7. Meanwhile a domestic revolution was preparing. Cromwell saw that the parliament entertained a jealousy of his power and ambition, and were resolved to bring him to a subordination under their authority. Without scruple or delay he resolved to prevent them. He summoned a general council of officers, in which it was presently voted to frame a remonstrance to the parliament. After complaining of the arrears due to the army, they desired the parliament to reflect how many years they had sat, and that it was now full time for them to give place to others. They therefore desired them to summon a new parliament, and establish that free and equal government which they had so long promised to the people.

The parliament took this remonstrance in ill part, and much altercation ensued. At last, Cromwell being informed that they had come to a resolution not to dissolve themselves, but to fill up the House by new elections, immediately hastened to the House, and carried a body of 300 soldiers along with him. Some of them he placed at the door, some in the lobby, some on the stairs. He first addressed himself to his friend St. John, and told him that he had come with a purpose of doing what grieved him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly with tears besought the Lord not to impose upon him; but there was a necessity, in order to the glory of God and good of the nation. He then sat down for some time, and heard the debate. He beckoned Harrison, and told him that he now judged the parliament ripe for a 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 thereupon 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 the vilest reproaches, for their tyranny, ambition, oppression, 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 honester 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 whoremaster," said he. To another, "Thou art an adulterer." To a third, "Thou art a drunkard and a glutton;" "and thou an extortioner," to a fourth. He commanded a soldier to seize the mace. "What shall we do with this bauble? Here, take it away. It is you," said he, addressing himself to the House, "that have forced me upon this. I have sought 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, he himself went out the last, and, ordering the doors to be locked, departed to his lodgings in Whitehall (April 20, 1653).

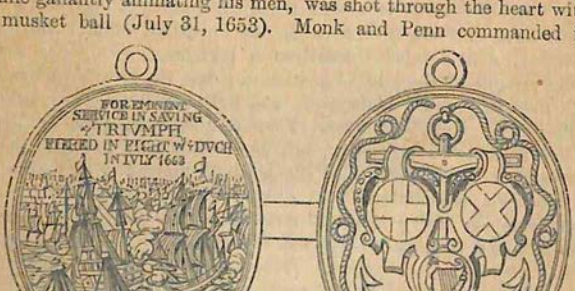
The indignation entertained by the people against such a manifest usurpation was not so violent as might naturally be expected. Congratulatory addresses, the first of the kind, were made to Cromwell by the fleet, by the army, even by many of the chief corporations and counties of England; but especially by the several congregations of saints dispersed throughout the kingdom.

8. Cromwell, however, thought it requisite to establish something which might bear the face of a commonwealth; and without any more ceremony, by the advice of his council of officers, he sent summonses to 128 persons of different towns and counties of England, to 5 of Scotland, to 6 of Ireland. He pretended, by his sole act and deed, to devolve upon these the whole authority of the state. This legislative power they were to exercise during 15 months, and they were afterwards to choose the same number of persons who might succeed them in that high and important office. In this assembly, which voted themselves a parliament (July 4), were many persons of the rank of gentlemen; but the greater part were fifth monarchy men, anabaptists, and independents. They began with seeking God by prayer. They contemplated some extraordinary schemes of legislation, but had not leisure to finish any, except that which established the legal solemnization of marriage by the civil magistrate alone. Among the fanatics of the House there was an active member, much noted for his long prayers, sermons, and harangues. He was a leather-seller in London: his name, *Praise-God Barebone*. This ridiculous name struck the fancy of the people, and they commonly affixed to this assembly the appellation of Barebone's parliament. Another name for it was "the little parliament."

Cromwell, finding this assembly not so obsequious as he expected, resolved to bring it to a close. Accordingly, on Dec. 13, Sydenham, an independent, suddenly proposed that the parliament should, by a formal deed or assignment, resign its power into the hands of Cromwell. Rouse, the speaker, who was one of Sydenham's party, forthwith left the chair, followed by several members, and the few who remained in the house were ejected by Colonel White, with a party of soldiers. Cromwell at first refused the offer; but the resignation of their powers being signed by the majority of the House, he accepted the trust, and a deed was drawn up, called the *Instrument of Government*, which received the approval of the council of officers. By this instrument Cromwell received the title of "His Highness the Lord Protector," and a council was appointed of not more than 21, nor less than 13 persons, who were to enjoy their office during life or good behaviour. The protector was bound 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 were not obtained, they were to become laws by the authority alone of parliament. A standing army for Great Britain and Ireland was established, of 20,000 foot and 10,000 horse; and funds were assigned for their support. The protector was to enjoy his

...e during life, and on his death the place was immediately filled ...plied by the council.

§ 9. In spite of the distracted scenes which the civil government exhibited in England, the military force was exerted with vigour, conduct, and unanimity: and never did the kingdom appear more formidable to all foreign nations. The English fleet gained several victories over the Dutch, in the last of which, Van Tromp, while gallantly animating his men, was shot through the heart with a musket ball (July 31, 1653). Monk and Penn commanded in



Medal given for service in the action with the Dutch, July 31, 1653. Obv.: a naval battle: above, FOR EMINENT SERVICE IN SAVING Y TRIUMPH FIERED IN FIGHT WH Y DVCH IN IVLY 1653. Rev.: arms of the three kingdoms suspended on an anchor.

this engagement, Blake being ill on shore. The States, overwhelmed with the expense of the war, terrified by their losses, and mortified by their defeats, were extremely desirous of an accommodation with an enemy whom they found, by experience, too powerful for them: and a peace was at last signed by Cromwell (April 5, 1654). A defensive league was made between the two republics: the honour of the flag was yielded to the English.

§ 10. The new parliament, summoned by the protector, met on Sept. 4, 1654. The elections had been conducted agreeably to the *instrument of government*, in a method favourable to liberty. All the small boroughs, places the most exposed to influence and corruption, had been deprived of the franchise. Of 400 members, which represented England, 270 were chosen by the counties. The rest were elected by London and the more considerable corporations. The lower populace too, so easily guided or deceived, were excluded from the elections. An estate of 200*l.* value was necessary to entitle any one to a vote. Thirty members were returned from Scotland; as many from Ireland.

Cromwell soon found that he did not possess the confidence of his parliament. Having heard the protector's speech, three hours long, and having chosen Lenthal for their speaker, they immediately entered into a discussion of the pretended instrument of government, and of that authority which Cromwell, by the title of protector, had assumed over the nation. The greatest liberty was used in arraigning this new dignity; and even the personal character and conduct of Cromwell escaped not without censure. The protector, surprised and enraged at this refractory spirit, sent for them to the painted chamber, with an air of great authority inveighed against their conduct, and 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. He forbade them to dispute the fundamentals of the new constitution, among which the chief was the government of the nation by a single person and a parliament; he obliged the members to sign an engagement not to propose or consent to any alteration; 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. Cromwell, therefore, dismissed them in a tedious, confused, and angry harangue, on January 31, 1655.

The discontent discovered by this parliament encouraged the royalists to attempt an insurrection, which, however, was soon put down, and served only to strengthen Cromwell's government. He issued an edict, with the consent of his council, for exacting the tenth penny from the royalists, in order, as he pretended, to make them pay the expenses to which their mutinous disposition continually exposed the public. To raise this imposition, which commonly passed by the name of decimation, the protector instituted 11 major-generals, and divided the whole kingdom of England into so many military jurisdictions. These men, assisted by commissioners, had power to subject whom they pleased to decimation, to levy all the taxes imposed by the protector and his council, and to imprison any person who should be exposed to their jealousy or suspicion; nor was there any appeal from them but to the protector himself and his council. In short, they acted as if absolute masters of the property and person of every subject.

Meanwhile the resentment displayed by the English parliament at the protection afforded by France to Charles, induced that court to change its measures. Anne of Austria had become regent of France, in the minority of her son Louis XIV., and cardinal Mazarin had succeeded Richelieu in the ministry. Charles was treated by them with such affected indifference, that he thought

more decent to withdraw, and prevent the indignity of being forced to leave the kingdom. He went first to Spa, thence he retired to Cologne, where he lived two years on a small pension paid him by the court of France, and on some contributions sent him by his friends in England.

The French ministry deemed it still more necessary to pay deference to the protector when he assumed the reins of government. They were now at war with Spain, and wished to defeat the intrigues of that court, which, being reduced to greater distress than the French monarchy, had been still more forward in their advances to the prosperous parliament and protector. Cromwell resolved for several reasons to unite his arms to those of France. The extensive empire and yet extreme weakness of Spain in the West Indies, the vigorous courage and great naval power of England, made him hope that he might, by some gainful conquest, render for ever illustrious that dominion which he had assumed over his country. Should he fail of these durable acquisitions, the Indian treasures, which must every year cross the ocean to reach Spain, were, he thought, a sure prey to the English navy, and would support his military force, without his laying new burthens on the discontented people. These motives of policy were probably seconded by his religious principles; and as the Spaniards were more bigoted papists than the French, and had refused to mitigate on Cromwell's solicitation the rigours of the inquisition, he hoped that a holy and meritorious war with such idolaters could not fail of protection from Heaven.

§ 11. Actuated by these motives, the protector equipped two considerable squadrons, one of which, consisting of 30 capital ships, was sent into the Mediterranean under Blake, whose fame was now spread over Europe. Blake sailed to Algiers, and compelled the dey to restrain his piratical subjects from further violences on the English. He then presented himself before Tunis, where, incensed by the insolence of the dey, he destroyed the castles of Porto Farino and Goletta, sent a numerous detachment of sailors in their long-boats into the harbour, and burned every ship which lay there. This bold action filled all that part of the world with the renown of English valour.

The other squadron was not equally successful. It was commanded by Penn, and carried on board 4000 men, under the command of Venables. An attack upon St. Domingo was repulsed with loss and disgrace; but Jamaica surrendered to them without a blow. Penn and Venables returned to England, and were both of them sent to the Tower by the protector, who, though commonly master of his fiery temper, was thrown into a violent passion at this disappointment. He had, however, made a conquest of greater

importance than he was himself at that time aware of, and Jamaica has ever since remained in the hands of the English.

As soon as the news of this expedition, which was an unwarrantable violation of treaty, arrived in Europe, the Spaniards declared war against England, and seized all the ships and goods of English merchants of which they could make themselves masters. Blake, to whom Montague was now joined in command, prepared himself for hostilities against the Spaniards, and lay some time off Cadiz in expectation of intercepting the treasure-fleet, but was at last obliged, for want of water, to make sail towards Portugal. Captain Stayner, however, whom he had left on the coast with a squadron of 7 vessels, took two ships valued at nearly two millions of pieces of eight (Sept. 1656).

The next action against the Spaniards was more honourable, though less profitable, to the nation. Blake pursued a Spanish fleet of 16 ships to the Canaries, where he found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, defended by a strong castle and 7 forts. Blake was rather animated than daunted with this appearance. The wind seconded his courage, and, blowing full into the bay, in a moment brought him among the thickest of his enemies. After a resistance of four hours, the Spaniards yielded to English valour, and abandoned their ships, which were set on fire, and consumed with all their treasure. The wind, suddenly shifting, carried the English out of the bay, where they left the Spaniards in astonishment at the happy temerity of their audacious visitors (April 20, 1657). This was the last and greatest action of the gallant Blake. He was consumed with a dropsy and scurvy, and hastened home, that he might yield up his breath in his native country, but expired within sight of land. Never man, so zealous for a faction, was so much respected and esteemed even by the opposite parties. He was by principle an inflexible republican; and the late usurpations, amidst all the trust and caresses which he received from the ruling powers, were thought to be very little grateful to him. "It is still our duty," he said to the seamen, "to fight for our country, into what hands soever the government might fall." The protector ordered him a pompous funeral at the public charge: but the tears of his countrymen were the most honourable panegyric on his memory.

§ 12. The conduct of the protector in foreign affairs was full of vigour and enterprise, and drew a consideration to his country, which, since the reign of Elizabeth, it seemed to have totally lost. It was his boast that he would render the name of an Englishman as much feared and revered as ever was that of a Roman; and as his countrymen found some reality in these pretensions, their national vanity, being gratified, made them bear with more patience all the indignities and calamities under which they laboured. "And

the protestant zeal which animated the presbyterians and independents was highly gratified by the haughty manner in which the protector so successfully supported the Vaudois, or persecuted protestants of Savoy, against whom the duke had commenced a furious persecution.

The general behaviour and deportment of Cromwell, who had been raised from a private station, and who had passed most of his youth in the country, was such as might befit the greatest monarch. He maintained a dignity without either affectation or ostentation; and supported with all strangers that high idea with which his great exploits and prodigious fortune had impressed them. Among his ancient friends he could relax himself; and by trifling and amusement, jesting and making verses, he feared not exposing himself to their most familiar approaches. Great regularity however, and even austerity of manners, were always maintained in his court; and he was careful never by any liberties to give offence to the most rigid of the godly. Some state was upheld, but with little expense, and without any splendour. The nobility, though courted by him, kept at a distance, and disdained to intermix with those mean persons who were the instruments of his government.

Cromwell had reduced Scotland and Ireland to a total subjection, and he treated them entirely as conquered provinces. The civil administration of Scotland was placed in a council, consisting mostly of English. Justice was administered by seven judges, four of whom were English. A long line of forts and garrisons was maintained throughout the kingdom, and an army of 10,000 men kept everything in peace and obedience. The protector's administration of Ireland was still more severe and violent. The government of that island was first intrusted to Fleetwood, who had married Ireton's widow; then to Henry Cromwell, second son of the protector, a young man of an amiable, mild disposition, and not destitute of vigour and capacity.

§ 13. In summoning a new parliament in 1656, Cromwell used every art in order to influence the elections, and fill the House with his own creatures: yet, notwithstanding all these precautions, he still found that the majority would not be favourable to him. Accordingly, on their assembling (Sept. 17), he set guards at the door, who permitted none to enter but such as produced a warrant from his council; and the council rejected about 100, who either refused a recognition of the protector's government, or were on other accounts obnoxious to him. These protested against so egregious a violence, subversive of all liberty; but every application for redress was neglected both by the council and the parliament. The majority of the parliament, by means of these arts and violences, was friendly to the protector, who now began to aspire to the crown;

and in order to pave the way to this advancement, he resolved to sacrifice his major-generals, whom he knew to be extremely odious to the nation. Colonel Jephson was employed to sound the inclinations of the House on the subject; and the result appearing favourable, 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, and divided the whole House into parties. The chief opposition came from the usual adherents of the protector, the major-generals, and such officers as depended on them; and particularly Lambert, a man of deep intrigue, and of great interest in the army, who had long entertained the ambition of succeeding Cromwell in the protectorship. But the bill, which was entitled *an humble petition and advice*, was voted by a considerable majority, and a committee was appointed to reason with the protector, and to overcome those scruples which he pretended against accepting so liberal an offer. The conference lasted several days. The difficulty consisted not in persuading Cromwell, whose inclination, as well as judgment, was entirely on the side of the committee. The opposition which Cromwell most dreaded was that which he met with in his own family, and from men who, by interest as well as inclination, were the most devoted to him. Fleetwood had married his daughter; Desborough his sister: yet these men, actuated by principle alone, could by no persuasion, artifice, or entreaty, be induced to consent that their friend and patron should be invested with regal dignity. Colonel Pride procured a petition against the office of king, signed by a majority of the officers who were in London and the neighbourhood: and some sudden mutiny in the army was justly dreaded. Cromwell, after the agony and perplexity of long doubt, was at last obliged to refuse that crown which the representatives of the nation, in the most solemn manner, had tendered to him (May 8, 1657). The provisions, however, of the *humble petition and advice* were retained as the basis of the republican establishment, instead of the former *instrument of government*. By the new deed the protector had the power of nominating his successor; he had a perpetual revenue assigned him; and he had authority to name another House, who should enjoy their seats during life, and exercise some functions of the former House of Peers. Cromwell, after his power had just commenced from this popular consent, was anew inaugurated in Westminster-hall, after the most solemn and most pompous manner.

Richard, eldest son of the protector, was now brought to court, introduced into public business, and thenceforth regarded by many as his heir in the protectorship. Cromwell had two daughters unmarried: one of them he now gave in marriage to the grandson

heir of his great friend, the earl of Warwick, with whom he in every fortune, preserved an uninterrupted intimacy and good correspondence. The other he married to the viscount Fauconberg, of a family formerly devoted to the royal party. The parliament assembled again on Jan. 20, 1658, consisting, as in the times of monarchy, of two Houses. Cromwell had sent writs to his House of Peers, which consisted of 60 members. They were composed of 5 or 6 ancient peers, of several gentlemen of fortune and distinction, and of some officers who had risen from the meanest stations. None of the ancient peers, however, though summoned by writ, would deign to accept of a seat which they must share with such companions as were assigned them. But Cromwell soon found that, by bringing so great a number of his friends and adherents into the other House, he had lost the majority among the national representatives: and dreading combinations between them and the malcontents in the army, he dissolved the parliament with expressions of great displeasure (Feb. 4).

§ 14. Cromwell still pursued his schemes of conquest and dominion on the continent: and he sent over into Flanders 6000 men under Reynolds, who joined the French army commanded by Turenne. In 1658 siege was laid to Dunkirk; and when the Spanish army advanced to relieve it, the combined armies of France and England marched out of their trenches, and fought the battle of the Dunes, where the Spaniards were totally defeated. The valour of the English was much remarked on this occasion (June 4). Dunkirk, being soon after surrendered, was by agreement delivered to Cromwell. This acquisition was regarded by the protector as the means only of obtaining, in concert with the French court, the final conquest and partition of the Low Countries.

But the situation in which Cromwell stood at home kept him in perpetual uneasiness and inquietude. His military enterprises had exhausted his revenue, and involved him in considerable debt. The royalists, he heard, had renewed their conspiracies for a general insurrection. Ormond had come over to England, and lord Fairfax, sir William Waller, and many heads of the presbyterians, had secretly entered into the engagement. Even the army was infected with the general spirit of discontent; and some sudden and dangerous eruption was every moment to be dreaded from it. This conspiracy, however, was discovered, and promptly suppressed. Ormond was obliged to fly, and he deemed himself fortunate to have escaped so vigilant an administration. Great numbers were thrown into prison. A high court of justice was anew erected for the trial of those criminals whose guilt was most apparent, as the protector could not as yet trust to an unbiassed jury. Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewitt were condemned and beheaded.

The conspiracy of the millenarians in the army struck Cromwell with still greater apprehensions, and he lived in the continual dread of assassination. The death of Mrs. Claypole, his favourite daughter, a lady endued with many humane virtues and amiable accomplishments, depressed his anxious mind, and poisoned all his enjoyments. All composure of mind was now for ever fled from the protector. He never moved a step without strong guards attending him: he wore armour under his clothes, and further secured himself by offensive weapons, a sword, falchion, and pistols, which he always carried about him. He returned from no place by the direct road, or by the same way which he went. Every journey he performed with hurry and precipitation. Seldom he slept above three nights together in the same chamber: and he never let it be known beforehand what chamber he intended to choose.

§ 15. Cromwell's body also, from the contagion of his anxious mind, began to be affected, and his health seemed sensibly to decline. He was seized with a slow fever, which changed into a tertian ague. For the space of a week no dangerous symptoms appeared; and in the intervals of the fits he was able to walk abroad. At length the symptoms began to wear a more fatal aspect, and the physicians were obliged to break silence, and to declare that the protector could not survive the next fit with which he was threatened. The council was alarmed. A deputation was sent to know his will with regard to his successor. His senses were gone, and he could not now express his intentions. They asked him whether he did not mean that his eldest son, Richard, should succeed him in the protectorship. A simple affirmative was, or seemed to be, extorted from him. Soon after, on the 3rd of September (1658), the very day on which he had gained the victories of Dunbar and Worcester, and which he had always considered as the most fortunate for him, he expired. A violent tempest, which immediately succeeded his death, served as a subject of discourse to the vulgar—his partisans and his enemies endeavouring by forced inferences to interpret it as a confirmation of their particular prejudices.

The administration of Cromwell, though it discovers great abilities, was conducted without any plan either of liberty or arbitrary power: perhaps his difficult situation admitted of neither. The great principle of his foreign policy was alliance with the protestant states, and the support of protestantism throughout Europe. If we survey his moral character with that indulgence which is due to the blindness and infirmities of the human species, we shall not be inclined to load his memory with such violent reproaches as those which his enemies usually throw upon it. The murder of the king, the most atrocious of all his actions, was to him covered

under a mighty cloud of republican and religious illusions; and it is not impossible but he might believe it, as many others did, the most meritorious action that he could perform. His subsequent usurpation was the effect of necessity, as well as of ambition; nor is it easy to see how the various factions could at that time have been restrained without a mixture of military and arbitrary authority. His private deportment, as a son, a husband, a father, a friend, merits the highest praise.

Cromwell was in the sixtieth year of his age when he died. He 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, a third to lord Rich. His father died when he was very young. His mother lived till after he was protector, and, contrary to her orders, he buried her with great pomp in Westminster Abbey. To educate her numerous family she had been obliged to set up a brewery at Huntingdon, which she managed to good advantage. Hence Cromwell, in the invectives of that age, is often stigmatised with the name of the brewer. She was of a good family, of the name of Stuart, remotely allied, as is by some supposed, to the royal family.

§ 16. When that potent hand was removed, which conducted the government, every one expected a sudden dissolution of the unwieldy and ill-jointed fabric. Cromwell's eldest son, Richard, a young man of no experience, educated in the country, possessed only the virtues of private life, which in his situation were so many vices; indolence, incapacity, irresolution, attended his facility and good nature. The council, however, recognised the succession of Richard. Fleetwood, in whose favour it was supposed Cromwell had formerly made a will, renounced all claim or pretension to the protectorship. Henry, Richard's brother, who governed Ireland with popularity, insured him the obedience of that kingdom. Monk, whose authority was well established in Scotland, being much attached to the family of Cromwell, immediately proclaimed the new protector. The army and the fleet acknowledged his title: and above ninety addresses, from the counties and most considerable corporations, congratulated him on his accession, in all the terms of dutiful allegiance. A new parliament (Jan. 29, 1659) proceeded to examine *the humble petition and advice*; and after great opposition and many vehement debates, it was at length, with much difficulty, carried by the court party to confirm it. On the other hand, the most considerable officers of the army, and even Fleetwood, brother-in-law to the protector, were entering into cabals against him; and the whole republican party in the army, which was still considerable, united themselves to that general. Above all,

intrigues of Lambert inflamed all those dangerous humours, and threatened the nation with some great convulsion. Richard, who possessed neither resolution nor penetration, was prevailed to give an unguarded consent for calling a general council of officers, who proposed that the whole military power should be intrusted to some person in whom they might all confide.

The parliament, no less alarmed than the protector at the military cabals, voted that there should be no meeting or general council of officers, except with the protector's consent, or by his orders. This vote brought affairs immediately to a rupture. The officers hastened to Richard and demanded of him the dissolution of the parliament. Desborough threatened him if he should refuse compliance. The protector wanted the resolution to deny, and possessed little ability to resist. The parliament was dissolved; and by the same act the protector was, by every one, considered as effectually dethroned (April 22). Soon after he signed his demission in form. Henry, the deputy of Ireland, though he possessed more vigour and capacity than his brother Richard, quietly resigned his command, and retired to England. Thus fell suddenly, and from an enormous height, but by a rare fortune without any hurt or injury, the family of the Cromwells. Richard, after the restoration, travelled abroad some years, and on his return to England lived a peaceful and quiet life, and died in extreme old age at the latter end of queen Anne's reign (1712). Henry retired into Cambridgeshire, where he died in 1674.

§ 17. The council of officers, now possessed of supreme authority, resolved, after much debate, on restoring the Long Parliament. Its numbers were small, little exceeding 70 members; but being all of them men of violent ambition, some of them men of experience and capacity, they were resolved, since they enjoyed the title of the supreme authority, not to act a subordinate part to those who acknowledged themselves their servants. They voted that all commissions should be received from the speaker, and be assigned by him in the name of the House. These precautions gave great disgust to the general officers; and their discontent would immediately have broken out into some resolution fatal to the parliament, had it not been checked by the apprehensions of danger from the common enemy.

The dominion of the pretended parliament had ever been to the last degree odious to the presbyterians, as well as to the royalists. A secret reconciliation, therefore, was made between the rival parties, and it was agreed that, burying former enmities in oblivion, all efforts should be used for the overthrow of the Rump parliament, as it was called. In many counties a resolution was taken to rise in arms: but the plans of the royalists were betrayed, and the only project which took effect was that of sir George Booth for the

ing p[illegible] Chester. He was, however, soon routed and taken pri-
r by Lambert, and the parliament had no further occupation
than to fill all the jails with their open or secret enemies. This
success hastened the ruin of the parliament. Alarmed at the pro-
ceedings of Lambert and his faction, they voted that they would
have no more general officers. Thereupon Lambert and the other
officers expelled the parliament (Oct. 23), and elected a committee
of 23 persons, whom they invested with sovereign authority,
under the name of a *Committee of Safety*. Throughout the three
kingdoms there prevailed nothing but the melancholy fears, to the
nobility and gentry, of a bloody massacre and extermination; to
the rest of the people, of perpetual servitude beneath the military:
whilst the condition of Charles seemed totally desperate. But
amidst all these gloomy prospects, fortune, by a surprising revolu-
tion, was now paving the way for the king to mount in peace and
triumph the throne of his ancestors.

§ 18. General Monk, as we have seen, held the supreme military
command in Scotland. After the army had expelled the parliament
Monk protested against the violence, and resolved, as he pretended,
to vindicate their invaded privileges. Deeper designs, either in the
king's favour or his own, were from the beginning suspected to be
the motive of his actions. How early he entertained designs for the
king's restoration we know not with certainty. It is likely that as
soon as Richard was deposed he foresaw that, without such an expe-
dient, it would be impossible ever to bring the nation to a regular
settlement. But his conduct was full of dissimulation, and no less
was requisite for effecting the difficult work which he had under-
taken. All the officers in his army, of whom he entertained any
suspicion, he immediately cashiered; and, hearing that Lambert was
marching northwards with a large army, he amused the committee
with offers of negotiation.

Meanwhile these military sovereigns found themselves surrounded
on all hands with inextricable difficulties. While Lambert's forces
were assembling at Newcastle, Hazelrig and Morley took possession
of Portsmouth, and declared for the parliament. The city established
a kind of separate government, and assumed the supreme authority
within itself. Admiral Lawson, with his squadron, came into the
river, and declared for the parliament. Hazelrig and Morley, hearing
of this important event, left Portsmouth and advanced towards
London. The regiments near that city, being solicited by their old
officers, who had been cashiered by the committee of safety, revolted
again to the parliament. Lenthal, the speaker, being invited by the
officers, again assumed authority and summoned together the parlia-
ment, which twice before had been expelled with so much reproach
and ignominy (Dec. 26). Monk now advanced into England with

his army. In all counties through which he passed the gentry flocked to him with addresses, expressing their earnest desire that he would be instrumental in restoring the nation to peace and tranquillity. He entered London without opposition (Feb. 3, 1660), was introduced to the House, and thanks were given him by Lenthal for the eminent services which he had done his country. Monk's conduct was at first ambiguous. He appeared ready to obey all the commands of the parliament, and marched into the city to seize several leading citizens who had refused obedience to the commands of the House; but two days afterwards he wrote a letter to the parliament, requiring them, in the name of the citizens, soldiers, and whole commonwealth, to issue writs within a week for the filling of their House, and to fix the time for their own dissolution and the assembling of a new parliament. The excluded members, upon the general's invitation, went to the House, and immediately appeared to be the majority; most of the independents left the place. The restored members renewed the general's commission, and enlarged his powers; and after passing some other measures for the present composure of the kingdom, they dissolved themselves, and issued writs for the immediate assembling of a new parliament. A council of state was established, consisting of men of character and moderation, who conferred on Montague, a royalist, in conjunction with Monk, the command of the fleet; and secured the naval as well as military force in hands favourable to the public settlement. Notwithstanding all these steps, Monk still maintained the appearance of zeal for a commonwealth, and had hitherto allowed no channel of correspondence between himself and the king to be opened; but he now sent a verbal message by sir John Grenville, assuring the king of his services, giving advice for his conduct, and exhorting him instantly to leave the Spanish territories and retire into Holland. He was apprehensive lest Spain might detain him as a pledge for the recovery of Dunkirk and Jamaica. Charles, who was at Brussels, followed these directions, and very narrowly escaped to Breda. Had he protracted his journey a few hours, he had certainly, under pretence of honour and respect, been arrested by the Spaniards.

§ 19. The elections for the new parliament went everywhere in favour of the king's party. The presbyterians and the royalists, being united, formed the voice of the nation, which, without noise, but with infinite ardour, called for the king's restoration. When the parliament met (April 25)—which, from its not being regularly summoned, was called the Convention Parliament—they chose sir Harbottle Grimstone speaker. On the 27th April a motion for the restoration of the king was made by colonel King and Mr. Finch. On the 1st of May Monk gave directions to Annesley, president of the council, to inform them that one sir John Grenville, a servant of

thanking[s] had been sent over by his majesty, and was now at the door with a letter to the Commons. The loudest acclamations were excited by this intelligence. Grenville was called in; the letter, accompanied with a declaration, greedily read; without one moment's delay, and without a contradictory vote, a committee was appointed to prepare an answer; and, in order to spread the same satisfaction throughout the kingdom, it was voted that the letter and declaration should immediately be published. It offered a general amnesty, without any exceptions but such as should afterwards be made by parliament; it promised liberty of conscience; it submitted to the arbitration of the same assembly the inquiry into all grants, purchases, and alienations; and it assured the soldiers of all their arrears, and promised them for the future the same pay which they then enjoyed. Such was the celebrated declaration from Breda.

The Lords, perceiving the spirit by which the kingdom, as well as the Commons, was animated, had hastened to reinstate themselves in their ancient authority, and to take their share in the settlement of the nation. Soon afterwards the two Houses attended, while the king was proclaimed with great solemnity, in Palace-yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple-bar (May 8, 1660). A committee of Lords and Commons was then despatched to invite his majesty to return and take possession of the government. Charles embarked at Scheveling on board a fleet commanded by the duke of York. At Dover he was met by Monk, whom he cordially embraced. The king entered London on the 29th of May, which was also his birthday. The fond imaginations of men interpreted as a happy omen the concurrence of two such joyful periods.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.

1649. Charles II. proclaimed at Edinburgh.
„ England declared a commonwealth.
„ Cromwell's victories in Ireland.
1650. Charles II. lands in Scotland.
„ Cromwell invades Scotland and gains the battle of Dunbar.
1651. Charles II. crowned at Scone. He invades England, is defeated at Worcester, and escapes to France.
1652. War with Holland. Several actions between Blake and Van Tromp and De Ruyter.
1653. Long Parliament expelled. Cromwell's first parliament (Barebone's parliament).
„ Cromwell made protector.
1653. Defeat of the Dutch. Death of Van Tromp.
1655. Peace with Holland. Cromwell's second parliament.
„ Naval expeditions of Blake. War with Spain. Capture of Jamaica.
1656. Cromwell's third parliament.
1657. Cromwell refuses the crown.
1658. Dunkirk taken. Death of Cromwell. His son Richard declared protector.
1659. Committee of safety. Richard Cromwell resigns the protectorate.
1660. General Monk enters London. Convention parliament. Restoration of Charles II.

Medal of Charles II. and Catherine, probably relating to the queen's dowry. Obv. CAROLVS . ET CATHARINA . REX . ET . REGINA. Busts of king and queen to right. Rev.: DIFFVSVS . IN . ORBE . BRITANNVS . 1670. A globe.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CHARLES II. FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE PEACE OF NIMEGUEN, A.D. 1660–1678.

§ 1. Character of Charles II. The ministry. Act of indemnity. Trial of the regicides. Disbanding of the army. § 2. Chancellor Clarendon. Prelacy restored. Affairs of Scotland. § 3. Conference at the Savoy. Act of uniformity. § 4. Charles marries Catherine of Portugal. Trial and execution of Vane. § 5. Presbyterian clergy ejected. Dunkirk sold. Declaration of indulgence. § 6. Triennial Act repealed. War with Holland. Naval victory. Plague of London. Five-mile Act. § 7. Great sea-fight. Fire of London. Disgrace at Chatham. Peace of Breda. § 8. Fall of Clarendon. § 9. The Cabal. The triple alliance. Secret treaty of Dover. § 10. Blood's crimes. The duke of York declares himself a papist. § 11. The bankers' funds in the exchequer seized. War with Holland. Battle of Southwold Bay. Successes of Louis XIV. Massacre of the De Witts. Prince of Orange stadtholder. § 12. The Test Act. Peace with Holland. § 13. Earl of Danby prime minister. His policy. Parliamentary struggles. § 14. The continental war. Marriage of the prince of Orange and princess Mary. Peace of Nimeguen.

§ 1. CHARLES II., when he ascended the throne of his ancestors, was thirty years of age. He possessed a vigorous constitution, a fine shape, a manly figure, a graceful air; and though his features were harsh, yet was his countenance in the main lively and engaging. To a ready wit and quick comprehension he united a just understanding

a general observation both of men and things. The easiest manners, the most unaffected politeness, the most engaging gaiety, accompanied his conversation and address. Accustomed during his exile to live among his courtiers rather like a companion than a monarch, he retained, even while on the throne, that open affability which was capable of reconciling the most determined republicans to his royal dignity.

Into his council were admitted the most eminent men of the nation, without regard to former distinctions: the presbyterians, equally with the royalists, shared this honour. The earl of Manchester was appointed lord chamberlain, and lord Say privy seal: Calamy and Baxter, presbyterian clergymen, were even made chaplains to the king. Admiral Montague, created earl of Sandwich,* was entitled, from his recent services, to great favour, and he obtained it. Monk, created duke of Albemarle,† had performed such signal services, that, according to a vulgar and malignant observation, he ought rather to have expected hatred and ingratitude; yet was he ever treated by the king with great marks of distinction. But the king's principal ministers and favourites were chosen among his ancient friends and supporters. Sir Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon, was chancellor and prime minister; the marquis, created duke, of Ormond was steward of the household; the earl of Southampton, high treasurer; sir Edward Nicholas, secretary of state. Agreeable to the present prosperity of public affairs was the universal joy and festivity diffused throughout the nation. The melancholy austerity of the puritans fell into discredit, together with their principles. The royalists, who had ever affected a contrary disposition, found in their recent success new motives for mirth and gaiety; and it now belonged to them to give repute and fashion to their manners.

One of the king's first acts was to grant a general pardon and indemnity; but he issued a proclamation declaring that such of the late king's judges as did not yield themselves prisoners within fourteen days should receive no pardon. Nineteen surrendered themselves; some were taken in their flight; others escaped beyond sea. Those who had an immediate hand in the late king's death were excepted in the act of indemnity: 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. All who had sat in any illegal high court of justice were disabled from bearing offices.

The parliament voted that the settled revenue of the crown, for all

* He was the ancestor of the present earl of Sandwich.

† This title became extinct upon the death of the second duke in 1688 The present earl of Albemarle is a descendant of Keppel, created earl of Albemarle in 1696.

charges, should be 1,200,000*l.* a-year, a sum greater than any English monarch had ever before enjoyed. They abolished the feudal tenure of knights' service and its incidents, as marriage, relief and wardship (see pp. 131, 132), and also purveyance, and in lieu thereof settled upon the king an hereditary excise duty.* Indeed it would have been impossible to restore these onerous burdens after their disuse during the time of the commonwealth. Tonnage and poundage were granted to the king during life.

During the recess of parliament the object which chiefly interested the public was the trial and condemnation of the regicides. They were arraigned before 34 commissioners appointed for the purpose. Six of the late king's judges, Harrison, Scot, Carew, Clement, Jones, and Scroope, were executed. Axtel, who had guarded the high court of justice; Hacker, who commanded on the day of the king's execution; Cook, the solicitor for the people of England; and Hugh Peters, the fanatical preacher, who inflamed the army and impelled them to regicide: all these were tried and condemned, and suffered with the king's judges. On the anniversary of Charles I.'s execution, the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were disinterred, hanged on the gallows at Tyburn, then decapitated, and the heads fixed on Westminster Hall.

After a recess of nearly two months the parliament met; and having despatched the necessary business, the king, in a speech full of the most gracious expressions, thought proper to dissolve them (Dec. 29, 1660). By the advice of Clarendon the army was disbanded. No more troops were retained than a few guards and garrisons, about 1000 horse and 4000 foot. This was the first appearance, under the monarchy, of a regular standing army in this island.

§ 2. Clarendon was now nearly allied to the royal family, his daughter, Ann Hyde, having been married to the duke of York soon after the restoration. By his advice prelacy was restored. Nine bishops still remained alive, and these were immediately restored to their sees; all the ejected clergy recovered their livings; the liturgy was again admitted into the churches; but at the same time a declaration, containing a promise of some reforms, was issued, in order to give contentment to the presbyterians, and preserve an air of moderation and neutrality.

Affairs in Scotland hastened with still quicker steps than those in England towards a settlement and a compliance with the king. The lords of articles were restored, with some other branches of prerogative; and royal authority, fortified with more plausible claims and pretences, was in its full extent re-established in that kingdom. The

* The principal excise duties were upon liquors and beer. Tea was also an excise able article, but did not yield much to the revenue in the reign of Charles II.

prelacy likewise, by the abrogating of every statute enacted in favour of presbytery, was thereby tacitly restored. Charles, though he had no such attachment to prelacy as had influenced his father and grandfather, had suffered such indignities from the Scottish presbyterians that he ever after bore them a hearty aversion. He said to Lauderdale that presbyterianism, he thought, was not a religion for a gentleman; and he could not consent to its further continuance in Scotland. Sharp, who had been commissioned by the presbyterians in Scotland to manage their interest with the king, was persuaded to abandon that party; and, as a reward for his compliance, was created archbishop of St. Andrews. Charles had not promised to Scotland any such indemnity as he had insured to England by the declaration of Breda; and as some examples, after such a bloody and triumphant rebellion, seemed necessary, the marquis of Argyle, and one Guthry, a preacher, were pitched on as the victims. Two acts of indemnity (one passed by the late king in 1641, another by the present in 1651) formed, it was thought, invincible obstacles to the punishment of Argyle; and nothing remained but to try him for his compliance with the usurpation, a crime common to him with the whole nation. Some letters of his to Monk were produced, which could not, by any equitable construction, imply the crime of treason. The parliament, however, scrupled not to pass sentence upon him; and he died with great constancy and courage.

§ 3. Meanwhile in England prelacy and presbytery struggled for the superiority, and the hopes and fears of both parties kept them in agitation. A conference was held in the Savoy (April 15—July 25, 1661), between 12 bishops and 12 leaders among the presbyterian ministers, with an intention, at least on pretence, of bringing about an accommodation between the parties; but they separated more inflamed than ever, and more confirmed in their several prejudices. The temper of the new parliament, which assembled in May, 1661, hastened the decision of the question. Not more than 56 members of the presbyterian party had obtained seats in the lower House, and these were not able either to oppose or retard the measures of the majority. The covenant, together with the act for erecting the high court of justice, that for subscribing the engagement, and that for declaring England a commonwealth, was ordered to be burnt by the hands of the hangman. The bishops were restored to their seats in parliament. A few months afterwards the parliament formally renounced the power of the sword; and acknowledged that neither one House, nor both Houses, independent of the king, were possessed of any military authority. The preamble to this statute went so far as to renounce all right even of *defensive* arms against the king. The CORPORATION ACT passed in this session compelled all corporate officers to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the church

of England, to renounce the covenant, and to take the oath of *Non-Resistance*.*

In the following year (1662) the ACT OF UNIFORMITY was passed. By this act it was required that every clergyman should be re-ordained, if he had not before received episcopal ordination; should declare his assent to everything 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 act, which received the royal assent on May 19, and was to come into operation on St. Bartholomew's day (Aug. 24), reinstated the church in the same condition in which it stood before the commencement of the civil wars; and as the old persecuting laws of Elizabeth still subsisted in their full rigour, and new clauses of a like nature were now enacted, all the king's promises of toleration and indulgence to tender consciences were thereby eluded and broken.† The church-party added insult to injury. The puritans objected to saints' days and to apocryphal lessons; the church-party added St. Barnabas to the calendar, and inserted among the daily lessons the apocryphal story of Bel and the Dragon.

§ 4. On the king's restoration advances were made by Portugal for the renewal of the alliance which the protector had made with that country; and in order to bind the friendship closer, an offer was made of the Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza, and a portion of 500,000*l.*, together with two fortresses, Tangiers in Africa, and Bombay in the East Indies. And thus was concluded (May 21, 1662) the inauspicious marriage with Catherine, a princess of virtue, but who was never able, either by the graces of her person or humour, to make herself agreeable to the king. They were married in a private room at Portsmouth, according to the Roman catholic rites. The attention of the public was much engaged at this time by the trial of two distinguished criminals, Lambert and Vane. These men, though none of the late king's judges, had been excepted from the general indemnity, and committed to prison. The indictment of Vane did not comprehend any of his actions during the war between the king and parliament: it extended only to his behaviour after the late king's death, as member of the council of state, and secretary of the navy, where fidelity to the trust reposed in him required his opposition to monarchy. Vane wanted neither courage nor capacity to avail himself of this advantage. He pleaded the famous statute of Henry VII., in which it was enacted that no man should ever be questioned for his obedience to the king *de facto*; urged that, whether the established government were a monarchy or a commonwealth, the reason of the thing was still the same; and maintained that the commons were the

* For further details see Notes and Illustrations (A).

† For further details see Notes and Illustrations (B).

..., the foundation of all lawful authority. But this bold defence ... hastened his destruction. Vane's courage deserted him not upon his condemnation. Lest pity for a courageous sufferer should make impression on the populace, drummers were placed under the scaffold, whose noise, as he began to launch out in reflections on the government, drowned his voice (June 14). By this execution Charles shamefully violated his promise to the last parliament. Lambert, though also condemned, was reprieved at the bar; and the judges declared that, if Vane's behaviour had been equally dutiful and submissive, he would have experienced like lenity in the king. Lambert survived his condemnation nearly thirty years. He was confined to the isle of Guernsey, where he amused himself with painting and botany. He died a Roman catholic.

§ 5. The fatal St. Bartholomew approached (Aug. 24), the day when the clergy were obliged, by the late law, either to relinquish their livings or to sign the articles required of them. About 2000 of the clergy in one day relinquished their cures; and, to the astonishment of the court, sacrificed their interest to their religious tenets. Bishoprics were offered to Calamy, Baxter, and Reynolds, leaders among the presbyterians; the last only could be prevailed on to accept. Deaneries and other preferments were refused by many.

The king, during his exile, had imbibed strong prejudices in favour of the catholic religion, and, according to the most probable accounts, had already been secretly reconciled in form to the church of Rome. His brother, the duke of York, had zealously adopted all the principles of catholicism, though he had not yet made an open declaration of his belief. The two brothers saw with pleasure so numerous and popular a body of the clergy refuse conformity; and it was hoped that, under shelter of their name, the small and hated sect of the catholics might meet with favour and protection. Under pretence of mitigating the rigours of the act of uniformity, a declaration was issued on the 26th of December, 1663, in which the king mentioned the promises of liberty of conscience contained in the declaration of Breda; and he notified that, with a view to carry them out, he should make it his special care to incline the parliament to concur with him in making some such act for that purpose as might enable him to exercise, with a more universal satisfaction, that power of dispensing with the penalties of the law which he conceived to be inherent in him.* The declared

* The *Dispensing and Suspending Powers*, as they are called, were claimed both by Charles II. and James II. The *Dispensing Power* consisted in the exemption of particular persons, under special circumstances, from the operation of penal laws: the *Suspending Power* in nullifying the entire operation of any statute or any number of statutes. (For details see Amos, 'The English Constitution in the Reign of Charles II.' p. 19, seqq.) Charles II. made a second attempt in 1672 to suspend the penal laws against Nonconformists. See below, p. 481.

tention of easing the dissenters, and the secret purpose of favouring catholics, were however equally disagreeable to the parliament; and the king did not think proper, after a remonstrance which they made, to insist any further at present on the project of indulgence.

Notwithstanding the supplies voted to Charles, his treasury was still very empty and very much indebted. The forces sent over to Portugal, and the fleets maintained in order to defend it, had already cost the king nearly double the money which had been paid as the queen's portion. The time fixed for payment of his sister's portion to the duke of Orleans was approaching. Tangiers was become an additional burden to the crown, and Dunkirk cost 120,000*l.* a-year. Clarendon advised the accepting of a sum of money in lieu of a place which he thought the king, from the narrow state of his revenue, was no longer able to retain; and a bargain was at length concluded with France for 400,000*l.* The artillery and stores were valued at a fifth of the sum. The impolicy of this sale consisted principally in its having been made to France.

§ 6. At the instance of the king, the parliament, next session (March, 1664), repealed the triennial act; and in lieu of all the securities formerly provided, satisfied themselves with a general clause, "that parliaments should not be interrupted above three years at the most." Before the end of Charles's reign the nation had occasion to feel very sensibly the effects of this repeal. By the act of uniformity, every clergyman who should officiate without being properly qualified was punishable by fine and imprisonment; but this security was not thought sufficient for the church, and the CONVENTICLE ACT was accordingly passed, by which it was enacted that, wherever five persons above those of the same household should assemble in a religious congregation, every one of them was liable, for the first offence, to be imprisoned three months, or pay 5*l.*; for the second, to be imprisoned six months, or pay 10*l.*; and for the third, to be transported seven years, or pay 100*l.* The Commons likewise presented an address to the king, complaining of the wrongs offered to the English trade by the Dutch, and promising to assist the king with their lives and fortunes in asserting the rights of his crown against all opposition whatsoever. This was the first open step towards the Dutch war. The rivalship of commerce had produced among the English a violent enmity against the neighbouring republic. The English merchants had the mortification to find that all attempts to extend their trade were still turned by the vigilance of their rivals to their loss and dishonour, and their indignation increased when they considered the superior naval power of England. The duke of York was eagerly in favour of the war with Holland. He desired an opportunity of distinguishing himself, and was at the head of a new African company, the trade of which was checked by the