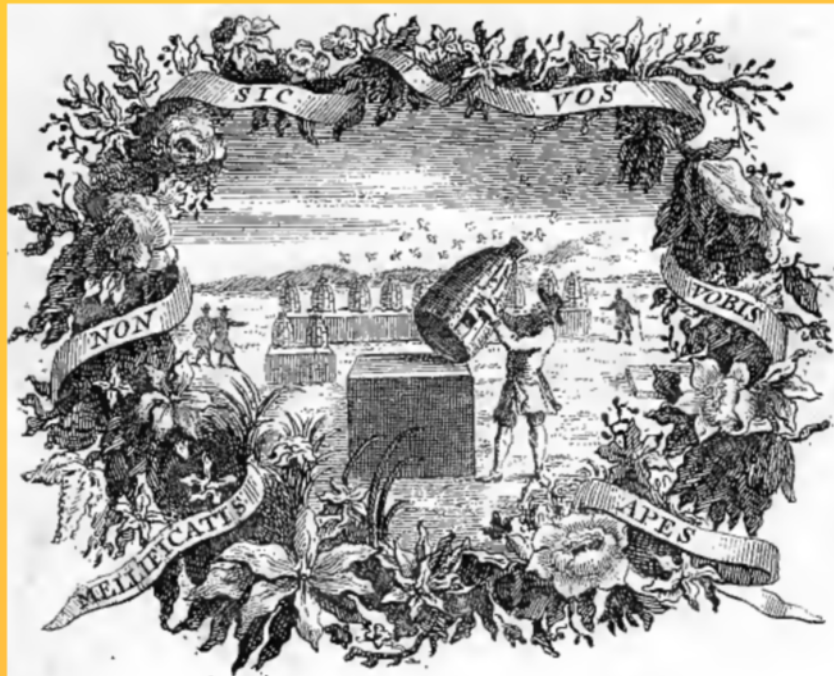


# Rapin's History of England



**Book Twenty One**  
**Volume 2**

**The Third and Last Part  
of The Reign of Charles I**

**The History  
of  
England  
Written in French  
By  
Mr. Rapin de Thoyras**

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**Plate: Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex, KB, PC-  
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# Book Twenty

## Charles I Part 3



The execution of Charles I allowed  
the money power to gain control of  
England and subsequently the whole  
of The United Kingdom







**Prince Rupert, Count Palatine of  
the Rhine, Duke of Cumberland,  
Earl of Holderness**



**Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex, KB, PC 11 January 1591 – 14 September 1646)** was an English Parliamentarian and soldier during the first half of the 17th century. With the start of the English Civil War in 1642 he became the first Captain-General and Chief Commander of the Parliamentarian army.



**Henry Ireton (1611 – 26 November 1651) was an English general in the Parliamentary army during the English Civil War, the son-in-law of Oliver Cromwell.**



# Banqueting House Whitehall



## Prayers and Preparation for Execution

The following morning, Tuesday 30 January, the King rose early and dressed for the icy weather, asking for a thicker than normal shirt, so that he wouldn't shiver, and people wouldn't think he was quaking with fear.

He then retired with Bishop Juxon to pray until a knock came on the door at 10 am.

Charles, the Bishop and his attendant Thomas Herbert walked across St James's Park, the King wrapped in a black cloak, surrounded on all sides by guards.

The King was taken to his bedchamber in Whitehall Palace, to await summons to the scaffold. This came three hours later.

Charles walked across the floor of Banqueting House, beneath the Rubens ceiling painting which 20 years before he had commissioned from Rubens.







## **King Charles I Children**

### **A father's last words**

**The King told his two youngest not to grieve, that they should obey their elder brother Charles, the lawful sovereign.**

**Elizabeth cried hysterically when she realised she should not see her father again, and he hid his own tears to calm her.**

**Image: Five eldest children of Charles I - Mary, James II, Charles II, Elizabeth and Anne. Royal**





**THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND**  
**BOOK XXI**  
**Containing The Third and Last Part of The**  
**Reign of Charles I.**  
**1642 AD August 2**  
**Condition of The King at Nottingham**



**T**HE King had imagined, that the setting up of his standard would draw great numbers of people to Nottingham, who would come and offer him their service: but he was very much disappointed. He had with him but three hundred foot, and some trained-bands drawn together by Sir John Digby, Sheriff of the county.

His cavalry consisted only of eight hundred horse, and his artillery was still at York, from whence it was difficult to bring it, many things being yet wanted to prepare and form it for marching, and besides, there were no foot to guard it. Nevertheless, as he had given out many commissions, and ordered his forces to repair to Nottingham, he expected them in that town, though not without danger, the Parliament having at Coventry five thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse.

Thus the King was in a very melancholy state before the war was well begun. He had appointed Robert Bartu Earl of Lindsey for General; but had yet no army. The Princes Rupert and Maurice his nephews, brothers of the Elector Palatine, being come to offer him their service in the

beginning of September, he made Prince Rupert General of his horse, quartered at Leicester, whither the Prince went and took upon him the command. The King, it is certain, was in extreme danger at Nottingham.

That town was not in condition to make a long resistance, and the King having scarce any forces, if the Parliament's troops, which were within twenty miles of the place, had marched directly to him, he must have been forced to retire with dishonour to York, unless he would have hazarded his being made prisoner.

### **The King is in Great Danger**

All those about him saw the danger, it being so evident; but it was not easy to avoid it, without quitting Nottingham, which could not but be very prejudicial to him. For this reason it was moved in the Council, to send a message to both Houses, with some overture to incline them to a treaty. The intent of this proposition, was doubtless to intimate to the King, that his affairs were in such a situation, that peace alone could free him from the perplexity and danger he was exposed to.

But the mover of this advice could hardly think, that a bare offer of peace was able to effect it, after what had passed before the rupture. Very likely, therefore, his design was that, in proposing a peace, something more should be offered, than what had been offered before. The King easily perceived the intimation, and was so offended at it, that he broke up the Council, that it might be no longer urged.

### **He is Advised to Propose a Peace**

However, the next day the same motion was renewed, but under a different view. As it was doubtless perceived, that what had offended the King, was the plain meaning of proposing a peace, namely, that his Majesty must depart from some of his pretentions, care was taken to remove this odious meaning, and it was advised only to send a message to both Houses, in order to gain time.

### **Reasons to Back The Advice**

The King still opposed it, alleging, to offer peace in such a juncture would be discovering his weakness:—

**That** his enemies would reject the offer with insolence, and nothing but dishonour would thereby reflect on himself. But it was represented to him, that such a message might do good, but could do no harm:

**That** indeed, both Houses, very likely, would reject the offer, but they would thereby render themselves odious to the people, who were desirous of peace, and who would be the more inclined to serve his Majesty, for his endeavours to procure it:

**That** if the overture was accepted, the King would have an opportunity of demonstrating, that the war, on his part, was purely defensive:

**In short**, that the bare offer of peace would of course retard the preparations of the Parliament, because men's minds would be in suspense, whilst the King's levies might be continued by virtue of the commissions already sent out.

The King yielded to these reasons, because the point was not to offer any new conditions, but only to lay a snare for the Parliament, and retard their preparations. This was the sole motive of the message, wherein, as we shall see presently, the King proposed nothing new, and which, however, he represented afterwards as an evident sign of his sincere desire of peace. But though some pretend, that his Majesty's message, and the Parliament's refusal, contributed very much to facilitate the King's levies, and undeceive the people of their good opinion of the intentions of both Houses, I cannot believe, that such weak reasons were able to produce so great effects.

### **Remark on The Foregoing Reasons**

It is true, if by the people, be meant only those who were devoted to the King, it is not unlikely, that the refusal of peace might, render the Parliament odious to them, and promote their taking arms for the King. But if by the people be understood the Parliament's party, or rather all the people in general, and without distinction, it is not easy to conceive, how the refusal of a bare proposition, without any thing new in it, could produce such an effect[1].

The people, no doubt, wished for peace rather than war. But they would have a solid peace, supported by other foundations than the King's bare word, and not a peace in general, such as his Majesty proposed. They had already rejected such a peace; and upon this sense of the nation it was, that the Parliament's whole authority was founded. This was no new thing: it had been long disputed without coming to any conclusion.

How therefore could the bare proposal of a treaty, without any particular offer, incline the people so strongly to the King, and render the Parliament more odious, if it was rejected? And yet, upon this foundation the King constantly built, from the beginning of the war, as will appear in the sequel.

The second reason was wholly founded on the prejudices of the Privy-Counsellors. For, supposing the negotiation had been entered into, by what fresh evidence would the King have been able to demonstrate, that the war was only defensive on his part, since he had already alleged all that could be said on that subject, and since his papers were public?

The third reason was of no greater force. For if the bare overture of a treaty was capable of keeping people in suspense, and retarding the Parliament's levies, it might also have the same effect with regard to the King's. But the counsellors supposed, his Majesty's levies would be continued with vigour, whilst the Parliament's preparations would be interrupted: That is to say, the Parliament's friends would fall into the snare, whilst care should be taken privately to warn the King to avoid it. Nothing more clearly shows, with what spirit they advised the King to send this message to the Parliament.

Be this as it will, the message was sent the 25th of August, (three days after the setting up of the Standard)[2] by, Thomas Wriothesly Earl of Southampton, Sir John Culpepper, and some others [3].

### **The King's Message to Both Houses of Parliament**

He propounded to both Houses:—

**That** some persons might be by them enabled, to treat with the like number authorized by him, in such a manner, and with such freedom of debate, as might best tend to the peace of the Kingdom.

**And** he assured them, that nothing should be wanting on his part, which might advance the Protestant religion, oppose Popery, secure the Laws of the Land, and



confirm all just power and privileges of Parliament. If this proposition should be rejected, he protested, he had done his duty so amply, that God would absolve him from any of the guilt of that blood which must be spilt.

### **The King's Deputies Ill Received**

As the war was sufficiently proclaimed by the erecting of the Standard, it seems, the King should have demanded a safe-conduct for his messengers. But though he had neglected to take this precaution, they pretended, on what grounds I know not, to go and sit in their respective places, without any previous notice[4].

The Lords, offended at the Earl of Southampton's boldness, called upon him to withdraw, and ordered him to send his message in writing, and wait for an answer out of London. The Commons also obliged Culpepper to deliver his message at the bar, at which the King took great offence.

### **The Parliament's Answer**

The answer of both Houses to his Majesty's message was:—

**That** notwithstanding their endeavours to prevent the distracted estate of the Kingdom, nothing had followed but proclamations and declarations against both Houses of Parliament, whereby their actions were declared treasonable, and their persons traitors. So that until those proclamations were recalled, and the Standard taken down, they could not, by the fundamental privileges of Parliament, give his Majesty any other answer to his message.

The King's messengers being returned to Nottingham with this answer:—

**His Majesty says the Lord Clarendon**, was contented to make so much farther use of their pride and passion, as to give them occasion, by another message, to publish more of it to the people.

### **The King's Second Message**

It is easy to judge from hence, whether the King's real motive was a sincere desire of peace, since his messages were intended only to render the Parliament odious. He said in his reply:—

**That** he never designed to declare both Houses of Parliament traitors, or set up his Standard against them, and much less to put them and the Kingdom out of his protection; he utterly professed against it before God and the world. But he promised, that if a day were appointed by them, for the revoking of their declarations against all persons as traitors or otherwise for assisting him, he would, with all cheerfulness, upon the same day, recall his proclamations and declarations, and take down his Standard.

In this message, as in all his other papers, may be observed the genius and character of Charles I. He always made use of obscure expressions, the interpretation whereof he reserved to himself. It is true, he had not in express terms declared both Houses traitors: but he called their members by that name, as the Earl of Essex and others.

So, according to his way of reasoning, those that executed the orders of both Houses were traitors and rebels, though the Houses themselves were not so. It may be affirmed, that those little artifices were one of the principal causes of this Prince's misfortunes, as they made him

forfeit the trust and confidence of his subjects. They inspired the Parliament with a perpetual jealousy of being entangled by treaties, wherein it would have been impossible to avoid such ambiguous expressions.

## The Answer of Both Houses

The two Houses answered:—

**That** his Majesty not having taken down his Standard, recalled his proclamations and declarations, whereby he had declared the actions of both Houses of Parliament to be treasonable, and their persons traitors, and having published the same since his message of the 25th of August they could not recede from their former answer.

**That** if his Majesty would recall his declarations, and return to his Parliament, he should find such expressions of their fidelities and duties, that his safety, honour, and greatness could only be found in the affections of his people, and the sincere counsels of his Parliament, who deserved better of his Majesty, and could never allow themselves, representing likewise the whole Kingdom, to be balanced with those who gave evil Counsels to his Majesty.

Meanwhile, both Houses perceiving, that the King's aim was to keep the people in suspense by an uncertain expectation of peace, published a declaration, protesting, they would never lay down their arms till his Majesty had left the delinquents to the justice of the Parliament.

## The King's Third Message

The King, on his part, failed not pursuant to his purpose, to make use of the answers of both Houses to his two messages, in a third which he sent to them, saying:—

**That** let all the world judge who had used most endeavours to prevent the present distractions, either he who had condescended to desire and press it, or the two Houses, who had refused to enter into a negotiation.

**That** for the future, if they desired a treaty of him, he should remember that the blood which was to be spilt in this quarrel was that of his subjects, and therefore would return to his Parliament, as soon as the causes which had made him absent himself from it should be removed.

## The Parliament's Reply

Both Houses finding, the King's design was to render their refusal to treat, odious to the people, returned a stronger and more particular answer to this message than they had made to the two first. The substance whereof was as follows:—

**That** at the very time his Majesty propounded a treaty, his soldiers were committing numberless oppressions and rapines.

**That** they could not think his Majesty had done all that in him lay to remove the present distractions, as long as he would admit of no peace, without securing the authors and instruments of these mischiefs from justice.

**That** they besought his Majesty to consider his expressions, That God should deal with him and his posterity, as he desired the preservation of the just rights of Parliament.

**That** nevertheless, his intention was not to deny the Parliament the privilege of declaring to be delinquents those they deemed such, a privilege which belonged to the meanest Court of Justice in the Kingdom.

**That** his Majesty hath no cause to complain, that he was denied a treaty, when they offered all that a treaty could produce, security, honour, service, obedience, support, and sought nothing but that their religion and liberty might be screened from the open violence of a wicked party.

**That** if there were any cause of treaty, they knew no competent person to treat betwixt the King and the Parliament.

**That** besides, the season was altogether unfit, whilst his Majesty's Standard was up, his proclamations and declarations recalled, whereby his Parliament was charged with treason.

**That** indeed his Majesty had often protested his tenderness of the miseries of Ireland, and his resolution to maintain the Protestant religion, and the Laws of this Kingdom. But that these Protestations could give no satisfaction to reasonable and indifferent men, when at the same time several of the Irish rebels, the known favourers of and agents for them, were admitted to his Majesty's presence with grace and favour, nay, some of them employed in his service:

**When** the clothes, munitions, horse, bought by his Parliament for the supply of the Irish war, were violently taken away, and applied to the maintenance of an unnatural war against his people.

**That** if his Majesty would be pleased to come back to his Parliament, they should be ready to secure his Royal person, crown and dignity, with their lives and fortunes.

### **The King's Declaration**

The King did not leave this answer without a reply. But instead of doing it by way of message, he published a declaration to this effect:—

**In the first place**, he alleged the Laws in his favour.

**He denied that his soldiers had committed any disorders or violence**, and affirmed, he had never suffered them to oppress any person whatever.

**He recriminated** upon the Parliament.

**He denied** that there were any Irish about him, and maintained, that it was a notorious calumny, like that cast upon him heretofore by Mr. Pym.

**He said**, the artillery horses he had taken at Chester were few in number, and of small value. And for the clothes, if his soldiers had taken any that were designed for the service of Ireland, it was done without his order; and though he might have seized three thousand suits which were going thither, yet he refused to do it, and gave order for their speedy transportation,

**That the Parliament** made no scruple to employ in the war against their King, a hundred thousand pounds particularly appointed for the relief of Ireland.

**That of near five hundred members**, of which the Lower-House consisted, there remained not above three hundred, the rest having been driven away by tumults and threats, or withdrawn themselves, out of conscience, from their desperate consultations.

**That of above a hundred Peers**, there remained but fifteen or sixteen in the Upper-House.

**That** it was not the body of the Parliament, but only the violent leading members that were the authors of the war.

I omit several general assertions which might then be necessary to the King's designs, but which have been already seen in the foregoing papers.

## **The Earl of Essex Heads The Parliaments Army**

During these paper skirmishes, both sides prepared for war. The Earl of Essex having ordered his forces to assemble at Northampton, departed from London the 9th of September to head the army; and having reviewed them, found about sixteen thousand men well armed, and well appointed with a good train of artillery.

## **The King Marches To Nottingham Towards Wales**

Then the King, a perceiving he could no longer remain at Nottingham with safety, marched towards the borders of Wales with his troops[5], which were yet so few in number, that they did not deserve the name of an army. He was unresolved in what place to expect the forces that were to come to him from several parts: but intended to secure, if possible, Shrewsbury or Chester, without knowing however, whether either of these towns would receive him, the Parliament having in all those parts very active and vigilant agents, who employed all their pains to procure them adherents.

For this reason the King marched but very slowly. When he came to Wellington, about seven miles from Shrewsbury[6], he drew his little army together, and caused his military orders for the discipline thereof to be read before them; after which he took occasion to make a speech to his soldiers, and the better to satisfy them of his good intentions to the public, he made the following protestation.

I do promise in the presence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain the true Reformed Protestant religion established in the Church of England, and by the grace of God, in the same will live and die.

I desire to govern by all the known Laws of the Land, and that the liberty and property of the Subject may be by them preserved, with the same care as my own just rights. and if it please God by a blessing upon this army, raised for my necessary defence, to preserve me from this rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of Parliament, and to govern by the known Laws of the Land to my utmost power, and particularly to observe inviolably the Laws consented to by me this Parliament.

In the meanwhile, if this time of war, and the great necessity and straits I am now driven to, beget any violation of those, I hope it shall be imputed by God and man to the authors of this war, and not to me, who have so earnestly laboured for the preservation of the peace of this Kingdom.

When I willingly fail in these particulars, I will expect no aid or relief from any man, or protection from heaven: But in this resolution, I hope for the cheerful assistance of all good men, and am confident of God's blessing.



The King was not contented with making this protestation to his army, but moreover, in all the considerable places he passed through, he assembled the inhabitants, and endeavoured to convince them of the sincerity of his intentions. These were necessary precautions, at a time when the chief point was to gain the people to his interest, for on the people depended the strength of both parties.

### **The King is Received at Shrewsbury**

From Wellington the King marched to Shrewsbury, having received the agreeable news that the town had declared in his favour, and the inhabitants would give him a joyful reception. Here he resolved to fix his head quarters, and appoint the rendezvous of his army.

This was a very convenient place to expect the troops which were levying for him in Wales, Yorkshire, and Lancashire, and to send for his ordnance, which had not been able to follow him to Nottingham for want of horses. This had forced him to make use of a hundred draught horses sent by the Parliament to Chester, to be transported into Ireland.

### **He Seizes Some Draft Horses Designed For Ireland**

He desired to have the Earl of Leicester's consent, who was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and was then with him at Nottingham. But the Earl constantly refusing to give any orders about these horses, bought with the Parliament's money, the King gained one Errington, a servant of the Earl's, who took them in his master's name, and delivered them to the King[7].

### **He Borrows The Arms of The Militia**

This the Parliament, as hath been seen, taxed the King with. As for arms, the King not having a sufficient quantity for all the troops that were to come from divers parts, had taken the arms of the militia in all the places through which he passed: but it, was by way of loan, that is, he obtained the consent of the officers of the militia to take away their arms, on promise of restoring them.

### **The King Forms an Army of Fourteen Thousand Men**

As soon as the King came to Shrewsbury[8], the number of his troops so considerably increased, that in a few days he had an army of ten thousand foot, and four thousand horse, with which he was entirely secured from the danger he was in, whilst his army was forming.

### **Parliament's Negligence Sending the Earl of Essex His Instructions**

It is something strange, that the Earl of Essex should neither molest the King whilst at Nottingham, nor in his march to Shrewsbury. Probably, if presently after his arrival at Northampton he had marched directly against him, he would have greatly embarrassed him, and perhaps, disabled him from assembling an army.

### **The King Raises Money Several Ways**

This neglect can be of ascribed only, to his not having power to act directly against the King's person, till he received his instructions, which he expected every day, and which came too late. Both Houses, it seems, could not believe, the King would be able to be ready so soon as he was, and imagined, that his inability to raise men and money, would compel him to retire to some corner of the Kingdom, or to throw himself into their arms.

At least, this is what they strove to infuse into the people, for fear of terrifying them with the notion of a war, the event whereof might be doubtful. The King made an advantage of this error, to assemble all his forces at Shrewsbury, and provide himself with money, which he wanted extremely. His friends at London had taken care of this last article, and privately sent considerable sums to Oxford.

### **The University of Oxford Give The King Their Plate**

Moreover, the University, which had always been firmly attached to the King, had engaged to deliver to him all the plate belonging to the Colleges, which was very considerable. The point was only how to convey this aid safely to his Majesty.

To that end, the King sent thither Sir John Byron, with a small detachment of horse, not daring to give him a stronger, for fear of raising a suspicion, that it was for some considerable affair. Byron coming to Oxford, received the money and plate, and returned towards Shrewsbury, by way of Worcester, taking all possible precautions not to be attacked in his march. For this aid of money, which the King could not be without, was of the utmost importance to him.

### **A Fight Near Powick Bridge Near Worcester Wherein Prince Rupert Had The Advantage**

Wherefore, the better to secure it, he detached Prince Rupert with a body of horse, who marched on the other side of the Severn to Worcester, to expect Byron, and guard him to Shrewsbury. In the meantime, the Earl of Essex after staying some days at Northampton, and securing Warwick, resolved to fix his head-quarters at Worcester.

To that purpose, he sent Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes before, who came to Worcester at break of day, some hours after Sir John Byron was entered with his convoy. Fiennes, at his arrival being told, that there were some of the King's horse in the town, the number whereof he did not know, hastily retreated, without making any attempt.

Presently after, Prince Rupert arrived, and to secure Byron's convoy, who was resting himself in order to march on, passed through the town, and posted himself, with his horse, at some dalliance on the other side. As he did not believe there were any enemies in those parts, he was not very careful to hinder many of his troopers from staying in the town.

When he came to the place he had chosen, he unlighted with his brother Prince Maurice, and most of the officers, reposing themselves on the ground. On a sudden they perceived, within musket shot, five hundred horse of the enemy marching up a narrow lane. These were a body commanded by Colonel Sandys, whom the Earl of Essex had sent before to take possession of Worcester.

Prince Rupert instantly mounting his horse, without a moment's hesitation, charged these troops, as they came out of the lane, and the charge was so vigorous, that the enemy was entirely routed, and Sandys slain, with thirty of his men. This action gained the Prince a great name, not only for the valour he shewed, but chiefly for his sudden and very seasonable resolution, in attacking his enemies as they came out of the lane, and when they least expected it. Some Historians in relating this skirmish, seem to represent Prince Rupert, as one of those romantic heroes, who with five or six persons, attacked and routed whole armies. But, after all, there is nothing wonderful in this action of the Prince's, who had not posted himself beyond Worcester, without having with him his detachment.

Besides, it is not said what was the number of the body he commanded. Nevertheless, this action, how little important soever it was, failed not to strike great terror into the Parliament's

troops, chiefly by reason of Prince Rupert's activity and courage, who afterwards gave them cause to be confirmed in their high opinion of his valour, for he was one of the bravest Princes in Europe.

## **The Earl of Essex Takes Several Places**

But though he had gained some little advantage, he did not think fit to expect the enemy at Worcester. He went from thence some hours after, and safely conducted the convoy of money to Shrewsbury, where the King immediately ordered the plate to be coined. The next day, the Earl of Essex possessed himself of Worcester, and making some stay there, secured in the mean while, Hereford, Gloucester, and Bristol.

It would doubtless be very strange, that in the twenty days the King stayed at Shrewsbury, his army should so greatly increase, if, as some say, it was the effect of the Parliament's denial to treat with his Majesty. For, so short a space does not seem efficient to determine the people to repair to the places where they were listed, and to conduct these new raised troops to Shrewsbury.

It may at least be affirmed, that it is much less surprising, that the King's new levies, which could not be ready whilst his Majesty was at Nottingham, or which did not care to go to a place so exposed, should be in condition to march during his stay at Shrewsbury, though it was but of twenty days, since he had issued his Commissions before he left York.

## **The King Marches Towards London**

However this be, the King finding himself at the head of an army little inferior in number to the Earl of Essex, and perceiving, it was not sufficient to remain in quiet at Shrewsbury, whilst the enemy was taking, without refinance, the principal towns in the heart of the Kingdom, believed he ought to seek means to put a speedy conclusion to the war.

There were two: One was to fight the enemies, the other, to gain some marches upon them, and appear before London, before they could arrive. The King took this last course, in the expectation that he should raise an universal consternation in London, which might afford his friends opportunity to serve him effectually. So, on a sudden beginning to march the 12th of October, with his army, which was not much encumbered with baggage, there being not one tent, and but little artillery, he quartered that night at Bridgenorth, ten miles from Shrewsbury, next day he came to Wolverhampton, the third day to Birmingham, and the fourth to Kenelworth, where he rested one day.

## **Essex Follows Him**

It was two days before the Earl of Essex had notice of his march, and began to follow him. It evidently appears by the King's route, that if he was not in quest of the enemies, at least he feared them not, since he could not be ignorant how easy it was for the Earl of Essex, either to put himself in his way, or overtake him.

In all likelihood, he imagined the Earl would not dare to hazard a battle, or that being much more encumbered with baggage and artillery, his march would be considerably retarded. Be this as it will, it was not till the 22nd of October, that the two armies came within six miles of one another, without having received any notice of each other's march, till that day, which appears very strange. But what is still more surprising, is, that the King, to whom speed was so necessary, had so little advanced in five days; since, leaving Kenelworth the 17th, he was on the 23rd, but four miles north of Banbury, and that the Earl of Essex, who departed the 15th from Worcester, should be only at Keinton the 22nd, which is not above twenty miles.

The King, who till then knew not where the Earl of Essex was, lay encamped near a village called Edgcot, where he had intelligence the 22d in the night, that the enemies were at Keinton, about six miles distant. He found then it would be very difficult to execute his design upon London, whilst he should be so closely followed by the enemies. And therefore he resolved to give them battle. To that end, he drew up his army on Edge-bill, from whence might be seen all Keinton plain, where the Parliament's army stood in battle array, the 23rd in the morning. The fight began not however till three in the afternoon. It is not known what induced the King to defer it so long[9]:

But for the Earl of Essex he had a very strong reason not to be in haste. For, not imagining himself so near a battle, he had left behind two thousand Foot, and five hundred horse, with his artillery, and consequently, delay could not but be advantageous to him.

## **The Battle of Keinton or Edgehill**

Prince Rupert, who commanded the King's right wing of horse[10], marching down the hill, and advancing to charge the enemies left wing, on a sudden, Sir Faithful Fortescue, who commanded a troop of the Parliament's horse, moving forward with his whole troop from the gross of the cavalry, and joining Prince Rupert, with his Highness charged those he had deserted[11].

This unexpected accident inspired the Parliament's horse with such a terror, each man looking upon his companion as upon an enemy, that they were entirely routed, and pursued above two miles from the field of battle. By this unadvised pursuit, the King was in danger of the same fate which his predecessor Henry III. had at the battle of Lewes. The Parliament's right wing stood their ground no better than the left.

They ran away full speed, and were pursued with the same fury and imprudence. What was moreover fatal to the King was, that his reserve of a regiment of horse, thinking the victory unquestionable, by the flight of the enemies cavalry, with spurs and loose reins followed the chase, and could not be hindered by their commanders.

All this while, the foot of both armies were engaged without victory's inclining to either side. But at last, Sir William Balfour, to whom the Earl of Essex had given the command of the reserve, turned the scale. As soon as he saw the King's horse employed in the pursuit of the flying troops, he went and charged the foot in the flank, and put them into such disorder, that the King, with the two Princes his sons, were in danger of being made prisoners.

The Earl of Lindsey, the King's General, was taken, having been shot in the thigh, of which he died the next day; and the Standard, which was always near the King's person, was lost by the death of the Standard bearer, Sir Edmund Verney, but it was recovered afterwards in some unknown manner[12].

The return of Prince Rupert, with his horse, prevented the King's entire defeat. For Balfour, who had only a small body of reserve, seeing the cavalry returning from the chase, suddenly quitted the fight, and secured himself near the Earl of Essex's foot. Could the King and Prince Rupert have persuaded their horse to charge the Parliament's infantry, who had scare any cavalry to support them, very probably they would have routed them, and obtained a complete victory. But the horse that were returned from the pursuit in extreme disorder, could never be brought to charge the enemies, who stood in good order, though they were in great danger.

As soon as the Earl of Essex saw the enemies cavalry returning, he had drawn off his infantry from the battle, and ranged them in the best manner he could, in order the better to support the charge of the King's horse, who, in all appearance, would come and attack them. But it was not his business to renew the fight. It was sufficient for him to keep his ground, as he did, till night, which freed him from his uneasiness.



When the battle began, there remained not above two or three hours day, and as the King's horse had spent some time in the pursuit of the runaways, and, after their return, could not be prevailed with to renew the fight, it was too late for the King to rally his infantry, who were in great disorder, and whereof above two thirds were missing.

Both armies kept their posts all night, and in the morning neither thought themselves in condition to renew the battle. It is true, the forces left behind by the Earl of Essex arrived in the night with his artillery. However as he had no other cavalry than the five hundred horse that were newly come, and the small body commanded by Balfour, he did not think he ought to hazard a second battle against a body of cavalry that had been victorious the day before, and were still facing his army.

The King, on his side, finding himself without infantry, and considering that his troops had frittered very much by the cold, which was extremely sharp that night, believed it sufficient to let his enemies see he feared them not. In this disposition, the two armies faced one another the whole day, without any desire to engage. At last, the Earl of Essex ordering his baggage to be drawn off, the King retired to the quarters he had taken the day before the battle, and the Earl of Essex marched towards Warwick[13].

The number of the slain on the field of battle was about five thousand. But what the Earl of Clarendon says, that two days after, the King reviewing his army, found there were not above three hundred men lost, is hardly credible, even according to his own description of this battle. But without dwelling upon the particular circumstances of the battle, which were extremely disguised or exaggerated by both parties, who equally claimed the victory, the consequences demonstrate, that they might have more justly owned, that each had been worsted[14].

The King went from Shrewsbury with design to make an attempt upon London, but after the battle, he relinquished that thought, though the road to London was open, and believed it more proper to retire to Oxford. On the other hand, the Earl of Essex follows the King to obstruct his going to London, but after the battle leaves the way open to him, and retiring to Warwick, puts it out of his power to prevent or stop him.

## **Doubtful Issue of This Battle**

I believe this suffices to shew, it was a drawn battle, which afforded no real master of triumph either to the King or the Parliament. Indeed, three or four days after the battle, the King took Banbury castle, where was a garrison of eight hundred foot, and a troop of horse. But if the circumstances of taking this place be well considered, it will be found, that it was far from being a consequence or effect of victory.

For first, the King summoned the castle, contrary to the opinion of all his Generals, who believed his army little able to undertake the siege. Secondly, he alleged for reason, that he could not determine what course to take, till he was informed of the intention of the enemies, and that if they designed to attack him, he could not fight in a more advantageous place. From hence it may be inferred, that he was not himself fully satisfied of the reality of his victory, since he imagined the Earl of Essex in condition to attack him.

## **The King Retires To Oxford**

In short, Banbury castle surrendered at the first shot, which leaves it uncertain, whether the King would have persisted in the siege in case of resistance, and whether the Earl of Essex would have suffered him to do it unmolested. The taking of Banbury determined the King to withdraw to Oxford the only place in those parts at his devotion, by means of the University, whose members were extremely attached to his interest.

## Great Consternation in Parliament

Though the Parliament challenged also the victory, they were very sensible they had no great reason to triumph. They were obliged however to make a parade of this pretended victory, as if it had been real, to contradict the King's friends who were trying to strike terror into the Londoners, and induce them to sue for peace, on account of this pretended success of his Majesty's arms. The King had still many friends in the city, there having been yet no measures taken to drive them away. Nay, in the Parliament itself, there were not a few who stayed there on purpose to do the King service, when occasion should offer, and who failed not to improve the present.

The news concerning the battle of Edge-Hill or Keinton, being very various at first, the King's friends at London, industriously magnified all the circumstances which might give room to believe that the King was victorious, in order to dispose the people to peace. For it must be observed, that since the breach, the King's grand aim had ever been to dazzle the people with the specious term of peace, and he had never ceased to hope that the nation would oblige the Parliament to come to an agreement, by leaving him in possession of all his Prerogatives.

This was his favourite project, from which he never swerved, not even when his affairs were most prosperous. It will hereafter appear on sundry occasions, with what constancy he endeavoured to execute this scheme.

The present occasion was the first since the beginning of the war. When both Houses had perfect information of the success of the late battle, what public demonstrations soever they made, to cause the people to believe their army victorious, they were very sensible, such victories were little capable to oblige the King to throw himself into their arms, though the people had been amused with such hopes. Then the King's adherents who were still in the House of Commons, observing the consternation expressed by most of the members, grew more bold, and scrupled not to propose a peace, as the only means to free themselves from trouble.

Very probably, this was done with the King's consent, who at the same time was using his utmost endeavours to persuade the public, that he had obtained at Edge-Hill a complete victory. The day before the battle, both Houses had published a declaration, of which I shall content myself with relating the substance: for having given so many of these papers, I am afraid, I shall tire my readers if I insert here at large those that follow.

### The Parliament's Declaration Before The Battle October 22nd

The two Houses protested in the first place, That no private passion or respect, no evil intention to his Majesty's person, no design to the prejudice of his just honour and authority, engaged them to raise forces, and take up arms.

**That** his Majesty had refused to receive an humble and dutiful Petition, which they had directed the Earl of Essex to deliver to him.

**That** they were fully convinced, that the King was so engaged to the Popish party, that all hopes of peace were excluded.

**That** great numbers of Papists had in shew conformed themselves to the Protestant religion, in order to qualify themselves for posts in the King's army.

**That** his Majesty endeavoured at first to keep off all jealousies and suspicions, by many fearful oaths and imprecations, concerning his purpose of maintaining the Protestant religion, and the Laws of the Kingdom, causing some professed Papists

to be discharged out of his army, and none to be received that would not come to Church, receive the Sacrament, and take the oaths.

**But that** afterwards his confidence in the priests did more clearly appear: persons imprisoned for priests and Jesuits having been released out of the goal of Lancaster, and commissions granted to professed papists.

Here fourteen of them here named.

**That** the Lord Herbert, son to the Earl of Worcester, a notorious Papist, was made General of the King's troops in all South Wales.

**That** those who raised forces for his Majesty in the North of England, did arm and employ Papists.

**That** men had been sent to Hamburg and Denmark to raise forces there, and to bring them over to join with the Earl of Newcastle, and the army of Papists which was intended to be raised in Newcastle.

**That** the King had received in his Court divers Papists in Ireland; some of which were indicted of high-treason for their rebellion there; namely, the Lord Taffe, &c.

**That** divers English traitors were the chief counsellors and actors in this unnatural war, as the Lord Digby, O'Neal, Wilmot, Pollard, Ashburnham, &c.

**That** divers Jesuits and Priests, in foreign parts, made great collections of money for the relief of the Papists in Ireland, and the furthering of his Majesty's designs against the Parliament.

**For** all which reasons they were resolved to enter into a solemn oath and covenant, and expected that their brethren of Scotland would help and assist them, according to the act of pacification between the two Kingdoms.

The King answered this declaration with two others, which were published after the battle of Edge-hill. In the first he said:—

**That** notwithstanding the solemn Protestation of both Houses, of having no evil intention to his person, yet they had used their utmost power, by the strength of their army, to have destroyed him.

**That** if he refused to give admittance to the Petition sent by the Earl of Essex, it was because it was sent by persons whom he had particularly accused of High Treason.

Here he gave a long account of this whole matter.

**He denies** his ever having had any inclination to the Papists, or that he had released any Priests or Jesuits out of the goal of Lancaster.

**He says**, that the Papists supposed to have commissions were not so much as known to him, and that they had no command, to his knowledge, in his army.

**Remark.** It must be observed upon these two last articles, That the prisoners he had released out of the goal of Lancaster, had been imprisoned as Papists, Priests and Jesuits, but had not

been convicted as such. And therefore the King thought he might deny he had released any Priests, &c.

**Secondly**, The King, when he said there were no popish officers in his army, meant by his army, that which he commanded in person, and the Parliament understood that which was commanded by the Earl of Newcastle. It might therefore be true, that the popish officers, commissioned by the Earl of Newcastle, were not known to the King. But the army in the north was as much his army, as that commanded by himself.

**He** expressly denied, that he ever sent to raise forces in Hamburg or Denmark.

**He** affirmed, the Parliament entertained several Papists in their troops, and of this he spoke knowingly, as having taken several of them prisoners at the battle of Edge-hill[15]

The second Declaration was entitled, His Majesty's Declaration to all his loving subjects, after his late victory against the rebels on Sunday the 23rd of October, 1642. This title was prefixed on purpose to cherish the fears, the King's friends were endeavouring to infuse into the people, on account of the pretended victory lately obtained by the King against the Parliament's army.

The intent of this Declaration was to vindicate the King upon three principal articles, namely:—

1. That his Majesty favoured Popery, and employed Papists in his army.
2. That his design was to root out Parliaments.
3. That it was his intention, by the commission of array, to take away part of Gentlemen's estates from them. I shall speak here of the first only, because, after what has been seen, it would be needless to repeat what the King alleged in his vindication upon the two last.

## **The King's Answer to His Employing Papists**

As to the first therefore he said:—

**That** although he should employ Papists, no one would wonder, who considered the hardships and straights he was driven to, and the little scruple the Parliament made to employ popish officers and soldiers, who served in great numbers in their army; the industry used to corrupt their loyalty; the private promises they assured them with to their service, even to the assuring them, that all the penal Laws should be repealed.

**That** withstanding the artifices of his enemies, and the weakness of his own condition, he could not prevail with himself to recall his Proclamation, against receiving into his army such as had not taken the oaths. He owned, however, that he had swerved from this general rule, in favour of force of eminent abilities in command and conduit.

We shall find hereafter, that though this Proclamation was not recalled, it was very far from being punctually observed.

## **The Reply of Both Houses**

Presently after, both Houses returned an answer to this Declaration, the substance whereof was as follows:—



**That** it was astonishing, the King, having affirmed. so positively, that a far greater number of Papists' served in their army than in his, should not have been pleased to name a single instance:

**That** they should have been glad of knowing their names, as it would have afforded means to remove those of that religion, who under the profession of Protestants, might have crept into the army without their privacy.

Then they pretended to shew, by several reasons, the absurdity of saying, that the Parliament endeavoured to corrupt the loyalty of the Papists, with the promise of repealing the penal Laws, and alleged divers instances of their severity against them, during the sitting of the present Parliament.

But for a demonstration, said they, that the King acted not with sincerity, when he alleged, in his vindication, that he had ordered no recusant to be received into his troops, and that this order was a mere illusion, they named several popish officers, who had commissions under the King's own hand, which commissions then remained in the House of Commons.

Moreover, they annexed to this Declaration a Petition, presented to the King by the popish inhabitants of the County of Lancashire, desiring leave to provide themselves with arms for his service, and the King's answer granting their request. This Petition, and his Majesty's answer, seem to me so decisive upon the present case, which was so often repeated, that I think they ought to be inserted in their own terms.

**To the King's most excellent Majesty.  
The humble Petition of us The Inhabitants of Lancashire,  
Whose names are under-written in Behalf of Ourselves, and  
Divers Others, being Recusants, Humbly Sheweth**

**T**HAT whereas we, and the rest of this County, your Majesty's most loyal subjects, are disarmed, and not sufficiently provided for the defence of your royal person and our own families; our most humble supplication to your Majesty is:—

**That** we may be received into your most gracious protection from violence, have our arms, taken from us, re-delivered in this time of actual war, and by your Majesty's special directions, be enabled further to furnish our selves with competency of weapons for the security of your royal person, (if we be thereto required) our countries and families, who now are, not only in danger of the common disturbances, but also menaced by unruly people to be robbed:

**And when,** by the Almighty's assistance, your Majesty's Kingdom shall be settled, in case we be again disarmed, that a full value of money in lieu thereof may be restored.

**The KING'S Answer**

**TO OUR TRUSTY AND WELL-BELOVED,** Sir William Gerrard Baronet, Sir Cecil Trafford Knight, Thomas Clifton, Charles Townley, Christopher Anderton, and John Clansfield, and other of our Subjects, Esquires, in the County of Lancashire.

**Charles R.**

**TRUSTY** and well-beloved, we greet you well.

**W****HEREAS** by reason of the Laws and Statutes of our realm, by which all recusants convicted are to be without arms, your arms have been taken from you:

**So that now**, in this time of imminent danger, wherein there are armies raised against our commands, and contrary to our Proclamations, and are marching against us, and divers of our good subjects, for obeying our lawful commands, and opposing the rebellious proceedings of others ill-affected, they are by a strong hand seized upon and imprisoned, their houses plundered, and their goods taken away; and the like is threatened to our selves, who, as all other our subjects, ought to have our protection against unlawful violence and force:

**And the Laws made for disarming recusants**, were made only for a provision to prevent danger in time of peace, and were not intended to bar you from a necessary use of arms in time of actual war, for your own safety, or for the defence of our person against all rebels and enemies, which by your duty and allegiance you are bound unto; which is not, nor ever was meant to be discharged, or taken away by any Act:

**And whereas**, the arms which were taken from you, ought by Law to have been kept and preserved, to have been made use of by you in such time of open war, or by such others as you should provide, yet under the specious pretence of disarming recusants, and persons ill-affected, your arms have been disposed and dispersed into the hands of several persons ill-affected, and for the most part, fomenters and excitors of the commotions now raised in this Kingdom; Our will and command therefore is, and we charge and require you, upon your allegiance, and as you tender the safety of our person, and the peace and welfare of our Kingdom, That you, with all possible speed, provide sufficient arms for yourselves, your servants, and your tenants, which we authorize and require, during the time of open war raised against us, to keep and use for the defence of us, and of yourselves, and of your country, against all forces and arms raised, or to be raised against us, or against our consent, or contrary to our proclamations, by colour of any order, or ordinance, or authority whatsoever:

**And we shall** (according as we are bound to all our subjects) use our utmost powers for the protection of you and yours, against all injuries and violence. And when soever these arms which you shall so provide (after it shall please God to put an end to these dangers and diffractions) shall be taken away from your custody, by reason of our Laws now in force, we do hereby assure you, we will allow you for the same, so much as you shall have dispensed in provision thereof.

It is proper to observe, concerning these two papers, that the question between the King and both Houses was not, Whether the King might lawfully, or not, employ Papists in his service, but whether he did really employ them? Care therefore must be taken, not to confound the right with the fact, the last only being the point in question.

Now these two papers demonstrate, that the King actually employed Papists in his service, even at the beginning of the war, and before any effusion of blood: for this Petition was presented to him, whilst he was yet at Shrewsbury[16].

For a greater conviction, both Houses annexed also to their Declaration, a list of the names of twenty eight officers, Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Sergeants, Majors, Captains, and Lieutenants, that were papists, and actually in the King's service, in the Earl of Newcastle's army. The

King and the Parliament were in this state of animosity, when his Majesty's private friends in the House of Commons moved to sue for peace, under colour of the Parliament's inability to continue the war, after their late loss at Edge-hill.

The King, on his part, to confirm the opinion his friends were striving to infuse into the people, that the Parliament's army was entirely routed, and to encourage his well-wishers in London to join with those in the Parliament, sent an offer of pardon to the cities of London and Westminster; thereby insinuating to the inhabitants, that such an offer could not but proceed from the superiority he had acquired by his victory.

He practised the same thing with regard to some other towns. It is certain, there was then a great agitation in London, caused by the King's friends, who under pretence of dreading a war, which, according to them, was so unfortunately begun, used their utmost endeavours to induce the people openly to demand a peace. Against these secret practices, it was the business of the leading men in the Parliament to provide. And as they were no less able than their adversaries, they quickly found means to battle this project.

### **Measures of The Party Opposite The King**

Instead of opposing the motion to sue to the King for peace, they supported it with all their power. They said:—

**That** the Parliament had not taken arms for the sake of going to war, but only to procure a good peace, the most desirable thing in the world:

**That** both Houses ought not to be ashamed to make the first advances, and humbly sue for peace to their Sovereign, but withal, care was to be taken, that a too great zeal for peace might not be a means to leave them at the mercy of their enemies:

**That** in order to make such a peace as was necessary to the welfare of the Kingdom, the King was to be told, that they were not yet reduced to the point, of being forced to accept of such terms as he should please to impose, and therefore, if they would have a peace wherein every man might find his safety, it was necessary to take good measures for the continuance of the war:

**That** among all the means which could be used, they saw none more proper, than to invite their brethren of Scotland to their assistance, pursuant to the treaty between the two Nations. Not that they actually wanted them, the Parliament's affairs not being reduced to such an extremity, that foreigners were to be hastily introduced into the Kingdom, but that the Scots would doubtless so answer their request, as to convince the King, this refuge would not fail the two Houses in case of need:

**That** thereby they should become more formidable, and if the King was really desirous of a peace, he would be forced to grant it upon reasonable terms, which was all that ought to be expected.

### **Parliament Resolves to Demand Aid of The Scots**

As this advice was very plausible, and besides, proposed by men in whom the majority had great confidence, it was approved by the House. Indeed, none could be ignorant, that by the peace which the King had hitherto offered, and which his friends moved to sue for, could be meant only a peace that should put him in possession of all his prerogatives, and that his word should be taken for security that he would abuse them no more. But though the Members of Parliament

doubted not that the King would grant an act of oblivion, such as they should desire, they did not believe, that such a peace could be advantageous to the Kingdom, because they did not believe the King's word to be a sufficient security.

Besides, the Presbyterians were no better pleased than they had been hitherto, with a peace which would of course restore Episcopacy in all its former lustre. Wherefore things not being yet brought to that state, that the Parliament should be induced to wish for such a peace, it was resolved:—

1. **That** his Majesty should be addressed for settling the peace of the Kingdom.
2. **That** the preparations of forces and other necessary means for defence should be prosecuted with all vigour, if an honourable and safe peace might not be obtained.
3. **That** the Scots should be applied to for assistance, if there should be occasion. These resolutions entirely broke all the measures of the King's friends, who had flattered themselves, that the pretended victory of Edge-hill would produce some great effect.

Pursuant to these resolutions, the Parliament took care to recruit the Earl of Essex's army, and to that end it was ordained, that such apprentices as should be listed for soldiers, should reckon the time spent in the wars, as part of their apprenticeship. Whereupon great numbers of apprentices engaged in the Parliament's service.

## **The Parliaments Declaration to The Scots**

After that, both Houses sent a declaration into Scotland, wherein they did not demand indeed an immediate aid; but said:—

**That** they did not doubt but the Scots would assist them, if there should be occasion, according to the treaty of amity and alliance between the two Nations.

**That** therefore they desired them to raise such forces, as they should think sufficient to secure their own borders against the attempts of the army of Papists, levied by the Earl of Newcastle in the North of England. To engage them the more to what they desired, they said, the enemies of the Protestant religion were so prevalent with his Majesty, that he had rejected all the Petitions presented to him.

**That** the present war was for the maintenance of religion, against the efforts of those who had projected its definition, and that in order to preserve it more effectually, they had willingly embraced the invitation of the Scots, to a nearer degree of union in matters of religion and Church Government, which they had accordingly resolved to pursue.

## **Remark on Proposition to Unite The Two Churches**

It was now some months, since the Scotch Commissioners residing at London, had intimated in a memorial presented to the Parliament, that the Scots passionately desired an union of the Churches of England and Scotland in the same worship and discipline. As this proposition was expressed by way of wish only, and besides was worded in such a manner, that it might be understood, either that the Scots desired the English to embrace the worship and discipline of the Church of Scotland, or that they themselves were willing to conform to the Church of England, the Parliament had, in the same ambiguous terms, civilly answered, that they also wished the same thing, and would heartily concur in accomplishing the project.

This answer was doubtless framed by the leading Presbyterians, to serve as a cornerstone, of which they hoped one day to make good use. But it was not yet time to declare their intention more openly, for fear of losing all the Church of England men that were against the King. Probably these men would have been alarmed, if they had clearly known, that the Presbyterians meant to establish their worship and discipline upon the ruins of the Church. For the same reason also, in the declaration above mentioned, both Houses, or rather the directors, thought not proper to speak more plainly, and in saying, that both Houses intended to pursue this union, the proposition was left in all its ambiguity, though it was easy for the Scots to perceive, that in time they should receive satisfaction.

For it is not to be imagined, there were none but Presbyterians in the Parliament's party, though this may be the notion some would give us of that party, their aim being to insinuate, that the war between the King and the Parliament was properly a religious war, and that the Parliament's sole design was to destroy the Church of England, and establish Presbyterianism in its room. As this design was unjust in itself, they would infer, that the war against; the King was unjust.

This reasoning would be solid and convincing, were it true, that the opposite party to the King had proposed to themselves no other end. But as it is certain, the Presbyterians were not the only persons that had cause to complain of the King, it is no less so, that the party of his enemies consisted not of Presbyterians alone, but also of a very great number of Churchmen, who saw, that under colour of destroying Presbyterianism, an arbitrary power was going to be established. It is easy to conceive, that these men were ill affected to the King, had joined with the Parliament, and as yet were attached to their party.

But it is inconceivable, that the Presbyterians, who at the beginning of the Parliament made so inconsiderable a figure in both Houses, as well as in the Kingdom, should be grown so very numerous in the space of two years, or that the members of the Church of England, who complained of the King's former administration, should have entirely renounced the Church, and embraced Presbyterianism.

It is certain therefore, though the Presbyterian party, considered as a religious party, had prevailed in the Parliament, there were however in that same party, considered as enemies to the King, many Churchmen who had no other view than the reformation of the civil Government, and the security of the nation's liberties.

These were the men the Parliament were to manage, for fear of alarming them, till they could be engaged to turn Presbyterians, whether by the superiority the Parliament should acquire in the course of the war, or by the absolute necessity they should be under of relinquishing the people's liberties, or by recourse to the assistance of the Scots, which could be obtained but by changing the Government of the Church.

On the other hand, the Church of England men could not take it ill, that the Parliament managed the Scots, since their assistance might happen to be absolutely necessary. The ambiguous expressions therefore in the declaration, with respect to the union of the two Churches, served to manage all those who were concerned for the Parliament's affairs.

The Scots were gladly suffered to think, that the proposition was understood in the sense they themselves gave it, and the Church of England men were told, that the Parliament was properly bound to nothing, in promising to endeavour an union, because there was no more reason for the Church of England to conform to that of Scotland, than for this last to conform to that of England. That however great advantage would accrue from this pretended engagement, in that the King, from the apprehension of seeing the Parliament closely united with Scotland, would be induced to make peace upon reasonable terms.

## **New Projects of The King's Friends In London**

Though on this occasion, the King's enemies had gained some advantage in the Parliament, his friends did not think themselves vanquished.

They plainly saw, that so long as both Houses should be able to act with freedom, the King's adversaries would always be superior, and that it was scarce possible to take away this freedom without an extraordinary assistance.

Wherefore whilst men were still in the agitation occasioned by the battle of Edge-hill, they sent the King word, that if he would appear before London with his army, they did not question, such commotions would be raised in the city, as would turn to his advantage in which his friends would not fail to exert themselves to the utmost of their power. This made him resolve to march to London.

## **The King Marches to Reading**

To that end, he ordered a body of horse to go before, who advancing to Reading, the Parliament's troops, quartered there, were seized with such a terror, that they entirely abandoned the place, and the King came thither soon after with his army.

## **Both Houses Petition for a Treaty**

Both Houses; were alarmed when they heard the King was within thirty miles of London. So, whether for that reason, or with design to amuse him, they sent and desired a safe conduct for a committee of Lords and Commons to attend his Majesty with a petition for Peace, pursuant to a resolution taken some days before. The King granted a safe-conduct for the committee, excepting only Sir John Evelyn, because he was proclaimed traitor[17].

## **The Earl of Essex Marches to London.**

In the meantime, both Houses had advice that the Earl of Essex was marching towards London with the utmost speed. For this cause they were in no haste to send the committee to the King, on pretence of his scrupling to admit Evelyn. It is hard to conceive why the King, who could not be ignorant, that the execution of his project depended upon his diligence, stayed long enough at Reading to give the Earl of Essex time to come to London as soon as himself.

## **And The King to Colebrook**

However this be, he marched the 11th of November to Colebrook, fifteen miles from London. Meanwhile the Earl of Essex's army arrived about the same time, in the neighbourhood of London. But whether it was not ready soon enough, for the Parliament was alarmed, the committee was sent to his Majesty the same day, with a very a humble petition, to appoint a place for a treaty.

## **The King Assaults Brentford**

The King returned a gracious answer to this petition, testifying, he wished for nothing more than a peace, and to that end, was content to enter into treaty. The committee returning to London with this answer, the Parliament immediately sent orders to their forces not to exercise any hostility. But presently after the departure of the committee, the King began to march towards Brentford, which is but seven miles from London, and arriving there the 12th in the morning, attacked the town, where some of the Parliament's troops were quartered, and he came master



of it, after some resistance[18]. Immediately after he sent a message to both Houses to inform them, that since his answer to their petition last night, he had received advice, that the Earl of Essex was drawing his forces out of London towards him, which had obliged him to march to Brentford: That however he was still desirous of peace, and expected their committee at Brentford that night, or early the next morning.

## **The King Retires to Kingston**

The Earl of Essex's army was indeed arrived near London the 7th, and the Earl himself was actually in the House of Peers the 12th, during the assault of Brentford. Whereupon both Houses ordered the Lord-Mayor to send out the trained-bands, to join with the Earl of Essex's army, and by then it became much superior to the King's[19], The same day the general made the necessary preparations for battle; but the King not thinking fit to expect him, retired towards Kingston.

## **The Parliament Complains**

The Parliament complained, the King had deceived them under the false show of desiring to treat of a peace, since immediately after the departure of the committee, he marched to surprise Brentford. The King justified himself two ways. He said first, that not only there was no truce agreed upon, but none so much as desired.

Secondly, that after the committee's departure, he received certain information, that the Earl of Essex had sent forces to Kingston, Acton, and other places, to surround him, which had obliged him to advance to Brentford. The former of these reasons was the best, for there being no cessation of arms, he might justly take all advantages as he thought proper. But he insisted the least upon this, for being disappointed, he would not have it appear that his design was to become master of London, or at least to raise commotions there in his favour, for fear of exposing his friends to a strict inquisition.

The latter was not of the same force. For if he was afraid of being surrounded at Colebrook, he did not avoid that inconvenience, by advancing eight miles nearer London. He rather made it greater by that march, unless he advanced with design to attack the enemy, which did not appear by his conduct.

## **Prince Rupert's Alleged Advance to Hounslow**

The King is furnished with another reason, not contained in a sort of Manifesto, published by himself on this occasion. Prince Rupert, it is said, had advanced to Hounslow with the horse, without the King's order, and when there, was informed that the Parliament had sent forces to Kingston, Acton, and other places: so, finding he was going to be surrounded, sent to the King to desire him to advance with his infantry to disengage him.

This reason to me seems so very weak, that I should think it needless to refute it, if it did not come from the illustrious author of the History of those times. I will not say, that it does not much redound to Prince Rupert's honour to affirm, he had advanced without the King's order with his cavalry, which too is not very likely. But first, if the Prince did think himself in danger, it was much easier for him to retire to the King, than for the King to march to his relief.

Secondly, what probability was there, that the Parliament's forces, which are supposed to have been detached to surround the Prince, should post themselves between him and the King?

Thirdly, the Earl of Essex's, army came near London but that very day, and was not in condition to march ten or twelve miles farther to attack the Prince.

It is therefore extremely probable, that the King, when he left Oxford, intended to surprise London, or hoped, that his friends would so manage, that he should be received there without opposition, before the Earl of Essex could arrive. But he either lost too much time at Reading or was prevented by the Earl's expedition.

Nevertheless, since he was not ignorant that the Parliament's forces were now very near London, one cannot well see what is signalled to attack Brentford, unless it was to brave the Parliament, or having first designed to give battle, he had altered his mind upon hearing that the trained-bands of London were sent out to join the Earl of Essex.

Be this as it will, having missed his aim, he was forced to frame reasons to colour his attack of Brentford, and to try to persuade the people, it was done only in his own defence. After all, it is very likely, that when he sent back the committee from Colebrook, he was determined to march to Brentford, and was not sorry the Parliament abused themselves with the hopes of a treaty. At least, the reasons he alleged in his vindication, did not prove the contrary.

## **Military Action in Several Places**

This war continued all the winter in several parts of the Kingdom, there being scarce a county free from it. My design is not to descend to the particulars of all the skirmishes and conflicts during the war. Such circumstances may be agreeable to the English, who are acquainted with the situation of the places, or concerned for the honour of those who signalled themselves on these occasions. But foreigners, for whom I write, being little concerned, I shall confine myself briefly to relate some of the principal actions.

### **Action in The North**

In the beginning of December, the Earl of Newcastle, who had levied an army for the King in the northern parts, began his march towards York, He was stopped at the passage of the River Tees, which parts the Bishopric of Durham from Yorkshire, by young Hotham, who had with him a detachment of the little army commanded by the Lord Fairfax in that county for the Parliament: But the Earl forced the passage, and came to York, with about eight thousand men.

### **Tadcaster and Gisborough Fights**

There were likewise during this winter, in the same county, two pretty warm actions. The first: at Tadcaster, where the Lord Fairfax was intrenched, and where he was attacked by the Earl of Newcastle, who, after an obstinate dispute, was obliged at last to retreat. The second was at Gisborough, where Sir Hugh Cholmley defeated six hundred of the King's party, commanded by Colonel Slingsby, who was taken prisoner, with a good number of his men.

### **The Taking of Leeds**

Some days after, Sir Thomas Fairfax the General's Son, attacked the town of Leeds, defended by Sir William Savil with fifteen hundred men, carried it by storm, and took five hundred prisoners. These were the most remarkable actions in the north, during the winter that followed the first campaign.

### **In The South Farnham Castle Taken**

In the South, Sir William Waller, Commander for the Parliament, blew up Farnham Castle, and made the garrison prisoners of war. Shortly after he took Winchester, and then Chichester, after an eight days siege. In the midland Counties, several notable actions, though little decisive, were also performed. The 5th of December, Wilmot Commissary general of the King's horse, the

Lord Digby, and others, attacked the town of Marlborough, fortified by the Parliament, where was a numerous garrison. The town being carried by storm, was plundered and burnt, and about a thousand of the garrison slain and taken prisoners.

February the second, Prince Rupert took Cirencester by storm, and made twelve hundred prisoners[20].

March the first, the Lord Brooke attacked some of the King's forces intrenched in the close of the Cathedral of Lichfield, and was there slain; but after his death his men carried the close.

## **The Battle of Hopton or Salt Heath**

The 19th of the same month, a battle was fought at Salt-Heath near Stafford, which was maintained on both sides four hours, till at last, Spencer Compton, Earl of Northampton, who commanded the King's forces, being slain, the Parliament's troops became victorious.

The same day Sir William Waller surprised the Lord Herbert, who was besieging Gloucester, killed five hundred of his men, and took above a thousand prisoners. After that, he took Chepstow in Monmouthshire, and then the town of Monmouth itself.

## **Affairs of The West**

I proceed now to what passed in the western counties, from the beginning of the war, to March the next year, 1643. As the war was always very sharp in those parts, and as the superiority was there obstinately disputed, it will be necessary, for the better understanding these events, to give a particular account of what passed in these counties.

From the time the King was at Beverley, after having failed in his attempt upon Hull, he sent the Marquis of Hertford into the West, to try to raise a party capable to give the Parliament's forces a diversion. He granted him a Commission to command all the western parts, and the Marquis made Sir Ralph Hopton his General of horse.

The Marquis being come into Somersetshire, fixed his quarters at Bath, where he could raise but few men, by reason of the vigilance of the committee of the militia, who greatly obstructed his levies. At last, the Earl of Bedford, who commanded in those parts for the Parliament, having drawn together much more numerous forces than were those of the King, the Marquis of Hertford was obliged to retire into Wales.

He sent however Sir Ralph Hopton with about one hundred and fifty horse into Cornwall, to endeavour to gain that county to the King's Interest. The Earl of Bedford neglected to pursue this little troop, not doubting but the committee of the militia would be able to disperse them, and went and joined the Earl of Essex, This passed before the battle of Edge-hill.

Hopton was well received in Cornwall and seconded by Sir Bevil Greenvil a Cornish Gentleman, who so ordered it, that the county declared for the King. Then Hopton drew together three thousand of the trained-bands, and marched towards Lancelton, from whence they chased the committee of the militia, who had assembled some troops. But endeavouring to lead these trained-bands into Devonshire, they refused to march out of their county. For which reason he dismissed them, having first driven the Committee from the little town of Saltash.

Meanwhile, with the assistance of the Gentlemen of the county, he found means to levy fifteen hundred regular troops, with whom he became absolute master of all Cornwall and even made incursions into Devonshire. The Parliament having intelligence of Hopton's progress in Cornwall, ordered all their forces in Dorset and Somerset to join with those of Devon, and gave the

command of this army to Henry Grey, Earl of Stamford. The Earl heading these troops, sent Ruthen a Scotchman Governor of Plymouth, with a detachment into Cornwall.

## **Ruthen Defeated By Hopton**

He was no sooner there, but was met by Sir Ralph Hopton, who put him to rout, killed many of his men, and took above twelve hundred prisoners. Ruthen, after his defeat, retired to Saltash, where he endeavoured to fortify himself, and the Earl of Stamford threw himself into Tavistock [21]

Hopton taking advantage of the terror, he had struck into the Parliamentarians, divided his forces into two bodies; with one of which he marched towards Ruthen, and beat him out of Saltash and thereby remained again master of Cornwall. The other body moved towards Tavistock, which the Earl of Stamford also quitted, and retiring to Plymouth, enabled Hopton with the more ease to fix quarters in Devonshire. But shortly after, both parties having agreed to observe an exact neutrality in the two counties of Devon and Cornwall, in order to remove the war into other parts, Hopton retired with his forces into Cornwall.

## **Civil Affairs of 1642**

Having related the principal military actions of the first campaign, and the following winter, it will be necessary to mention some other things, which indeed flowed from the war, but were not decided by arms.

## **Remark on levies of Money on Both Sides**

Money being the sinews of war, it is not strange the King and the Parliament should do their utmost to raise all they could. But the wonder is, that they should upbraid each other with the expedients made use of to that end. According to the laws of the land, the King cannot levy money upon the subject, without consent of Parliament; but it is no less certain, that the Parliament cannot impose taxes without the Royal assent.

Taxes are laid by acts, to which the King and both Houses must necessarily give their approbation. But what is to be done when the King and Parliament are at war with one another? Neither of them, according to the laws, must levy money upon the people, and then it will be almost impossible to wage war, or else both must be left at liberty to raise it, without regarding each other's consent.

This was what the King and the Parliament practised, and yet they reproached one another with breach of the Laws. If we believe the authors who writ in favour of the King, his Majesty had no other money than what he was supplied with voluntarily by gift or loan[22]. If he sometimes taxed the counties in his power, it was always with the consent of the inhabitants. But this is a kind of artifice to deceive the reader.

For it means nothing more, than that some of the leading men of a town or county were gained, by whom it was resolved to give the King such a sum, after which it would have been in vain for the rest to oppose it, or refuse to pay their share. The Parliament proceeded in much the same manner.

They demanded for the maintenance of the war, contributions, which they termed voluntary, but which were very far from being so. This very clearly appeared in an ordinance of the 29th of November, for assembling such as had not freely contributed. The King, considering this ordinance as an express breach of the law, issued out a Proclamation, enjoining all his subjects not to submit to it.

He published another of the same nature, to command all persons not to execute the ordinance of Parliament for paying tunnage and poundage to the two Houses. All this was founded upon the laws, requiring the Royal assent for the imposition of taxes. But such were the times, that a first observance of the laws was become impracticable.

The Parliament answered this last Proclamation, not by acknowledging, the laws were violated by their ordinance, but by saying, that the Statute urged by the King, was made to hinder the King from imposing any tax, without consent of both Houses, and not to divest the Parliament of a right to impose what they thought proper. It is easy to perceive, that this was only a cavil; since the King's consent was no less necessary for imposing a tax, than that of both Houses. Or rather, they had no right, neither the one nor the other separately, if the laws had been kept to.

And yet the King, in the next February, published another Proclamation, ordering that the customs upon goods imported, should be paid him at Oxford, which, in all appearance, was not performed. This subject so often returns, not only with respect to levies of money, but also with regard to everything enjoined separately by the King or both Houses, that it will not be amiss to have some knowledge of the principles of both parties, in order to avoid passing a wrong judgment[23].

### **Remark on The Establishment of The King's Principles**

Ever since the beginning of this Parliament, the King had constantly professed a strict adherence to the laws of the land. This he perpetually opposed to the conduct and pretensions of the Parliament. When the war was begun, He pretended in the like manner, that the laws were to be observed with the same strictness as in full peace. It is very visible, how advantageous to him this principle was.

According to the law, the two Houses could raise neither men nor money, much less employ them against their Sovereign; for he always supposed the war was only defensive on his part. He found therefore no better way to restore the public tranquillity, than to adhere to the laws, on the observance whereof depended the nation's happiness.

Nothing was truer than this principle, taken in general, and independently of the particular case the Kingdom was in. But, as the King himself owned, the laws being only an empty name, if not kept, and the executive power being lodged in the King's hands, the point was to know, Whether the King could be relied upon for the discharge of this trust, after what had passed the fifteen first years of his reign?

There lay the difficulty of the question between the King and the Parliament; to solve which the King offered only his bare word, whereon the Parliament could not, or would not rely. It is therefore evident, that when the King urged the law in his behalf, he found nothing that in the least prejudiced the Parliament's claims. The thing was not to know, Whether the laws ascribed such or such prerogatives to the Sovereign?

The Parliament did not deny it: but the question was to know; whether the King was to be trusted with the executive power, after what had passed? So the whole difficulty consisted in knowing, by what means the execution of these same laws, agreed to by both parties, might be secured. The King carefully avoided the examination of this point; whether the people had a right to demand security of him, and used his utmost endeavours to reduce the dispute to this, Whether this or that were enjoined by the Laws? This is the reigning principle in all his papers, without one exception.

On the other hand, the Parliament were no less embarrassed. It is true, they clearly showed, the King had abused his prerogatives, whilst he fully enjoyed them, and from thence inferred, it was necessary to reduce his power within certain bounds. But they supposed, that in order to reduce

him within these bounds, there was no other way than to drop him entirely of this same power, by depriving him of the command of the militia, and some other prerogatives.

The question in this respect was therefore, Whether it was possible to find expedients; which being added to the King's word and oath, might secure to the nation their liberties. But the two Houses industriously avoided to enter upon that question. They were contented to suppose, without alleging any positive proof, that the King had taken arms to destroy the privileges of the people and Parliament, and consequently the war was but defensive on their part.

By that they pretended to vindicate their daily manifest breaches of the Laws, representing them as absolutely necessary to attain the end they proposed to themselves, of settling the peace of the Kingdom. One can scarce help perceiving in this conduct, the aim of certain men, who laboured to render an accommodation impracticable, the better to execute the project of altering the government of the Church, to which a peace would have brought insuperable obstacles.

Could the King have prevailed with himself to consent to that change, expedients would not have been wanted to adjust the other points. We shall be convinced of this hereafter, when we come to see the difficulties of the peace reduced, as I may say, to this single article.

### **Association of The Northern Counties for The King**

The King, as I said, had sent the Earl of Newcastle into the north, to gain to his party the Bishopric of Durham, with the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmoreland, and to levy an army. The Earl happily executed the King's design. He so managed, that these four counties entered into association to furnish him at the common expense, with men and money, so that he raised an army of eight thousand men. But at the same time he taught the King's enemies to form the like associations, of which perhaps they would never have thought of.

As soon as the Parliament was informed of this association, they ordered the like to be entered into by the counties that owned their authority, and appointed Generals to command their forces. The Lord Fairfax was made General of Yorkshire, Sir William Brereton of Cheshire, Sir William Waller of Hampshire, the Lord Grey of Lancashire, Major-General Brown of Berkshire, the Earl of Denbigh of Shropshire, Colonel Middleton of Wales, and the Earl of Manchester of Essex and the counties adjoining, called the Eastern Counties, namely, Essex, Cambridge, -Isle of Ely, Hertford, Norfolk, Suffolk, and the City of Norwich[24].

By means of these associations, the Parliament had forces always ready, who indeed were designed only for the defence of the associated counties, but were however employed sometimes in other services. The King frequently tried to prevent these associations in counties where he knew he had a good number of friends, as for instance, in Kent, and some others. But when both Houses perceived the King's practices were likely to prevail in any of the counties where they were superior, they obliged them to associate with others, and furnish their quota.

Besides these associations between the counties of the same party, there were also at the beginning of the war, private agreements between neighbouring counties of different parties, to observe, between them, an exact neutrality. These agreements were founded on the common advantages of the contracting counties, as they removed the war from their own doors, and settled a mutual commerce between them, which they could not well be without.

### **Parliament Sets Them Aside**

I have given an instance in the Counties of Devon and Cornwall. The like agreement was made between the two parties in Yorkshire and Cheshire. But the Parliament refused to authorize these



private agreements, because they were (too advantageous to the King, who in the end would have been able, by this means, to assemble all his forces in one place, whereas he was obliged to disperse them throughout the whole Kingdom. Besides, the King's party had so well managed his concerns, that these agreements were made only in places where it was for his advantage as for example, in Yorkshire, where the sole view was to stop the inroads of the garrison of Pontfract Castle, which very much annoyed the city of York.

## **The King Causes Some Prisoners to be Condemned**

The King retiring to Oxford, after the Brentford affair, carried thither the prisoners taken at Brentford and Edge-hill. Within few days after his return he granted to Sir Robert Heath a Commission of *Oyer and Terminer*, to try some of these prisoners, among whom was Captain John Lilburn, who with some others was condemned to die, for being taken in arms against the King.

## **Parliament Threatened to do The Like**

The Parliament having notice of this sentence before its execution, declared, that if any prisoner of war should be put to death at Oxford, or elsewhere, they would insist the like punishment upon such prisoners as were or should be taken hereafter. This declaration saved the lives of the condemned, the King not thinking proper to expose his officers to the same fate.

## **The King's Friends Try to Sow Discord in London**

Though the measures of the King's friends to oblige the Parliament to make peace were broken, as I said, they were not discouraged. As the King, after the business of Brentford had fortified Reading, and left there a strong garrison, they pretended, the inhabitants of London had cause to be extremely alarmed at their neighbourhood.

So under colour of preventing the danger, they drew a petition, to which they procured as many hands as possible, to desire leave of both Houses to present to the King some propositions which he might consent to with honour. Many of the inhabitants of Westminster, and of the parishes of St. Martin's and Covent-Garden, known to be the King's adherents, prepared also the like Petition.

## **Parliament Opposes It**

It was a very uncommon thing, and of dangerous consequence, for private persons, without the interpolation or approbation of the Magistrates, to take upon them to make overtures of peace to the King. Accordingly, the Parliament would not receive their petition, nay, ordered that the authors should be brought to justice.

## **Petition of The Mayor and Aldermen of London**

Probably, they did not expect, the Parliament would make use of their mediation for a peace: But in publishing this petition, wherein they called themselves the richest and most considerable inhabitants of London, their aim was to insinuate to the people, that the honest part of the citizens wished for peace upon more moderate terms than the Parliament, but were restrained by the magistrates.

The two houses fully perceiving the motives of this petition, ordered it so, that the Mayor, Alterman, and common Council of London, sent a very humble petition to the King, wherein they took care to clear themselves from all disloyalty, and expressed an earnest desire of peace.

To that purpose, they besought his Majesty to return to his Parliament, accompanied with his Royal, not martial attendance; to the end whatsoever was amiss in church and state might be reformed by the advice of both houses, and such a peace obtained, as should be for the honour of his Majesty, and the welfare of his subjects.

This petition showed, that the city of London desired no other peace than what the Parliament should please to agree upon with the King. It had this advantage of the first, that it came from the Mayor and Common Council, whereas the other was subscribed only by private hands.

### **The King's Answer**

The King was barely persuaded, that the Londoners desired and would accept such a peace as he should be pleased to grant, but the magistrates, in concert with the Parliament, did their utmost to prevent it.

This petition being presented to him 10 January 1642 – 3, he returned a very gracious answer, and gave it in writing to the committee of Aldermen, he said: –

**That** he never entertained any misapprehension of the loyalty of his city of London, or the inhabitants in general: but could not say the same with regard to their magistrates, and particularly Alderman Pennington their pretended Lord Mayor, and two or three more<sup>[25]</sup>, who endeavoured, with all their power, to prevent the people, and excite them to rebellion.

**Then he enumerated** all the outrages exercised at London upon himself and the laws, and assured, he was ready to return to them, when they should be in a fit posture to receive him with honour and safety, and had apprehended the disturbers of the public peace, that they might be proceeded against by course of law, as guilty of high treason.

The King greatly flattered himself with respect to his papers, which he readily believed to be unanswerable. But the wonderful effects he had hoped from thence did not always answer his expectations. In this belief when he delivered his answer in writing to the committee of Aldermen, he told them, it was his desire, that it should be read publicly at a common hall and before the people.

### **The King's Answer is Read in Public**

The Lord Mayor, with the consent of both houses, willingly gave his Majesty this satisfaction, and his answer was accordingly read in public. But the Parliament had sent a committee of Lords and Commons to be present at the reading, and afterwards to reject the King's answer. This did, Mr Pym, one of the committee in a set speech, the design whereof was to show, how that the King's answer was full of scandalous and injurious aspersions upon the city and Parliament.

So the king had little reason to be satisfied with the success of his answer, in which however he had much depended, imagining it would be capable of sowing discord between the people of London and the magistrates.

### **The King's Orders to The Sheriffs of London**

Some days after, the King sent to the sheriffs of London a declaration, grievously complaining of Pym's speech, and of the publication of a pamphlet in the City in his name, as if he retracted his former promises. He required also the master and wardens of the several companies of the

city, to summon all their members, and read this declaration with his aforementioned answer, publicly in their several halls.

He declared that Isaac Pennington not being regularly elected according to their charter, or lawfully omitted, could not be looked upon as Lord Mayor of London, secondly, ordered the sheriffs to commit him to safe custody, with some other Aldermen. But the Parliament perceiving, the king's aim was to incite the people of London against their magistrates, commanded the sheriffs not to execute this order.

## **Order of Both Houses Concerning Spies**

As the King frequently sent Private agents to London, to correspond with his friends there, and to be fully informed of what passed in the city and Parliament, both houses thought proper, in order to render this practice more difficult, to declare, that all persons coming from the King's quarters to London without a safe conduct, should be treated as spies.

## **Disputes About The Papists in Both Armies**

During this winter, before the opening of the second campaign, the contest about the number of papists in the service of the king and of the Parliament was renewed, on occasion of some papers published by the Earl of Newcastle and the Lord Fairfax against each other. The Earl of Newcastle did not deny that he had papists in his army, but maintained, they were few in number, and besides, it was lawful to employ them, since it was not because of their religion, but for their loyalty.

On the other hand, he affirmed, there were great numbers in the Parliament's army, and appealed for the truth of what he said to their muster rolls. I confess this proof to me seems of no weight. For besides these rolls were not published, and consequently not easy to be examined by everybody, probably, the religion of the officers and soldiers was not specified[26].

However this be, the King and Earl of Newcastle openly asserted, there were many papists in the Parliament's army. The Earl of Clarendon has advanced the same thing: but in all their writings there is not a single catholic named: whereas the Parliament produced lists of Popish officers in the King's service, with their names, quality, and employs.

Besides it is easy to see, that the king, according to his principal and behaviour to the papists, from the beginning of his reign, made no scruple to imply that, and that they could themselves expect some advantage in serving him. But what interest the Parliament could have to employ Catholics, or what advantage could accrue to them from that service, does not so clearly appear.

Nevertheless, the imputation perpetually cast upon him afterwards of having Popish armies, because he refused not the assistance of papists, and the consequence drawn from thence, that his design was to destroy the Protestant religion, must be deemed a very great aggravation, and a mere calumny to render the King odious.

## **Supplies Sent to The King From Holland**

Since the Queen was in Holland, she had not been idle. She laboured effectually to procure the King officers, arms and ammunition, which was solicited by the Prince of Orange her son-in-law's credit. September 1642, both houses sent an agent, Walter Strickland, to the Hague, to complain to the States General of the preparations making in Holland for the King, and of the supplies that were sent him. But Strickland was received very coldly, by reason of the Prince of Orange's credit in the assembly of the states. Besides, the states general did not consider him as a public minister, because hitherto the parliament had never sent agents abroad in their own name.

## **Strickland Delivers to The States Declaration of Both Houses**

They were contented therefore to depute one of the members of their assembly, to know what he had to say. Strickland put into their hands the declaration from the Parliament, to this effect:

**That** the Lords and Commons understood by an intercepted letter of the Lord Digby, that he had addressed himself to the Prince of Orange, and by his countenance and help, made provision of great quantities of ordinance, powder, arms, and divers other sorts of warlike provision: and the said Prince, the better to encourage divers commanders of English regiments in the service of the States, to resort to the King's aid against the Parliament, had promised to reserve their places for them in their absence.

**That** they could not believe, this was done by any authority of the states, considering the great help they had received from England, when they lay under the heavy oppression of their princes. Neither could they think, that they will be forwarded to help to make those slaves, who had been used for and assistant in making them Freeman: all that they would forget, that the troubles and dangers of them both issued from the same fountain, and that those who were set at work to undermine religion and liberty in England, where the same, which by open force had sought to do the like in the low countries.

**That** it could not be unknown to them, that the Jesuit faction had corrupted the Kings councils, and the consciences of a great part of the clergy, plotted to destroy the Parliament, raised a cruel rebellion in Ireland, endeavoured to divide the King from his Parliament and people, and by full slander is incensed his Majesty so, as that he had resolved to set up his standard, and draw his sword for the destruction of his people, whom by the laws and constitution of the kingdom is bound to preserve and protect.

**That** the question was not, whether the king should enjoy the same prerogative and power which belonged to former Kings his predecessors; but whether that prerogative and power should be employed to the defence or the reign of the King.

**That** it could not be denied, but that it would be more honour and wealth, safety and greatness to his Majesty, in concurring with his Parliament, than in the course he was in; but that his councillors looked more upon the prevailing of his own party, than upon any of those great advantages, which he might obtain by joining with his people.

**That** both houses had lately expressed so earnest inclinations to a national love and amity with the United Provinces, that they had petitioned his Majesty, that they might be joined with them in a more near and straight league and union: and they could not but expect some returns from them of like expressions; therefore desired, that they would be so far from blowing the fire which began to kindle amongst them, that they would rather endeavour to quench it by strengthening and encouraging them, who had no other design but not to be destroyed, and to preserve their religion.

## **Holland and Zealand Promise to Stand Neuter**

This declaration was long neglected, the States General not vouchsafing to return any answer. At length, Strickland having presented it to the states of Holland, they promised to observe the strict neutrality, and engaged the province of Zealand to take the same resolution.

They even arrested some ships laden with ammunition and soldiers for the King. Then the states general could no longer help taking notice of the parliament's declaration, and returned in answer:

### **The Answer of The States General**

**That** they would expressly forbid everybody to transport any weapons or warlike ammunition into England, and would gladly employ their mediation for putting an end to the troubles.

### **Supplies However are Sent to The King from Holland**

But this could not hinder the indirect supplies that were sent to the King, by reason of the Prince of Orange's great credit. During the winter, General King, a Scotsman, brought his Majesty ordinance and ammunition[27], and General Goring brought over some English officers that were in the service of the States. It is true, that from time to time the English ships seized some of those vessels that were sent to the King.

### **The States Grant The Queen a Large Passport**

Strickland made frequent complaints of these supplies: but the States General took no notice of them. Nay, they granted the Queen, who was preparing to return to England, so large and general a passport, that by virtue thereof she might transport into England troops, ordinance, arms and ammunition, in what quantities she pleased.

Nevertheless the states of Holland whom it concerned to keep fair with Parliament, stopped one of the Queen's vessels laden with ammunition; whereupon she delivered a protestation. In all probability, they had in mind thereby to manage both parties, the Parliament by seizing one of the ships, and the Queen by stopping but one out of many.

### **The Queen Arrives in England**

We shall see thereafter, that the supply brought to the king by the Queen was very considerable. She arrived about the middle of February in Burlington Bay, and from thence went to York, where she made some stay[28].

The King, as I said, constantly insisted upon the laws of the land, and others that they ought to be observed in time of war as in time of peace. The omitting of this principle would have turned greatly to his advantage, for the laws, not supposing the actual division between the King and Parliament, ascribed to the King sundry prerogatives which he could have made use of against the enemies.

### **The King Would Adjourn The Courts of Justice to Oxford**

For instance by virtue of the prerogative, he pretended to adjourn the courts of justice to Oxford during the Hilary Term, but the parliament would not consent to it.

### **The Parliament Suspend The Holding of Assizes Against The King's Will**

On the other hand, the counties being divided between the two parties, the Parliament addressed his Majesty, representing the inconveniences that would follow the holding of the Assizes in the several counties, some whereof were for the King, and some for the parliament, besought him

to agree. But the King positively refused it, under colour of the necessity of punishing malefactors at all times.

Had he gained this point, he might have condemned as rebels all those that take in arms against him, for the judges must have administered justice according to the law, which not supposing an open war between King and Parliament condemn, without distinction, all that are in arms against the King. But the case, the kingdom was then in, being wholly extraordinary and unexpected, the parliament pretended, the laws could not be executed in that respect, without some restriction and explication.

For this reason, they decide the Assizes might be suspended, till some means might be agreed upon, for the impartial rendering of justice. That finding, the King refused to consent to it, they published an Ordinance, forbidding the Assizes to be held till further order.

Though the war was begun in April 1642, and a battle, with several skirmishes, have been fought, the King could hardly be persuaded, that the very persons who were in arms against him, could all dare to refuse the obedience that was due to him.

### **Plot to Deliver up Bristol to The King**

Of this notion he gave an evident proof in March 1642 – 3, on the following occasion. The city of Bristol being in the hands of the parliament, the King had gained Mr Robert Yeoman, the last year sheriff and one of the principal citizens, and sent him a commission to raise forces and appoint what commanders he thought proper, Yeoman's design being to surrender the city to the King.

To that purpose, he joined with one Bouchier another citizen, and they both formed the plot, into which many of the inhabitants entered, to seize the city for the King. This plot being discovered the very night it was to be executed, the conspirators were imprisoned, and the parliament sent down a commission to Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, the governor, to call a council of war, and proceed against the prisoners by martial law.

The conspirators being condemned to die, the King writ to the governor by General Ruthen, Earl of Forth, that if he put these men to death, some prisoners in his hand should undergo the same fate.

Fiennes returns the general a civil answer: that in showing him however, the difference between prisoners of war, and secret spies and conspirators, he threatened, in his turn, there would be frequent opportunities in the course of the war, for the parliament to use reprisals.

### **The Conspirators are Punished**

Whereupon the King wrote a thundering letter to the mayor and aldermen of Bristol commanding them, as well as all the inhabitants, to rise against the governor and garrison, and free the condemned prisoners. It was easy to foresee the mayor would ill obey this order. Accordingly the prisoners, Yeoman and Bouchier, were executed, without the King thinking it proper to proceed in the like manner against the prisoners in his power.

### **How Matters Stood with The King and Parliament**

Before I relate what passed in the second campaign of the year 1643, I think it absolutely necessary to show the disposition of the King and Parliament to peace and war. Military actions depending upon many circumstances of time, place, number and bravery of the troops, conduct and abilities of the officers, these things indeed are ingredients of history, but not the chief. If in



the recital of warlike exploits, the end of history was teach the art of war, all the circumstances of the sieges, battles, skirmishes, would be essential: but there is another end more material to the generality of the readers, namely, to know the causes and grounds of the beginning and continuance of wars, and consequently the interests, motives and artifices of the parties concerned, from whence military actions spring.

This is the reason why our resolve to be brief in the description of battles, in order to be more large upon the aforementioned points, which I look upon as what is most considerable. Nothing, in my opinion, is more proper to show the real dispositions of the King and Parliament, than the treaty at Oxford in March and April 1643, concerning a peace.

And therefore I resolved to give a particular account of that negotiation, and the rather as I shall thereby avoid the necessity of explaining afterwards many things, which otherwise might not be well understood.

## **The Parliament Desire a Safe Conduct to Treat of The Peace**

Both Houses of Parliament having considered that the King made some advantage of the inclination he had constantly shown for peace, sent and desired a safe conduct for commissioners they intended to send to him, which the king granting, the commissioners presented to his Majesty certain propositions as proper to serve for a foundation to a peace[29].

Rushworth has preserved in these collections two speeches made in Council upon this occasion, the Earl of Bristol's to persuade the king to continue the war, and the Earl of Dorset's to demonstrate the advantage and necessity of a peace. The substance of the Earl of Bristol's reasons were as follows:

### **The Earl of Bristol's Speech for The Continuation of The War**

**1 That** the parliament had declared divers of the greatest and most imminent among the nobility delinquents in the highest nature; so that they could not be an accommodation, without the utter ruin of themselves and their families.

**2. The** granting that this article was removed, is Majesty could not condescend with his honour to beg peace of his subjects.

**3. That** no mention could be found in history Spain of internecine and civil wars, because they were truly subjects, and their sovereign truly a sovereign. But since in England the state would neither be so to the King, nor suffer the King to be so to them, he thought they should be compelled to it.

**4.** That it was no dishonour for subjects to condescend to their King, but it was an excessive diminution to his Majesty's royalty, to submit himself to his subjects.

**5.** His opinion therefore was, that his Majesty should neither propound to the Parliament, or received from them any conditions for peace, but such as should absolutely comply with the regal dignity and prerogative, and such as might be no way prejudicial to his Majesty's servants and councillors, or their estates.

**6.** That there was an army on foot which could by force compel that, which fair words could not effect.

On the other side the Earl of Dorset represented:

1. That peace, and a sudden one, was absolutely necessary betwixt his Majesty and the Parliament.

2. That he would not advise them to embrace a peace that should be more disadvantageous than the war, a peace which would destroy the estates and families of the nobility. But it was to be considered, that the Parliament declared that only against delinquents, such as they conjectured had mis-counselled his Majesty, and where the authors of the tumults in the Commonwealth. But this declaration of theirs, except such crimes could be proved against them, were of no validity; the Parliament would do nothing unjustly, nor condemn the innocent: and certainly innocent men needed not fear to appear before any judges whatsoever. He who should, for any cause, prefer his private good before the public utility, was but an ill son of the Commonwealth.

3. That the business of the kingdom was to study to reconcile all differences between his Majesty and his Parliament, and so to reconcile them, that they should no way prejudice his Royal prerogative, of which the Parliament being a loyal defender (knowing the subject property dependent on it) would never endeavour to be an infringer; so that if doubts and jealousies were taken away by a fair treaty between his Majesty and the Parliament, no doubt a means might be devised to rectify differences.

4. That in Spain, the subjects were scarcely removed a degree from slaves, though the sovereign from a tyrant. But in England the subjects had, by long and received liberty, made their freedom result into a second nature: neither was it safe for the King to strive to introduce the Spanish government upon this freeborn nation, nor just for the people to further that government to be enforced upon them; which he was certain his Majesty's goodness never intended.

5. Granting that his Majesty had an army of gallant and able men, yet he had infinite disadvantages on his side, the parliament having double his number, and surely persons of much bravery, nay, and sure to be daily supplied when any of their number failed, a benefit which his Majesty could not boast of, they having the most popular part of the kingdom at their devotion; all, or most of the cities, considerable towns, and ports, together with the manifest pillar of the Kingdom's safety, the sea, at their command, and the Navy; and, which was most material of all, and an exhausted Indies of money to pay their soldiers out of the liberal contributions of coin and plate, sent by people of all conditions, who accounted the Parliament's cause their own.

6. All which things considered, he concluded it necessary, to beseech his Majesty, to take some present order for a treaty of peace betwixt himself, and his High Court of Parliament.

It is not said, what was the result of the council's deliberations; but it may be judged by what followed; that the King relished the Earl of Bristol's reasons better than the Earl of Dorset's. I return to the treaty of Oxford.

## **The Parliament Demand a Peace But Desire it Not**

**1643 AD]** The parliament having to guard against artifices of the Kings friends; who were strenuously endeavouring to persuade the people, that the war was raging only for the sake of some of their members, could not better contradict them, than by openly suing to the King for peace, and by publishing the terms on which they were ready to conclude it.

## **The King Desires it Not Either**

They meant to show by these terms, that it was not their private interest of some of their members that put them upon action, but solely the welfare and security of the nation: however, they knew at the same time the King would not accept them. His Majesty on his part, was obliged to show he wished for peace, since he had always pretended to take arms only in his own defence. But the truth is, he desired it no more than the Parliament, because he saw, it was no favourable juncture to obtain such a piece as he expected, with full restoration of all his prerogatives.

Thus, though neither the King nor Parliament had any intention sincerely to endeavour a peace, they were however both indispensably obliged to express the desire of it, not to give the people occasion to believe, they preferred their private interest, to the good of the kingdom.

For this reason the King continually insisted upon restoring the laws to their former vigour, and the Parliament, upon security for the observance of the same laws; and thereby both rendered a peace impracticable.

## **The Parliament's Positions**

The substance of the propositions presented to the King by the Parliament was to this effect[30]:

**I. That** the army is on both sides to be disbanded, his Majesty be pleased to return to his Parliament.

**II. That** he leave delinquents to a legal trial and judgement of Parliament.

**III. That** the papers be disbanded and disarmed.

**IV. That** his Majesty be pleased to give the Royal assent to the following bills: –

1. For taking away superstitious innovations.

2. For the utter abolishing of all archbishops, bishops, deans, et cetera.

3. Against scandalous ministers.

4. Against pluralities

5. For consultation with Godly, religious, and learned divines. That is Majesty be pleased to promise to pass such other bills for setting of church government, as, upon consultation with the assembly of the said divines, shall be resolved on by both Houses of Parliament.

**V. That** his Majesty be pleased to give his consent, that an oath may be established by act of Parliament to be administered in such manner, as by both Houses shall be agreed on wherein they shall abjure; and renounced the Pope's supremacy; the doctrine of transubstantiation, purgatory, worshipping of the consecrated host, crucifixes, and images; and that they refusing the said oath, being tendered in such a manner shall be appointed by act of Parliament, shall be sufficient conviction in law of recusancy.

**And that is Majesty be pleased to consent to,**

1. A bill for the education of the children of papists by Protestants.

2. To a bill for the true levying of the penalties against recusants, in such a manner as both Houses of Parliament shall agree on.

3. To a bill whereby the practice of papists against the state may be prevented.

**VI. That** the Earl of Bristol and the Lord Herbert may be removed from his Majesty's councils and court, and that they may not bear any office, or have any employments concerning the state or Commonwealth.

**VII. That** the militia be settled in such a manner as shall be agreed on by both houses.

**VIII. That** his Majesty be pleased to appoint for judges[31],——with the clause *Quam diu fe bene gesserint*.

**IX. That** all such persons as have been put out of the commission of peace, et cetera since the first day of April 1642, may again be put into them; and that such persons may be removed, as shall be accepted against by both Houses of Parliament.

**X. That** his Majesty be pleased to pass the bill presented to him to vindicate and secure the privileges of Parliament, from the ill consequence of the late precedent in the charge and proceedings against the Lord Kimbolton, and the five members of the House of Commons.

**XI. That** his Majesty's Royal assent may be given unto such acts as shall be advised by both Houses of Parliament, for the satisfying and paying the debts and damages wherein the two Houses of Parliament have engaged the public faith of the Kingdom.

**XII. That** his Majesty be pleased to enter into a strict alliance with the states of the United provinces, and other neighbouring princes and states of the Protestant religion.

**XIII. That** in the general pardon with his Majesty hath been pleased to offer his subjects, all offences and misdemeanours committed before 10<sup>th</sup> January 1641, which have been, or shall be questioned in Parliament before 10<sup>th</sup> January 1643, shall be excepted; which offences and misdemeanours shall nevertheless be taken and adjudged to be fully discharged against all other inferior courts: that likewise there shall be an exception of offences committed by any persons, which have had any hand in the rebellion of Ireland: and an exception of William Earl of Newcastle, and George Lord Digby.

**XVI.** That his Majesty will be pleased to restore such members of either house of Parliament to their several places, out of which they have been put since the beginning of the Parliament; that they may receive satisfaction and reparation for those places; and that all others may be restored to their offices and employments, who have been put out of the same upon any displeasure conceived against them, for any assistance given to both Houses of Parliament, or obeying their commands, and forbearing to leave their attendance upon the Parliament.

## The Kings Propositions

These propositions plainly showed, that though both houses sued for a treaty in order for a peace, they were however very far from it, since they insisted upon things which the king would scarce have granted, had his condition been much worse than it was at the time. Nevertheless, as he had talked very much of his offer in August last, to treat for a peace, and of the refusal of both houses,

he did not think it advisable absolutely to reject these propositions. He consented therefore, that they should be discussed in a treaty; but gave six others on his part; namely: –

- 1. That** his Majesty's own revenue, magazines, towns, forts and ships which have been taken from him by force, be forthwith restored unto him.
- 2. That** whatsoever had been done or published contrary to the laws of the land, or derogatory to his Majesty's power and rights to be renounced and recalled.
- 3. That** whatsoever illegal power have been claimed and exercised by both or either house, over his subjects as imprisoning their persons without law, stopping their *habeas corpusies*, and imposing upon their estates without act of Parliament be disclaimed, and all such persons so committed forthwith discharged.
- 4. That** a bill be framed for the better preserving of the *Book of Common Prayer* from the scorn and violence of Brownists, and other sectaries, with proper clauses of the ease of tender consciences.
- 5. That** all such persons, as, upon the treaty, shall be accepted out of the general pardon, shall be tried, *per Pares*, according to the usual course and owned law of the land.
- 6. And** to the intent this treaty may not suffer interruption by any intervening accidents, that a cessation of arms and free trade for all his Majesty's subjects be first agreed upon.

### **The King Desires That a Cessation May be Settled First**

Some days after, the Kings sent a message to both Houses, to desire that his last proposition might be first taken into consideration, to the end that during the cessation of arms, the peace might be treated of with the greater tranquillity, to which they consented.

It was 28<sup>th</sup> February before both Houses sent the terms to the King, in which they proposed to conclude a suspension of arms, during the treaty; namely: –

- 1. That** all manner of arms, ammunition, victuals, money, bullion, and all other commodities passing without such a safe conduct as may warrant their passage may be stayed and seized on, as if no such cessation were agreed upon at all.
- 2. The** same with regard to all manner of persons passing without such a safe conduct.
- 3. That** his Majesty's forces in Oxfordshire shall advance no nearer to Windsor than Wheatley, and in Buckinghamshire no nearer to Aylesbury than Brill; and that in Berks the forces respectively shall not advance nearer the one to the other than now they are: and that the Parliament forces in Oxfordshire shall advance no nearer to Oxford than Henley, and those in Buckingham no nearer to Oxford than Aylesbury: and that is Majesty's forces shall take no new quarters above twenty miles from Oxford anyway; and that the Parliament forces shall take no quarters above twelve miles from Windsor anyway.
- 4. That** no siege shall be began or continued against Gloucester, and that is Majesty's forces now employed in the siege shall return to Cirencester, and Malmesbury, or to Oxford, as shall be most for their conveniency; and the Parliament forces which are in Gloucestershire, shall remain in the cities of Gloucester, and the castle and town of Berkely, or return nearer to Windsor, as they shall see cause; and that those

of Wales which are drawn to Gloucester, shall return into their quarters where they were before they drew down to Gloucestershire.

**5. That** in case a be pretended on either side, that the cessation is violated, no act of hostility is immediately to follow; but first, the party complaining is to acquaint the Lord general on the other side, and to allow three days after notice given full satisfaction. And in case satisfaction be not given, or excepted, then five days notice be given before hostility begin: and they like to be observed in the remoter armies by the commanders in chief.

**6. Lastly,** that all the other forces in the kingdom of England and the Dominion of Wales, and not before mentioned, shall remain in the same quarter's seven places as they are at the time of the publishing this cessation, and under the same conditions as are mentioned in the articles before, and that this cessation shall not extend to restrain the setting forth, or employing of any ships for the defence of his Majesty's dominions.

### **The King's Answer to These Propositions**

The King replied to these propositions by a message to both houses, complaining: –

**That** he had been left without an answer almost a month, from the 3rd to 28 February. He can say that the articles of cessation now presented to him, were so strict, that such of his good subjects who were not of his army would receive no benefit by this suspension, which he would ever insist on:

**And** therefore he had returned the articles with such alterations as he doubted not but both houses would consent to since they sufficiently manifested how solicitous he was for the good of his people:

**And** how desirous to prevent any more effusion of his subjects blood. He desired the cessation might begin 12<sup>th</sup> of March, or sooner, if the condition should be sooner agreed on, and was willing the same should continue for 20 days, in which time the hope by the treaty a full peace might be established throughout the kingdom.

It must be observed that the king in his negotiation, proposed to himself three advantages, as will hereafter evidently appear: –

1. To gain time to make his preparations.
2. To set on foot, by means of the cessation of arms, a free commerce and correspondence between the quarters of both armies, and particularly, between London and Oxford, which would help to provide himself with many things necessary for the ensuing campaign, by sending for them from London or elsewhere.
3. To convey safely from York the forces and ammunition that were to come from Holland. All this was concealed under the pretence of procuring the ease of his people by free commerce throughout the kingdom.

### **Proposals Made by The King for a Cessation of Arms**

These are the articles which he sent to both Houses, with the alterations he mentioned:–



**I. That** all manner of arms, ammunition, money, bullion, and victuals passing for the use of either army, without a pass or safe conduct from the generals of each army, may be stayed and seized on, as if no cessation were agreed on at all.

The King omitted here the words – and other commodities.

**II. That** all officers and soldiers of each army passing without licence or safe conduct as aforesaid, may be apprehended and detained, as if no such cessation were agreed upon at all: and that all manner of persons, his Majesty's subjects, and of what quality or condition soever (except officers and soldiers of either army) shall pass to and from the cities of Oxford and London and back again at their pleasure, during this cessation, is likewise to and from any other parts of his Majesty's dominions, without any search, stay, or imprisonment of their persons, or seizure and detention of their goods or estates: and that all manner of trade, traffic, and commerce, be free and open between his Majesty's subjects, excepting as aforesaid, between the officers and soldiers of either army, or for arms, ammunition, money, bullion, or victuals, for the use of either army, without a pass or safe conduct, as aforesaid, which may be a good beginning to renew the trade and correspondence of the kingdom, and whereby his good subjects may be restored to that liberty and freedom that they were born to and have so happily enjoyed, till these miserable distractions, and which, even during this war, his Majesty hath to his utmost laboured to preserve, opening the way by most strict proclamations, to the passage of all commodities, even to the city of London itself.

**III. The** beginning of this article is the same as in the parliaments, but the end is different, viz.

**And** the forces of neither army shall advance the quarters nearer to each other, then they shall be upon the day agreed on for this cessation to begin; otherwise in passage and communication between their several quarters respectively, without any acts of hostility each to other, but may enlarge themselves within their own quarters respectively, as they shall find convenient. Hereby the King was at liberty to send for his forces from York to Oxford, without any opposition from the Parliament's army.

**IV, That** the forces of either army in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Wales, as likewise in the cities of Gloucester, Bristol, and the castle and town of Berkley, shall be guided by the rule expressed in the latter part of the precedent article.

**V. This** article is exactly the same with the Parliament's.

**VI. That** all other forces in the Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales, not before mentioned, shall remain in the same quarters and places, as they are at the time of publishing this cessation, otherwise than in passage and communication between their several quarters, as is mentioned in the latter-part of the said article and that this cessation shall not extend to restrain the setting forth, or employing any ships for the defence of his Majesty's Dominions, provided that his Majesty be first acquainted with the particulars, and that such ships as shall be set forth be commanded by such persons as his Majesty shall approve of.

**VII. Lastly, That** during the cessation, none of his Majesty's Subjects be imprisoned, otherwise than according to the known Laws of the land; and that there shall be no plundering or violence offered to any of his Majesty's subjects. And his Majesty is very willing, if there be any scruples made concerning these propositions and circumstances of the cessation, that the committee for the treaty nevertheless

may immediately come hither, and so all matters concerning the cessation may be settled by them.

Though both Houses were by no means pleased with the King's alterations in their articles, yet as he offered to treat upon that subject, they desired a safe-conduct for six Commissioners, namely, the Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Say, and four Commoners[32]. The King immediately granted it, excepting the Lord Say, because he was proclaimed traitor[33].

When he sent the safe-conduct, he signified to them by a message, that he was content his proposition concerning the magazines, &c. and theirs for disbanding the armies, should be first treated of and agreed, and then the second of his Majesty's, and the second of theirs, and so in order: And that the time of the treaty might not exceed twenty-days.

## **The Parliament's Last Articles for Cessation**

The Parliament's five Commissioners repairing to Oxford, presented to the King fresh articles concerning the cessation of arms. But they were so little different from the first, that the King was not satisfied with them. And therefore he delivered to the Commissioners the following objections against the last articles:—

### **The King's Objection to Them**

**1. They** are in effect the same his Majesty formerly excepted to, and there is not the least mention of freedom of commerce between his subjects, and consequently they have no ease or benefit by this cessation, though that is his Majesty's chief aim.

**2. The** putting the ships that may be employed under the command of persons approved of by his Majesty, is not consented to by these articles; and by that means the conveying of any number of forces from one place to another (which is an act of hostility) remains free to both Houses.

**3. The** army raised by the Parliament is spoken of, as if his Majesty were no part of the Parliament, or himself to have raised that army. Now in order to prevent any inconveniences that might arise upon real differences or mistakes, upon the latitude of expressions, and to avoid delays, his Majesty desired that the Committee might have liberty to debate any such differences and expressions, and yet no such power is given in these articles, and the committee confessed to his Majesty they have no liberty, but are strictly bound to the very words of the articles now sent.

**4. His Majesty's desire**, that during the cessation none of his subjects might be imprisoned otherwise than according to the Laws of the Land, is in no degree consented to.

**5. His Majesty's desire** against violence is not at all taken notice of, nor is his desire against plundering any way satisfied; his Majesty not only meaning thereby the robbing of the subject by the unruliness of the un-commanded soldiers, but particularly the violence and plundering used to his subjects, for not submitting to impositions required from them by ordinances of one or both Houses, which are contrary to the known Laws of the Land.

**6.** Besides, as there is no consent given to those alterations offered by his Majesty, so where an absolute consent may be supposed, because the very words of his Majesty's articles are wholly preserved, yet by reason of the relation of somewhat going before that is varied by them, the sense of these words is wholly varied too.

So that upon the matter, all the propositions made by his Majesty (which did not in terms agree with those presented to him) are utterly rejected. For these reasons his Majesty desires that the committee now sent may speedily have liberty to debate and agree upon the articles of cessation.

Both houses perceiving, the King concealed under the little alterations he had made in their articles more than appeared at first sight, thought proper to tell him, they were not wholly ignorant what advantages he intended to draw from such a cessation of arms as he proposed. To that end, they send him their reasons in writing why they were obliged to reject his additions to their articles. The substance of their reasons was to this effect: –

### **The Parliament's Reasons Why They Cannot Agree to The Articles of Cessation**

1. That if they should grant such a free-trade as your Majesty desireth to Oxford and other places, where your forces remain, it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to keep arms, ammunition, money and bullion, from passing into your Majesty's army, without very strict and frequent searches, which would make it so troublesome, chargeable, and dangerous to the subjects, that the question being but for twenty days for so few places, the mischief and inconveniences to the whole kingdom will be far greater, then any advantage which that small number of your subjects (whom it concerns) can have by it.

**The case** then is much otherwise than is expressed by your Majesty's answer; for whereas they charge not to give the least permission of this liberty and freedom of trade during the cessation, the trophies, that they do grant it is fully to the benefit of the subjects even in time of war; and that your Majesty, impressing this for the people's good, doth therein desires that which will be very little beneficial to the subject, but exceedingly advantageous to your Majesty, in supplying your army with many necessities, and making your quarters a stable for such commodities as may be vended in the adjacent counties, and so draw money thither, whereby the inhabitants will be better enabled by loans and contributions to support your Majesty's army.

**They** receive much advantage, and the other army much danger, if such freedom should be granted to those places; so there is no probability that the army raised by the Lords and Commons, shall have any return of commodities and other supplies from thence, which may be useful for them:

**And** they conceive, that in a treaty for a cessation, those demands cannot be thought reasonable which are not indifferent, that is, equally advantageous to both parties.

**As** they have given no interruption to the trade of the kingdom, but in relation to the supply of the contrary army, which is the reason of war requires; so they beseech your Majesty to consider whether your soldiers have not robbed the carriers in several parts, where there hath been such a reason; and your ships taken many ships, to the great damage, not only of particular merchants, but of the whole Kingdom. And whether your Majesty has not declared your own purpose, and endeavoured by your ministers of state, to embark the merchant's goods in foreign parts, which hath been in some measure executed upon the East land merchants in Denmark, and is a course which will much diminish the wealth of the Kingdom, violate the law of the nations, make other Princes arbiters of the differences betwixt your Majesty and your people: break-off the intercourse between this and other states, and like to bring us into quarrels and dissension with all the neighbouring nations.

2. To demand a approving of the commanders of the ships, is to desire the strength of one party to the other, before the difference be ended, and against all roles of treaty; to make a cessation at sea, would leave the kingdom naked to those foreign forces, which they have great cause to believe have been solicited against them, and the ports open for such supplies of arms and ammunition as shall be brought from beyond the seas:

**But** for conveying any number of forces by those means from one port to another, they shall observe the articles of the cessation by which that is restrained.

3. As for the expressions of the army raised by the parliament, they are contented it should be altered thus (raised by both Houses of Parliament) is not desiring to differ upon words; but to give any conclusive power in this case to the committee upon such differences as may arise, wherein the Houses have given no express direction, is neither safe for the committee to undertake, nor fit for the two Houses to grant, yet to debate, and to press the reason of their desires, whereby an agreement from your Majesty may be, procured, is granted to them; and although the two Houses did think it most proper, the cessation should be first agreed on, and that it was unfit to treat in blood, yet to satisfy the world of their earnest longing after peace, they have given power to the committee, to enter into the treaty upon the two first propositions, notwithstanding the cessation be not yet assented to; and those being agreed, they hope the foundation will be laid not only of a suspension, but a total abolition of all hostility in the Kingdom.

4. If the nature of war be duly considered, it must needs be acknowledged, that it is incompatible with the ordinary rules of a peaceable Government: Your Majesty would have them commit none, but according to the known Laws of the Land, whereby they conceive your Majesty understands, that It must be by the ordinary process of law; which being granted, it will follow, that no man must be committed by them for supplying your, Majesty with arms, powder or ammunition:

**For** by the law of the land, the subject may carry such goods from London or any other place to Oxford, the soldiers must not be committed if they run from their colours, and refuse any duty in the army. No man shall be committed for not submitting to necessary supplies of money:

**So that if this be yielded** in your Majesty's sense, they shall be disabled to restrain supplies from their enemies, and to govern or maintain their own soldiers. It cannot be thought reasonable, that under the disguise of a cessation, they should admit that which will necessarily produce the dissolving of the army, and the destruction of the cause.

**It seems not probable,** that your Majesty doth intend, that if any be taken with supplies for this army, or mutinying in your own, such persons shall not be committed, but according to the known Laws of the Land, that is, by process of Law: But rather that your Majesty will so interpret this limitation of known laws, that though it lays strait bonds upon both Houses, yet it leaves your Generals as much liberty as before:

**For** it hath been denied by your Majesty, that these known Laws give any power to the two Houses of Parliament to raise arms, and so consequently their General cannot exercise any martial law in those cases; and it is not unlike; but that it will be affirmed, that the Generals conducted by your Majesty's commission, have that power by the same known Laws; so that this article, under the specious shew of liberty and Law, would altogether disable them to defend their liberties and Laws,

and would produce to your Majesty an absolute victory and submission, under pretence of a cessation and treaty.

**5.** Being, by necessity inevitable on their part, enforced to a defensive war in this unhappy breach between your Majesty and them, and that they are therein warranted both by the laws of God and man, it must needs follow, that by the same laws they are enabled to raise means to support that war; and therefore, till it shall please God to incline your Majesty to afford them such a peace as may secure them, they cannot relinquish the power of laying taxes upon those who ought to join with them in that defence, and the necessary ways of levying those taxes upon them, in case of refusal, for otherwise their army must needs be dissolved. But if your Majesty shall consent to disband the armies, the cause of the war being taken away, the consequences will likewise be removed, and the subject restored to the benefit of those Laws which the necessity of arms hath in such cases suspended.

**6.** They deny any pretence of consenting to those alterations and additions offered by your Majesty; only in the preamble they say, they have considered of those articles, with such alterations and additions unto which articles they profess they were ready to agree, not as they were accompanied with those alterations and additions, but in such manner as they expressed.

**As for the clause left out** in the third article, it implied a freedom of passage and communication of quarters, which is contrary to the nature of the cessation, whereby matters should be preserved in the state they are, and neither party have liberty so much to advantage himself, as it is evident your Majesty might do, if your forces in the north and west might join with those at Oxford, and bring those supplies of treasure or arms thither, which were brought out of Holland; or at least it should be so indifferent, as to give a proportionable advantage to the other side, which this doth not; For the forces under the power of both Houses are so disposed. that they have an easy passage from one to the to other:

**But your Majesty's forces** are severed the one from the other, by many large counties, strong passes; and competent armies; and if they had admitted this clause, they had bereaved themselves of one of the greatest advantages, and freed your Majesty's party of one of the greatest inconveniences which your Majesty or they have in this war.

**For the reasons already alleged**, they cannot agree to the alterations and enlargements of the cessation propounded, or to transfer any such power to the committees of treating, debating, and agreeing upon those articles in any other manner than the Houses have directed. But that a fair and speedy passage may be opened to a secure and happy peace, they have enabled their committees to treat and debate upon the two propositions concerning his Majesty's own revenue, the delivery of his towns, castles, magazines, and ships; and the disbanding of the armies, which being agreed upon, a present peace and security will follow, and the treaty upon the other proposition be facilitated, without fear of interruption, by the confusion of war, or exasperation of either party by the bloody effect thereof.

## **The King's Answer**

The King failed not to reply to this paper. But as his answer was very long, I shall content myself with inserting the most material part of each article.

### **1. Concerning The Freedom of Trade:**

**His Majesty denies** that he has any private benefit by it, and assures, that the good of the people is the only advantage he has in view. He slightly passes over the objection, that the cessation of arms not being to last but twenty days, the freedom of commerce could not be, for so shorter a space of any great benefit to the Nation.

**His Majesty affirms**, that no complaint concerning the robbing of carriers by his soldiers has been made to him, which he has not received to the relief and reparation of the sufferers.

**He owns**, he is resolved not to grant his protection to such persons, abroad, who assist or consent to actions of disloyalty to him at home.

## **2. Concerning the Ships:**

**He says**, as the setting out of the present fleet is pretended to be for the defence of his dominions, it is most necessary for his Majesty to know both the designs, and to approve of the commanders. He cannot see how a cessation at sea should leave the Kingdom naked to foreign forces, and is willing to concur in the resistance of all such, of what kind soever, and expects, that during the cessation, the conveying of all forces from one part to another by sea, for the assistance of the Earl of Essex, be restrained, which both Houses seem now to consent to, though it be not at all expressed in their former articles.

## **3 Concerning The Power of The Committee:**

**His Majesty** had and hath great reason to desire, that the Committee may have liberty to debate and conclude any differences and expressions in the articles, in order to prevent loss of time. Of this there is a clear evidence; in the consent which his Majesty now understands to be given by both Houses; that no forces shall; during the cessation, be sent by sea, for the relief of any places held by them, which clause might in much less time have been agreed here, if there had been that liberty. And much time must still be lost, as the Committee have not power to explain the meaning of both Houses concerning communication of quarters.

## **4 Concerning Imprisonments:**

It was no part of his Majesty's intention, that his article against imprisonment of his subjects, otherwise than according to the known laws of the land; should extend to the destruction of the military discipline of either army; This is an instance of the necessity of enabling some persons to conclude upon these articles, since a limitation of half a dozen words would have saved most of this fourth reason.

## **5. Concerning Taxes:**

His Majesty insists very much; upon the two Houses not having a legal power to impose taxes without his consent. And adds, he is very well pleased to find, they have need of force and rapine to raise them. He says, he has reason to insist, that no such violence be used towards his subjects, for not submitting to illegal impositions, being willing to be obliged from the like course, and to rely wholly upon the justice of his cause, and the affection of his people.

## **6. Concerning communication of quarters:**

The King's answer upon this article was very general and obscure. He says, it highly concerns him, that this and every other clause be so clear, that no after

differences may arise upon any disputable point, since they, whose industry and malice could persuade any of his people, that in the business of Brentford, he had broken a cessation before any was made or offered, would have a much easier work to lay the breach of a made cessation to his charge, if the ground or breach would bear the least dispute.

**He agrees,** that in a cessation the advantages should be equal, but from this principle draws the inference, That therefore Sir Ralph Hopton, and the Earl of Newcastle, ought to have the same liberty to come to him, as the Earl of Stamford, and the Lord Fairfax, had to come to the Earl of Essex (1):

**Remark 1.** This advantage not accruing to both Houses by the cessation of arms, since they had it before, the King could not pretend to the same by virtue of the suspension.

He concluded his answer with saying:-

**Notwithstanding all this,** his Majesty, to shew his abundant desire of peace, is contented to admit a cessation upon the matter of their own articles, so that his Majesty may not be understood to consent to any imposing upon his subjects, or imprisoning them, to force them to contribute; so that there may not be a liberty for any rapine, plundering, or seizing upon his subjects by the Parliament's soldiers, for not submitting to such illegal impositions; for otherwise both Houses may, during the cessation, impose new taxes, not only to the nineteenth part, but if they please, to the half of, or all their estates; and their army would then be at leisure to be employed as collectors, as well of the old as the new impositions, and vast sums would and might by this means be raised, to their own extraordinary advantage, and great disadvantage of his Majesty, who can neither obtain his own consent to take the like courses, nor, in case he could, is he so quartered as to have within the power of his army, any such city as London, or so many and rich counties as they have to retire to on such an occasion.

## **The Parliament Refuses to Treat any Longer About The Cessation**

Both Houses having examined the King's answer, sent their Committee new instructions, wherein they said:-

His Majesty's expressions in his answer were so doubtful, that they did not think good to consume any more time in debates upon the cessation, and the rather, as the remainder of the whole time for the treaty was but seven days, and if the cessation were presently agreed, it would not yield any considerable advantage to the Kingdom. Wherefore they should desire his Majesty, to give a speedy and positive answer to their first proposition concerning the disbanding, that so the people might not have the shadow, but the substance of peace.

These instructions being communicated to the King, he returned an answer, wherein he endeavoured to show, it was not his fault that a cessation of arms was not concluded. He pressed again, that whatever was thought doubtful in the articles might be expounded, whatever was excepted as might be debated, a cessation concluded, and power given to the Committee to that end.

These are all the transactions concerning the suspension of arms proposed by the King, and by which, probably, he had hoped to reap great advantages, had the two Houses been less upon their guard. As the conferences on the peace were not to commence till the 25th of March, whatever was done before that day concerning the cessation, is to be considered, rather as a preparative,



than as part of the conferences, though the negotiation concerning the suspension was continued till the 7th of April.

## **Negotiation Upon Other Propositions**

I must now speak of the essential part of the treaty, relating to the terms offered on both sides for a peace. As it was agreed to begin with the discussion of the two first respective propositions, his Majesty's first was immediately considered. The proposition was, that his revenue, magazines, towns, ships, and forts, should be restored. I shall relate the principal things urged upon each of these heads.

### **Concerning The Revenue. March the 26th, the Commissioners presented to The King a Memorial Containing**

**That the two Houses of Parliament** had not made use of his Majesty's own revenue, but in a very small proportion, which for a good part had been employed in the maintenance of his Majesty's children, according to the allowance established by himself:

**That** they would satisfy what should remain due to his Majesty. Of those sums received out of his own revenue; and would leave the same to his Majesty for the time to come. But they likewise proposed,

**That** he would restore what had been taken for his use, upon any of the bills assigned to other purposes, by several acts of Parliament, or out of the provision made for the war of Ireland.

### **The King s Answer**

**That** he was well contented to allow whatsoever had been employed in the maintenance of his children, and to receive the arrears due to himself, and to be sure of his own for the future.

**That**he was willing to restore all moneys taken for his use by any authority from him, upon any bills assigned to other purposes, being assured he had received very little or nothing that way.

**But**he expected satisfaction for all those several sums received and diverted to other purposes, by orders of one or both Houses, which ought to have been paid upon the act of pacification with Scotland, or employed for the discharge of the debts of the Kingdom, and by other acts of Parliament for the relief of his Protestant subjects of Ireland.

The next day, the Commissioners desired to know of his Majesty, if he would not account his own revenue to be sure for the future, if both Houses of Parliament did leave it in the same way as it was before the troubles begun.

The King answered:-

**That** by those words (of being sure of his own for the future) he meant that no restraints or interruption should be made by one or both Houses, in and upon his Majesty's revenue, but that it should be left in the same way it was before the troubles begun.

It is easy to see there were no difficulties upon this article capable of preventing a peace.

## Concerning the Magazines

The Parliament's Commissioners offered in writing,

**That** all the arms and ammunition taken out of his Majesty's magazines, should be delivered into his stores, and whatsoever should be wanting, they would in convenient time supply in kind. But they likewise proposed, That the persons to whose charge those public magazines should be committed being nominated by his Majesty, might be such as the two Houses of Parliament could confide in. And that he would restore all such arms and ammunition as had been taken for his use from the several counties, cities, and towns.

## The King's Answer

**The magazines** shall be committed to, and continued in the custody of, the sworn officers, to whose places the same belong. And if any the said officers shall forfeit that trust by any misdemeanours, his Majesty will by no means defend them from the justice of the Law.

**His Majesty** will restore again, and recompense out of his own stores, such arms and ammunition as have been taken for his use out of the several counties, &c.

**He expects**, that the arms and ammunition which have been taken from the several counties and cities, for the use of the armies under the command of the 16 Earl of Essex, be likewise restored to them.

Without entering into a more particular discussion of this article, it suffices to say, that the whole difficulty lay in both Houses reserving to themselves the power of approving such as should be entrusted with the custody of the magazines, and in the King's pretending, that the legal oath of such persons was a sufficient security. And this rendered the conclusion of it impracticable.

## Concerning the Restitution of the Towns and Forts.

The same difficulty occurred upon this article. The two Houses offered to restore the towns and forts, but pretended, that they should be delivered into the hands of such persons as both Houses should confide in, which the King would not agree to. As the commissioners urged the necessity of giving satisfaction to the people, with respect to their fears and jealousies, the King answered:—

**That** he rather expected, their reasons should have had some foundation in the Law of the Land, than that they should only have insisted upon fears and jealousies, of which as he did not know the ground, so was he ignorant of the cure.

## Concerning the Ships

It was the same with this as with the two foregoing articles. Both Houses required, that the Lord High Admiral and all commanders of ships should take a particular oath, to use their utmost power to preserve the true Protestant religion, and the peace of the Kingdom, against all foreign forces and all other forces raised without his Majesty's authority and consent of the two Houses of Parliament. But the King would not consent to it, alleging, the oaths which all those officers were by Law already obliged to take, were very sufficient. Only he said, if any thing should be

made appear to him necessary to be added, when there should be a full and peaceable convention of Parliament. he would readily consent to an act for such addition.

If it is considered, what was the occasion of the war, it will easily be perceived, that the execution and not the injunctions of the Laws was the question. Wherefore the King, in pretending that every thing should be settled by the Laws, did not meddle in the least with the question to be decided in his dispute with the Parliament.

The King's first proposition having been thus debated in vain, they proceeded to the first of the Parliament's, which contained two articles; namely, that both armies should be disbanded, and his Majesty return to his Parliament.

The King's answer to the first: was:—

**That** he was willing all armies should be disbanded, and conceived the best way to it to be a speedy conclusion of the treaty, and for that purpose he desired, that the time given to the Committee of both Houses to treat might be enlarged.

**As to the second,** he would repair to his Parliament, as soon as he could possibly do it with his honour and safety.

As the King's answer was too general and doubtful, the Commissioners in writing desired to know, If by the words (a speedy conclusion of the treaty) he intended a conclusion of the treaty on his first proposition, and their proposition for disbanding the armies, or a conclusion of the treaty on all the propositions of both parts.

The King answered:—

**That** by a speedy conclusion of the treaty, he intended such a conclusion of the treaty, as there might be a clear evidence to himself and his subjects of a future peace, and no ground left for the continuance and growth of the present bloody dissensions; which, he doubted not, might be obtained, if both Houses should consent, that the treaty might proceed without further interruption or limitation of days.

This answer being no less ambiguous than the former, the Commissioners insisted upon an explication of what they had already desired; as also that he would be pleased to let them know, what he intended should be a clear evidence to him and his subjects of a future peace.

The King answered:—

**That** if the conclusion of the treaty on his first proposition, and the proposition of both Houses, should be so full and perfectly made, that the Law of the land might have a full, free, and uninterrupted course, for the defence and preservation of the rights of his Majesty, both Houses, and his subjects, there would be thence a clear evidence of a future peace:

**And** this would be such a conclusion as he intended. He never meant, that both armies should remain un-disbanded until all the propositions of both sides were fully concluded. But he was very sorry, that in that point of the proposition of both Houses, viz. his return to the Parliament, they had yet no manner of power or instructions so much as to treat with him.

The King used such general expressions, that it was easy to see, he sought only to prolong the conferences, or to make some advantage of the Commissioners answers. In all appearance, he

would also have found a fresh occasion of delay, in the debate of that part of the proposition concerning his return to the Parliament.

April the 10th, the commissioners presented another paper to his Majesty, wherein they said:—

**That** by new instructions they were commanded to insist upon the disbanding of the two armies, and that both Houses conceived his answer to be in effect a denial, unless they departed from all those cautions and limitations contained in their reply to his first proposition:

**That** if they had not inserted their desire of his Majesty's return in their Committee's instructions, it was because they conceived the disbanding the armies would facilitate his resolution therein.

## A Remarkable Circumstance

During the course of this negotiation, the King had frequent conferences in private with the Commissioners, Whitelock relates in his Memorials, that in one of these conferences, the Commissioners (of whom he was one) having been with the King till midnight, and pressed him with their reasons upon a very material point, his Majesty was prevailed with to give a satisfactory answer, which would have much conduced to a happy success of the treaty, and told them, he was fully satisfied, and promised to let them have his answer in writing according to their desire: but because it was then too late to draw it up, he ordered them to wait on him the next morning at such an hour, accordingly they came, but instead of that answer, which they expected, the King gave them a paper quite contrary to what was concluded the night before, and very much tending to the breach of the treaty.

Whitelock says, he was informed by some of the King's own friends, that after the Commissioners were gone from his Majesty, and his Council also withdrawn, some of his bed chamber (and they went higher) hearing from himself what answer he had promised, and doubting it would tend to such an issue as they did not wish, they being rather for the continuance of the war, never left persuading the King, till they prevailed with him to change his former resolutions, and give order for his answer to be drawn directly contrary to what he had promised; it being that Prince's misfortune to prefer always the opinions of others to his own. Which is an observation confirmed also by the Lord Clarendon in his character of King Charles I[34].

Indeed Whitelock does not say, that the King's answer he mentions, was the same with the following message, but in all likelihood it was so, since it was the cause of breaking off the conferences. However this be, on the 12th of April the King sent this message to both Houses, notwithstanding the endeavours of the Commissioners to dissuade him from it.

## Substance of The King's Message to Both Houses, April 1643

**A** S SOON as his Majesty is satisfied concerning his own revenue, magazines, ships and ports, to which he desires nothing but that the just, known, legal rights, of his Majesty, (devolved to him from his progenitors) and of the persons trusted by him, which have violently been taken from both, be restored unto him, and unto them.

**As soon** as all the Members of both Houses shall be restored to the same capacity of sitting and voting in Parliament as they had upon the 1st of January 1661, the same of right belonging unto them by their birthrights, and the free elections of those that sent them, and having been voted from them, for adhering to his Majesty in these distractions; his Majesty not intending that this should extend either to the

Bishops, whose votes have been taken away by Bill; or to such, in whose places upon new writs, new elections have been made.

**As soon** as his Majesty and both Houses may be secured from such tumultuous assemblies, as to the great breach of the privileges, and the high dishonour of Parliaments having formerly assembled about both Houses, and awed the members of the same, and occasioned two several complaints from the House of Lords, and two several desires of that House to the House of Commons, to join in a declaration against them; the complying with which desire might have prevented all these miserable distractions which have ensued. Which security, his Majesty conceives, can be only settled by adjourning the Parliament to some other place, at the least twenty miles from London, the choice of which his Majesty leaves to both Houses.

**His Majesty** will then most cheerfully and readily consent, that both armies be immediately disbanded, and give a present meeting to both his Houses of Parliament at the same time and place, at, and to which, Parliament shall agree to be adjourned.

**His Majesty** being confident, that the Law will then recover the due credit and estimation, and that upon a free debate, in a full and peaceable convention of Parliament, such provisions will be made against: seditious preaching and printing against his Majesty, and the established laws, which hath been one of the chief causes of the present distractions; and such care will be taken concerning the legal and known rights of his Majesty, and the property and liberty of his subjects, that whatsoever hath been published or done, in or by colour of any illegal declarations, ordinances, or order of one or both Houses, or any committee of either of them, and particularly the power to raise arms without his Majesty's consent, will be in such manner recalled, declaimed, and provided against, that no seed will remain for the like to spring out of for the future, to disturb the peace of the Kingdom, and to endanger the very being of it."

There was no need of much penetration, to perceive by this message, that not only the King intended to break off the conferences, but also was not much inclined to peace. It was indeed very needless to enter into treaty, since neither King nor Parliament would recede from their pretensions.

The shortest way would have been to discuss the general question, whether there was just reason to confide in the King and restore him to his rights; for every one of the propositions offered by both parties necessarily led to that question, so that none could be decided without this being previously determined.

If the rest of the propositions had been discussed, the difficulties would have been still greater, since the two parties built upon quite opposite principles. But, in all appearance, the King and the Parliament had foreseen what came to pass; and agreed to this negotiation only to make the people believe they were disposed to a peace. This was equally necessary for them, because in the people consisted the strength of both sides.

## **The Conferences are Broken off**

As soon as both Houses received this message, they sent their commissioners positive orders to return, and the conferences ceased.

### **The King's View in Proposing A Cessation of Arms**

It was not without reason that the King desired a cessation of arms, on the terms by him proposed, though for never so short a space, and that he insisted upon communication of

quarters. He found himself at Oxford unprovided of ammunition, and the Queen, who was at York, had brought him a good quantity; but the difficulty was to convey them to Oxford with a strong guard.

If therefore the cessation of arms had been concluded with the clause of communication of quarters, nothing would have hindered the King from sending for his ammunition from York, without the Parliament's being able to complain. For though in the first article of the proposed cessation, it was allowed to stop all persons carrying ammunition, it was not said however, that such a conveying was a breach of the suspension.

Since therefore by the article of communication of quarters, the King might have drawn as many of his troops as he pleased from York to Oxford, he might likewise, if this article had been granted, have sent for his ammunition with a guard, which the Parliament's forces could not have attacked without breaking the truce, when the guard should have passed into their quarters.

### **The King Dispatches Prince Rupert to Establish A Communication Between York and Oxford**

It evidently appears, the King intended to reap this advantage by the cessation of arms, which, according to him, was to be only for the ease of the people, since from the beginning of April, when the treaty was negotiating at Oxford, he detached Prince Rupert with twelve hundred horse, and seven or eight hundred foot, to establish a communication between York and Oxford, by securing certain places, between these two cities.

### **The Prince Takes Birmingham**

The Prince marched by Birmingham, a town of the Parliament's, garrisoned with a company of foot[35], and taking it by storm, made the inhabitants pay a large fine, as a punishment for assisting the garrison to repulse him[36].

After this little conquest, the Prince marched directly to Lichfield, where he entered without difficulty, the town being open in several places. But the Cathedral, with the close, was a sort of fortress, which he was obliged to besiege in form, it being strongly garrisoned. At last, he drained the moat, and sprung two mines, one whereof taking effect, he furiously stormed the place, which was bravely defended by the garrison: but the dread of not being able to hand a second assault, caused them to desire to capitulate.

### **Lichfield Also Taken**

The Prince granted them an honourable capitulation, being very glad to be freed from the trouble of continuing the siege, which had lasted ten days. He intended to push his conquests farther to the north, in order to make a line of communication between York and Oxford: but the King recalled him from Lichfield, wanting him to raise the siege of Reading.

### **The Siege and Taking of Reading by Essex**

The treaty at Oxford being broken off the 15th of April, the Earl of Essex marched that day from Windsor, and on the next, appeared before Reading. His army consisted of sixteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse; and the garrison of three hundred horse, and three thousand foot. The King was so possessed with the notion, that the Parliament's soldiers served them unwillingly, and by constraint, that he issued out a proclamation, offering pardon to such as were in the Earl of Essex's army, a precaution entirely fruitless.

At the beginning of the siege, the Governor, Sir Arthur Aston, being wounded in the head, and forced to keep his chamber, the command was devolved to Colonel Richard Fielding the eldest Colonel in the garrison.

The King no sooner heard of the siege of Reading, but he sent away a detachment of horse, under the command of Commissary Wilmot, who found means to throw into the town five hundred men and some powder. But this supply not appearing sufficient to Colonel Fielding, he demanded to capitulate, and a truce was agreed on, during which the besiegers and the besieged, mutually gave hostages.

### **The King Tries in Vain to Relieve The Town**

At the same time the King coming with his army within a few miles of Reading, detached Ruthen his General, lately made Earl of Forth, who with a thousand musketeers, vigorously attacked a post[37], by which the King was necessarily to pass, in order to relieve Reading. The Earl of Forth was in hopes, that whilst he attacked this post, the garrison would sally out upon the besiegers. But as, without knowing it, he had made his attack just as the truce was agreed on, there was no sally from the town. So not being able to force the pass, he retreated to the King.

### **Fielding Capitulates**

Meanwhile, Fielding having negotiated a capitulation with the Earl of Essex, found means, before it was entirely concluded, to go in the night to the King, and tell him, he hoped to have liberty to march away with all their arm's and baggage. The King approved of the capitulation, which was signed the next day, and the town surrendered to the besiegers. But by one of the articles, which probably Fielding did not tell the King, and which perhaps was not yet agreed on, the Earl of Essex excepted the deserters, who could not obtain liberty to march out with the rest of the garrison.

### **Breach of The Capitulation**

When the King's troops came out of the town, and were passing through the enemies guards, the soldiers were insulted, and some waggons plundered, contrary to the articles of the capitulation.

### **Fielding Condemned to Die**

The King was very well pleased with saving the garrison of Reading, and indeed that was his principal view in permitting Fielding to capitulate. But when the garrison came to Oxford, several officers complained, that Fielding was too hasty in surrendering a place which could have held out much longer. Nay, some accused him openly of betraying the King. Whereupon he desired to be tried by a council of war, which was granted him.

The King, who perhaps had too readily consented to the capitulation, and was incensed at him, when he understood that the place was capable of making a longer defence, could not however find fault with his capitulating, since it was done with his approbation. But his admitting the article whereby the deserters were excepted, was charged to him as a crime, and the King published a declaration, protesting he had not consented to that exception, being very far from refusing protection to any who should leave the enemy and betake themselves to his service. Fielding was likewise accused of not paying punctual obedience to the King's orders: but what these orders were I have not been able to find[38].

However this be, Fielding was sentenced by the Council of war to lose his head: which sentence, after long intercession, was remitted by the King; but his regiment was given to another. Probably, he was too hasty to conclude the capitulation, and had not fully declared to the King,

the true state of the place. But as he could not be condemned for that, since he had the King's consent to capitulate, other pretences were sought. This sentence occasioned great dissension in the King's army, some endeavouring to vindicate it, whilst others passionately represented it as the most unjust that ever was given in the like case.

The Earl of Clarendon says, the King having received wrong intelligence, that the Earl of Essex, after the taking of Reading, was marching directly to Oxford, resolved to retire into the north to join the Earl of Newcastle. But it was only a false alarm. The Earl of Essex was so little able to besiege Oxford, that he was forced on the contrary to remain above six weeks at Reading, without being able to act, by reason of the sickness which infested his army.

Whilst the treaty for peace was negotiating at Oxford, Sir William Waller continued his conquests along the Severn, where having defeated Lord Herbert of Ragland, son to the Marquis of Worcester, he became master of Hereford. But in assaulting Worcester he was repulsed, after which he went and joined the Earl of Essex before Reading.

As the war was spread in all parts of the Kingdom, the military actions of this second campaign, cannot, without confusion, be spoken of according to the order of time. And therefore I chuse rather to follow the order of the places, and speak first of what passed in the middle of the Kingdom, where the two principal armies lay.

## **Order of The Matters for The Campaign of The Year 1643**

I shall relate next the chief events that happened in the west; and lastly, shall proceed to what passed in the North, and on the borders of the eastern counties. These last being associated by the Parliament, and well provided with troops, the King had not many opportunities to carry the war thither. As for the southern counties, nothing considerable was acted there this campaign. After that, shall resume what passed of any moment, with regard to civil affairs, during the course of the year 1643.

This method has also its inconveniences: but I shall endeavour to avoid them in part, by marking the exact time of every event, that the causes and motives as well of the civil as military actions may be more easily known.

### **The Parliament Thinks of Besieging Oxford**

The taking of Reading seemed to be a good omen to the Parliament, for the rest of the campaign. But, as I said, the great mortality among the Earl of Essex's soldiers, suffered him not to improve this advantage. After the surrender of Reading, both Houses thought of no less than besieging Oxford, where the King was in great distress for want of warlike forces.

In all appearance, the intelligence he had received, that the Earl of Essex was going to march thither, came from some friends at London, who knowing it was the Parliament's design, did not question, it would be put in execution. Meanwhile, the King received some ammunition in May, and as his enemies were not in condition to make any attempt, he remained quiet at Oxford.

### **The Earl of Essex Marches Towards Oxford and Advances as Far as Thame**

At length, after a six weeks stay at Readings the Earl of Essex marched towards Oxford, rather out of condescension to the Parliament, than in expectation of making any progress, by reason of the ill state of the army. He advanced however to Thame, within ten miles of Oxford, where he stopped[39]. There was in his army a Scotch Colonel named Hurry, who had served in Germany with the Earl of Forth, the King's General, with whom he kept a secret correspond-



ence. As soon as the Earl of Essex approached Oxford, Hurry quitted the Parliament's service, and went over to the King, who received him very graciously. After that, he informed Prince Rupert of the situation of the quarters of the Parliament's army, and persuaded him to make an attempt upon the enemy.

## **Prince Rupert Beats up Two of The Enemy's Headquarters and Then Retires**

So the Prince going from Oxford in the evening with a body of horse, took a long circuit, and at break of day came to Wickham, where beating up the quarters of two regiments, one of horse, the other of foot, he cut them in pieces. Then he attacked another quarter with the same success, after which he resolved to retire by a bridge, where he had left a guard. But the Earl of Essex having now taken the alarm, had detached some troops to intercept the Prince, who was to cross Chaldgrave field, and enter a lane, which led to the bridge.

The Earl of Essex's horse not giving the Prince time to reach the bridge, he chose rather to expect them in an open field, than enter the lane with the enemy in his rear. He charged therefore these horse with such bravery, that he put them to flight, towards a body of foot, which the Earl of Essex was leading himself. Whilst the horse were flying, the Prince passed the lane and bridge, and entered Oxford in triumph[40].

## **Hambden is Slain**

Upon the first alarm at the headquarters, Mr. Hambden, Colonel of foot mounted his horse, and rode as a volunteer in the Regiment ordered to intercept the Prince. He was shot in the shoulder in this action, and within few days died of the wound. He was a person very eminent in his party, both for his courage as an officer in the army, and for his wisdom and capacity as a Member of Parliament. He had given a good proof of his firmness in his famous trial concerning ship-money.

After this loss, the Earl of Essex, whose army was in a very ill state, thought not proper to remain longer at Thame. He put his troops into quarters of refreshment at St. Albans, Uxbridge, and the neighbouring parts, till they should be recruited and furnished with many things they wanted, which the Parliament did not seem much to regard, whether from inability, or some other reason.

## **The Queen Brings The King a Great Supply**

From that time, the King's military affairs began to flourish, and the Parliament was extremely embarrassed. The Queen joined the King the 13th of July, and brought him two thousand foot, a thousand horse, a hundred waggons laden with ammunition of all sorts, six pieces of cannon, and two mortars. On the other side, Sir William Waller, sent into the west by the Parliament, had the ill fortune to be defeated, and his army was so dispersed, that it was no longer serviceable[41].

In this juncture it was that the King resolved to besiege Bristol by Prince Rupert, with whom was joined the Cornish army that had vanquished Sir William Waller.

## **Prince Rupert Besieges Bristol**

The 2nd of July, Prince Rupert encamped before Bristol, and the same day, with the assistance of some sailors, who had been gained, he seized the ships in King Road, laden with goods of great value, which the Inhabitants of Bristol had thought to secure there.

## **He Storms The Town**

On the morrow, the Prince holding a Council of War, it was resolved to proceed by assault, and not by approach. The walls must have been very weak, otherwise, it can hardly be conceived, that the besiegers should resolve to storm two days after their arrival, especially as there was a numerous garrison in the place[42].

However this be, the next day both armies attacked the city, each at three several places, so that the garrison were forced to divide themselves into six bodies to defend the walls. The Cornish army was repulsed with great slaughter in their three assaults. The two divisions of Prince Rupert's were likewise repulsed; but the third commanded by Colonel Walkington had better success, the Colonel finding means to make a breach in the wall large enough for the Prince to enter with his horse. But this advantage only put him in possession of the suburbs, beyond which was the city wall, much stronger than what he had passed.

However, he marched up the street to Frome-gate, where he was forced to halt, and where he lost many of his men, who were shot by the inhabitants from the walls and windows[43].

### **The Governor Capitulates**

What the Prince had gained was so inconsiderable, that probably the siege would still have cost much time, and many lives, if the Governor had not lost his presence of mind, and ordered a parley to be beaten. The Governor was Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, who at the beginning of this Parliament, had made in the House of Commons several fine speeches against the King, but who, in all appearance, was not very skilful in the art of war.

### **Breach of The Capitulation**

The Prince immediately granted the desired capitulation, thinking himself very happy to gain a place of that importance in so short a time. This capitulation was ill observed by the King's soldiers, who stripped those of the garrison, and made themselves more than amends for the breach of the capitulation at Reading, whether it was done with or without the connivance of the Generals.

### **Fiennes The Governor Condemned to Die**

Fiennes was imprisoned for his cowardly surrender of Bristol, and some months after condemned to die by a Council of War. But he was reprieved by the Earl of Essex, and passed the residue of his days beyond sea.

### **The King Resolves to Besiege Gloucester**

The taking of Bristol infusing fresh hopes into the King, he was willing to improve the present opportunity, whilst the Parliament had no army ready to oppose his progress. He resolved therefore to besiege Gloucester, the possession whereof would have been of great consequence to him. By it he would have been made of all the Severn, from Bristol to Shrewsbury, and of the whole country between that River and Wales; where there would have been only Hereford, which, probably would have quickly surrendered.

By this means, he would not only have extended his quarters into a very good country, but also secured a communication from Cornwall to the northern Counties. For as the Parliament had no army in the west, since Waller's defeat, the communication of the western counties with Bristol could not be interrupted. The taking of Gloucester would have opened a communication from Bristol to Shrewsbury, and from thence to the North, by means of Lancashire, which was more for him than for the Parliament.

Besides this, the taking of Gloucester would have secured him the possession of Wales, where the Parliament would have had no entrance but by sea. If therefore even some of his friends have blamed him for undertaking this siege, it may be affirmed, the ill success was the bad foundation of their opinion.

For my part, I believe, he had all the reason in the world to undertake it at a time when there was no likelihood that the Earl of Essex's army could be ready soon enough to hinder this conquest. The Lord Clarendon pretends to discover a secret which confirmed the King in his resolution. He says, the King having sent a messenger to Colonel Massy Governor of Gloucester, to persuade him to deliver the place, Massy in public answered in a high style, but in private bid the messenger tell the King:—

“that if he came himself to besiege the town, he would not hold it against him, for it would not stand with his conscience to fight against the person of the King[44].”

But the sequel showed, either that Massy had altered his mind, or the King had taken a mere compliment for a positive promise, since in the defence of this place Massy was very far from expressing the least inclination to favour the King,

This Prince was ever possessed with the notion, that those who bore arms against him acted contrary to the dictates of their conscience, and readily believed, they only wanted an opportunity to serve him, wherein he was frequently mistaken.

### **Parliament is Alarmed**

Nothing, shows more clearly how advantageous to the King the taking of Gloucester would have been, than the Parliament's alarm when they heard the first news of his marching to form the siege. Whereas before, the Earl of Essex's army was suffered to decay, all endeavours were used to recruit it, the moment the King's intention was known.

### **The Earl of Essex's Soldier's Recruited**

Care was taken to complete the regiments by fresh levies of soldiers, raised in London with all possible expedition. And to facilitate these levies, the Parliament ordered the shops to be shut up till Gloucester should be relieved, and moreover, the Earl of Essex's army was strengthened with a numerous body of the city trained bands. These things were done with that diligence, that in fifteen days the Earl of Essex was ready to march to the relief of the besieged.

### **The King Besieges Gloucester**

The King came before Gloucester the 10th of August, with about eight thousand horse and foot, and immediately ordered the approaches to be begun, which however were not so vigorously pushed as was expected, by reason of the frequent sallies of the besieged. Besides, the King was obliged to go to Oxford, which made him lose some days.

The Earl of Essex beginning to march the 26th of August, arrived in few days near Gloucester, and advancing to Presbury Hills, drew up his whole army in view of the city, expecting the King would come and give him battle.

### **He Raises The Siege Upon Essex's Approach**

But the King not thinking fit to run any hazard, raised the siege, which could not be done without great disorder[[45]. The Earl of Essex marching into Gloucester, found the besieged reduced to a single barrel of powder, and no better provided with other stores[46]. After staying there three

days[47], he departed towards London, passing through Tewkesbury in his way. He marched two days before the King knew he was gone, and surprised the town of Cirencester where lay two regiments[48]. After that he crossed North Wiltshire, a deep and enclosed county, which obliged him to make very short marches.

## **The King Follows The Earl of Essex**

As soon as the King had notice of the enemies march and route, he departed also in order to follow them, sending Prince Rupert before with all his cavalry, consisting of five thousand horse. It is likely, his intention was that the Prince should post himself between London and the Parliament's army, whilst he followed, and put the army between him and his cavalry.

Be this as it will, for it is not easy to guess the King's design, Prince Rupert came up with the Earl of Essex, as he was marching over Auborn-Chace, intending to have reached Newbury that night. There ensued in this place a sharp conflict, Prince Rupert having charged the Earl's rear, who were put into some disorder.

## **The King Gets to Newbury Before Essex**

The Marquis of La Vieuville a Frenchman[49], who served the King as a volunteer, was killed in this action. This conflict obliged the Earl of Essex to quarter at Hungerford. The next day he continued his march towards Newbury, but found that the King had prevented him by two hours and posted himself near the town. Prince Rupert, after the action of the foregoing day, went and joined the King.

## **The First Battle of Newbury**

The two armies, being too near each other to part without blows, prepared for battle, and the fight begun[50]. Prince Rupert, as usual, performed wonders with his horse. He quickly made the Parliament's cavalry give way: but took care not to commit the same fault he had done at Edge-Hill, by pursuing the runaways too far. After he had routed the enemies horse, he charged their infantry, who, though destitute of the assistance of the cavalry, received him with such intrepidity, that he could make no impression on their stand of pikes, but was forced to wheel about.

It was fought all the rest of the day with pretty equal success. But in the night the King retired with his army, and left the way open to the Earl of Essex to proceed to Newbury, where he intended to lodge the night before. Next day, the Earl of Essex seeing the coast clear, pursued his march, and passing through Newbury, arrived at Reading as he had before resolved.

Prince Rupert, who followed him, seeing him entered into the narrow lanes, attacked his rear, put them in disorder, and took some prisoners: but prevented not the Earl from continuing his march. He remained two days at Reading to refresh his troops, and without leaving a garrison in the place, which was possessed by the King's forces after his departure, returned to his old quarters.

The King lost in this battle above twenty officers of note, and among others Henry Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, Robert Dormer, Earl of Caernarvon and Lucius Carey, Lord Falkland Secretary of State, who would be present at the fight, though he had no call, not being a military officer[51].

## **Remarks on Lord Clarendon's Deceptions of The Battle**

I have taken the description of this battle from the Lord Clarendon, which by many omissions is rendered obscure. Among others, it does not appear what the King did with his infantry. This

gives occasion to presume, that his foot were routed when Prince Rupert charged the Parliament's. For otherwise, it can't be conceived, how these last could have refilled, had they been attacked by the King's infantry and cavalry at once.

Neither is it seen in this description, why the King left the field of battle in the night, since it does not appear that he had received any considerable loss. Nevertheless, the Lord Clarendon endeavours to prove, though by weak arguments, that the King gained the victory. I believe it would be very easy to confute his reasons, were there any occasion.

I shall content myself with saying in general, that the Earl of Essex's design, at his departure from Gloucester, was to return to his former quarters about London, and that the battle of Newbury hindered him not from executing it, whereas the King's intention was probably to intercept the Earl of Essex's passage, which he could not effect[52].

After the Battle, the King retiring to Oxford, and the Earl of Essex to head for London, neither had much share in the; actions of the rest of the campaign. I shall proceed therefore to other parts of the Kingdom, where the war was continued, and particularly in the west, where it was very sharp.

## **The War in The West**

I have already said in speaking of the affairs of those parts, that the Parliament did not think proper to consent to the neutrality entered into by the counties of Devon and Cornwall. On the contrary, they resolved to carry the war into Cornwall, which had declared for the King. To that end, about the beginning of May, whilst the King's troops were at Lankester, few in number, and very short of provisions, Henry Grey, Earl of Stamford, the Parliament's General in the west, entered Cornwall with an army of seven thousand men.

He posted himself on the top of a hill near Stratton, from whence he sent a party of twelve hundred horse, under the command of Sir George Chudleigh, to Bodmin, a town in the middle of the county, in order to keep it in awe and hinder the militia from joining the King's forces as they had once before done.

Sir Ralph Hopton, who commanded for the King at Lankester, and had but three thousand men, easily saw he should be driven out of the County, unless he found means to avoid it by some notable action. This made him resolve to march to the enemies, though they were much superior in number, and advantageously posted.

### **The Earl of Stamford, General For The Parliament Enters Cornwall**

**AD 1643]** The Earl of Stamford thought himself so secure from any attack, that though he had frequent notice of the enemies approach he could not believe it. Indeed, it would have been rash in Sir Ralph Hopton, to attack him with so great disadvantage, had there been any other way to save the county for the King. However that be, the 16th of May, approaching the hill on which the Earl of Stamford was encamped, he ordered him to be attacked at four several places[53].

### **The Battle of Stratton - Stamford Defeated by Hopton**

As the assailants were resolved to conquer or die, they gained, though with great difficulty, the top of the hill, which their enemies were at length forced to relinquish, after, sustaining the charge many hours. In this action the Earl of Stanford had only three hundred men killed, but left seventeen hundred in the hands of the enemy. Among these prisoners was Major General Chudleigh, who being carried to Oxford, turned to the King. The Earl of Stamford, whether to

excuse his defeat, or upon some grounds» openly complained, that Chudleigh had betrayed him, and in the heat of the battle turning against him, charged him with the body under his command. The Earl of Clarendon pretends it was a scandal; but I imagine few now are concerned to know the truth[54].

## **The King Sends The Marquis of Hertford into The West**

After this battle the Earl of Stamford throwing himself into Exeter, his army being dispersed, and the party of horse sent to Bodmin, thinking proper to retire to Plymouth, Hopton remained master of Cornwall. Shortly after, he was informed by a messenger from Oxford, that the Parliament had resolved to send Sir William Waller into the west, with forces to join the remains of the Earl of Stamford's army and some levies that were to be raised in that county, and that the King on his part was sending thither the Marquis of Hertford and Prince Maurice with a body of troops, who were now upon their march.

This made him think, would be very proper for his little Cornish army (as it was now called) to join the Marquis's forces. He marched therefore into Devonshire, leaving a party at Saltash to defend Cornwall from any incursions of Plymouth, and advanced to Tiverton, where he expected orders from the Marquis.

## **Hopton Joins Him**

Presently after, hearing the Marquis of Hertford was come to Chard, a town in Somersetshire, on the edge of Devonshire, with seventeen hundred horse and one thousand foot, he went and joined him, and the two bodies together formed an army of seven thousand men.

## **The Marquis Takes Bridgwater and Taunton**

Taunton, a large town in Somersetshire, was the first, the Marquis of Hertford resolved to attack. But the garrison saved him the labour, by retiring to Bridgwater, on account of a sedition raised by the inhabitants. On the morrow, the Parliament's troops quitted also Bridgwater, and in few days Dunstar Castle was surrendered to the King[55].

## **He Marches Against Waller**

The Marquis of Hertford having stayed about Taunton some days, heard at last that Sir William Waller was within two days march of him, drawing troops together with the utmost diligence, and expecting more from London and Bristol. Whereupon he resolved to attack him, without giving him time to strengthen his army any more.

Whilst he was preparing to execute this design, the Committee of the militia, who were levying forces[56] in those parts to join them with Waller's, perceiving a favourable opportunity, beat up one of the Marquis's quarters, who was now advanced to Somerton, and gave so brisk an alarm to the King's troops, that the Marquis was forced to draw out the whole army.

Then the Parliament's forces retired to Wells but seeing they were pursued, quitted Wells, and posted themselves on the top of Mendip hill, which overlooks the City. The Marquis of Hertford being come to Wells stayed there, the day being far spent. But Prince Maurice, Sir Ralph Hopton, and the Earl of Carnarvon, taking the enemies retreat for a flight, went out with two regiments of horse to pursue them, and marched directly to them.

## **An Action Wherein Prince Maurice is Wounded**

Whereupon the Parliament's forces being mostly foot and few in number, retired in order to join a detachment of horse sent by Waller to support them. But the Earl of Carnarvon, who was farthest advanced, gave them not time to retreat in good order. As they were obliged to pass through a lane, he entered after them, and pursued them beyond, till he met with Waller's horse, who stopped his career, and compelled him to retire in his turn on with great precipitation. Prince Maurice coming to his relief, a warm action ensued, wherein the Prince received two cuts in his head, and was beaten off his horse, but he was fortunately relieved. Night obliged both parties to retire, the King's to Wells, and the Parliament's to Bath.

### **The Marquis of Hertford Tries to Engage Waller**

Some days after, the Marquis of Hertford, knowing Waller's army daily increased, marched towards Bath to try to draw him to an engagement. But Waller having his reasons to defer it, because he still expected fresh supplies, the Marquis advanced to Marsfield five miles beyond Bath, towards Oxford. Whereupon Waller (whose chief business was to hinder him from joining with the King) marched out of Bath, and drew up his army on Lansdown, expecting the enemies, who failed not to move towards him.

### **The Battle of Lansdown**

As the Marquis of Hertford was in a county so disaffected to the King, that only force could procure him any supply or relief, and as besides, he was advanced beyond Bath on purpose to engage them to fight, he was unwilling to lose the opportunity. In this action, which was called the Battle of Lansdown, of his two thousand horse the Marquis of Hertford lost above fifteen hundred. But on the other hand, he drove Waller from his post, and compelled him, to give way about demi-culvering shot. Next day, Waller retired to Bath, and the Marquis entirely remained master of the field[57].

### **The Marquis Leaves His Infantry at The Devizes and Marches to Oxford with The Remainder of His Horse**

But this inconsiderable advantage, gained with the loss of almost all his horse, threw him into a very ill situation. He had been sent into the west to drive Sir William Waller from thence, and yet, after the battle, Waller was between the King's army and the western counties, where the Marquis could not penetrate but by a second battle, which he was not in condition to hazard, as being without horse.

This made him resolve to march to the Devizes, leave there his infantry under the command of Sir Ralph Hopton[58], and break through to Oxford, with the Prince and the remainder of the horse, in expectation of returning from thence with a body of cavalry strong enough to bring off the foot he should leave at the Devizes, which was but thirty miles from Oxford.

### **Waller Besieges The Infantry at The Devizes**

This resolution was pursued. But as soon as he had quitted his infantry at the Devizes, Waller came before the town with his whole army, and invested these troops, who were in a very ill state by reason of the scarcity of provisions. As he was sensible, the besieged could not remain long in such a state, he made them an overture of capitulating with him, which Hopton gladly embraced, in the uncertainty whether any supplies would come from Oxford, or would arrive soon enough.

### **Hopton Feigns to Capitulate**

He entered therefore into treaty with Waller: but with intention to prolong it as much as possible, and not yield to the last extremity, as expecting every moment to be relieved from Oxford.

Waller was so confident that they were at his mercy, that he had sent the Parliament word, That their business was done, and by the next post, he would send the number and quality of his prisoners.

## **Wilmot Sent to Relieve The Devizes**

Meanwhile, the Marquis of Hertford and Prince Maurice being come to Oxford, and having represented to the King the distress of his troops at the Devizes, His Majesty immediately sent the Lord Wilmot with fifteen hundred horse, who came within two miles of the Devizes before the capitulation between Hopton and Waller was signed.

## **Battle of Roundway Down**

Waller was no sooner informed of the enemies approach, but he drew up (without drum or trumpet) his whole army on Roundway Down, over which the King's troops were necessarily to pass in order to join those in their town. Wilmot, finding he could not execute his design without fighting, drew up within musket shot of Waller's army.

But perhaps he would have thought of it more than once, before he attacked with fifteen hundred horse an army so superior in number, had not Waller begun the fight, by charging the enemy with a regiment of cuirassiers lately sent from London, and which till now had been deemed invincible[59].

This regiment was vigorously repulsed, and retreating in disorder, infused such a terror into Waller's troops, that they made but a faint resistance. Meanwhile Hopton seeing from the town the disorder of the enemies, came out with his foot and bravely seconded Wilmot, who for his part did not give the enemies time to recover themselves, they quickly put the whole army to rout, killed five or six thousand men, and took nine hundred prisoners.

## **Quarrel Between Essex and Waller**

Waller, after his defeat, escaped to Bristol. He complained very much of the Earl of Essex, who, lying then at Thame, had suffered Wilmot to pass without sending a party after him, or giving the alarm to Oxford, which would have caused Wilmot to be recalled.

The Earl of Essex on the other hand, who was no friend to Waller, could not forbear saying some reproachful things on his defeat. This bred such enmity betwixt them, that it might have been very prejudicial to their party, had not the Parliament taken care to reconcile them.

## **The King Sends Prince Maurice to Command in The West**

After so complete a victory, the Lord Wilmot returned in triumph to Oxford, and the Marquis of Hertford, taking the command of the army, appeared before the city of Bath, the gates whereof were opened at the first summons. Presently after, the King, having resolved to besiege Bristol, as was before related, ordered the Cornish army to join Prince Rupert at the siege. As soon as he was master of Bristol, he resolved to send an army into the west, under the command of Prince Maurice, and to keep the Marquis of Hertford near his person.

To that end, he gave orders to Robert Donner Earl of Carnarvon, who was to serve under Prince Maurice, to advance towards the west with a party of horse, whilst the Prince should follow with the infantry, of which the Cornish army made the best part. The Earl of Carnarvon marched first into Dorsetshire declared for the Parliament, and took Plymouth, Dorchester and Portland-Castle.



Here Prince Maurice came and joined his cavalry. When he was at the head of the army, he suffered his troops to use such licence, and so ill observed the articles made upon the surrender of the towns, that the Earl of Carnarvon, out of indignation (being a person full of honour and justice upon all contracts) quitted his command in this army, and returned to the King before Gloucester. Meanwhile Prince Maurice, after staying some time in Dorsetshire, entered Devonshire, and laid siege to Exeter, which was surrendered by capitulation by the Earl of Stamford.

## **Exeter Taken by Prince Maurice**

After the taking of Exeter, the Prince applied himself chiefly to increase the number of his forces by fresh levies, whilst the Parliament had no army in that county able to withstand him. In a short space, he assembled seven thousand foot, with horse in proportion, besides three thousand men commanded by Colonel John Digby before Plymouth, the blockade of which place he had formed, till the Prince should come and besiege it.

## **A Plot Discovered**

There had lately been discovered at Plymouth a plot framed by Sir Alexander Carew, Knight of the Shire for Cornwall and Governor of the fort and island of St. Nicholas, on which depended the security of the town, to deliver the island and fort to the King. Carew was apprehended and sent to London, where some time after he was condemned to die by a Court-martial[60].

## **Prince Maurice Takes Dartmouth and Besieges Plymouth**

When Prince Maurice had completed his levies, instead of going to Plymouth, he laid siege to Dartmouth, which employed him more than a month. During that time, the inhabitants of Plymouth, whom the discovery of Carew's plot had thrown into a great consternation, recovered themselves, and resolved upon an obstinate defence. This resolution was confirmed by a supply of five hundred men sent by the Parliament by sea, with a Scotch Governor an experienced warrior.

So, Prince Maurice, when he came before the place, found the conquest of it much more difficult than he had expected. He continued however the siege, notwithstanding the winter, which was now begun. Here I shall leave the affairs of the west, till I have farther occasion to speak of them, and proceed to the recital of what passed in the north during this campaign.

## **Military Actions in the North**

Since the Earl of Newcastle's arrival at York with his army levied in the North, the Lord Fairfax had been obliged to keep at some distance from that city, to avoid being attacked by an army much more numerous than his own. All the northern parts from York to the borders of Scotland were for the King.

The southern part of Yorkshire was for the Parliament, and the war was waging in the middle parts of the country to the right and left. But little else was transacted, besides the taking of small towns, which served only to enlarge the quarters of one or other army.

## **The Lord Fairfax Beats 3000 of The King's Party at Wakefield**

In May 1643, the Earl of Newcastle took two or three of these places. In the same month, the Lord Fairfax having detached fifteen hundred men, under the command of his son Sir Thomas Fairfax, ordered Wakefield to be attacked, where lay three thousand men of the King's party. This assault was made about four in the morning, with such vigour and conduct, that the King's

troops were driven from the town, and many taken and slain. Amongst the prisoners was General Goring the commander[61].

Presently after, the Earl of Newcastle had his revenge. Having taken Hawley House[62], he marched from thence. towards Bradford, and in the way was met on Atherton-moor by the Lord Fairfax, whom he entirely routed. Fairfax, with the remains of his army, threw himself into Hull, where Sir John Hotham had been lately apprehended by order of Parliament, and the Lord Fairfax was made Governor of that important place.

### **The Earl of Kingston is Taken in Gainsborough**

In June, Gainsborough, a town in Lincolnshire, was taken by the Lord Willoughby of Parham, commander for the Parliament in those parts, who there made Robert Pierpoint, Earl of Kingston prisoner. But being informed that the Earl of Newcastle was preparing to recover Gainsborough, he sent his prisoner in a pinnace to Hull. The Earl was unfortunately shot by some of his own party, who would have stopped the pinnace.

### **Cromwell Throws Supplies into Gainsborough**

Meanwhile, the Earl of Newcastle began indeed his march to besiege Gainsborough, and at his approach, detached a party of horse to invest the town. Oliver Cromwell arriving at the same time, with design to supply the town with provisions, defeated this detachment, pursuing them even in sight of their main body, which he did not think to be so near. As he was not in condition to face this army, he retreated in good order, and after throwing supplies into the town, retired at a greater distance.

### **The Earl of Newcastle Besieges Hull**

Shortly after, the Earl of Newcastle retook Gainsborough, and possessed himself of Lincoln, where he put a strong garrison after which, he besieged Hull, whilst the King was before Gloucester.

The Lord Fairfax, assisted by Sir John Meldrum a Scotchman, defended the town of Hull with great bravery and conduct for five weeks, though he was vigorously attacked. At last, October the 11th, the besieged made a grand sally, and after a very obstinate fight, which was several times renewed, drove the besiegers from their trenches, and seized their cannon. This obliged the Earl of Newcastle, now created Marquis, to raise the siege.

### **The Earl of Manchester Beats Lord Widdrington at Manchester**

The same day this famous sally was made at Hull, a gross body of horse, part of the Earl of Newcastle's army, commanded by the Lord Widdrington, were routed at Horncastle, by Edward Montague, Earl of Manchester, who had with him Sir Thomas Fairfax, and Cromwell.

The rest of the military actions during the winter, after this campaign, having a necessary connexion with the affairs of Scotland and Ireland, I am indispensably obliged to speak of what passed in these two Kingdoms in the course of this year. I shall begin with Scotland.

### **Affairs of Scotland**

The Parliament of England, when they replied to the Scots proposition of uniting the two national Churches, made their answer, which was no less ambiguous than the demand, a toothing, which they might use or not, as occasion required. It is certain, there was a strict

correspondence between some of the leading members, and the Scots. These Members easily foresaw, that to establish Presbyterianism in England, they should in the end want the Scots, who, on their part, were ready to assist them when a favourable opportunity should offer.

Since the King, in his last journey to Scotland, had been forced to grant the Scots whatever they desired, the leaders of the contrary party had taken such just measures, that all the offices of the Kingdom were in the hands of their friends, whilst those that were suspected of inclining to the King, were removed from all sorts of employments.

By this means, the friends of the Parliament of England were in a capacity to second them at a proper time, in establishing the Presbyterian Government in the Church of England. It was not solely out of zeal for religion, but also out of policy, that the directors of the Scottish affairs, wished the English would receive that form of Government. They believed, they could never promise themselves a perfect tranquillity, if it should happen to be in the King's power to be revenged of them, and that he would be in certainty prompted thereto, if the Bishops were restored in England.

Whether this belief was well-grounded, or only a prejudice, it is certain they looked upon the restoration of Episcopacy in England, as the first step to their ruin. For this reason, they always continued a very strict correspondence with both Houses, by means of their Commissioners residing in London, in order to act in concert with them, for lessening the King's power, and destroying Episcopacy. This plainly appeared in the course of this year 1643.

The affairs of the Parliament not being in a situation to afford a prospect of any great advantages upon the King of this campaign, the Scots began to prepare to assist them, in case there should be occasion. To that purpose, about the beginning of May, it was moved by some of the leading men, that there might be a joint meeting of the Council, the conservators of the peace, and the commissioners for public burthens. In the hands of all these was lodged the authority of the Kingdom, when there was no Parliament.

This motion was readily complied with, all the public offices and polls being, as I said, filled with men of that party. In this assembly it was proposed, that, considering the danger the Kingdom was in, by reason of armies levying in the north of England, Scotland should be put in a posture of defence. As this could not be done without a Parliament, or a convention of Estates, it was urged, that there was an absolute necessity of immediately summoning such a convention.

The Marquis of Hamilton, and several others, strongly opposed it, alleging, that for them to appoint a convention without the King's order, was an encroachment upon the Royal Prerogative in the highest degree: That his Majesty had promised to call a Parliament in the year 1644, and therefore to hold a convention of Estates before that time, without his privity, was directly contrary to the Laws of the land. But their arguments were in vain.

It was carried by the majority, that the Lord Chancellor should summon a convention of Estates, against the 2<sup>nd</sup> of June. They make a distinction in Scotland between a convention of Estates, and a Parliament. The convention of Estates is a court consisting of all the Members of Parliament; but as they are called, and sit without the state, or formalities used in Parliament, so their power extends only to raise money or forces, but not to make or repeal Laws.

## **Hamilton Made a Duke**

The King having notice of what was projecting in Scotland, immediately sent thither the Earls of Roxborough, Kinnoul, and Lanerick, with instructions concerning what they were to do for his service. These three Lords arrived at Edinburgh the 15<sup>th</sup> of May, and brought the Marquis of Hamilton a Patent, creating him a Duke.

Besides this, they presented to the Council a Declaration from the King, wherein he endeavoured to display the justice of his cause against the Parliament of England. He vindicated his innocence with regard to all the aspersions cast upon him, particularly concerning religion, and represented very pathetically, the wrongs and injustices done him. As we have seen more than once what the King alleged in his vindication, I think it unnecessary to insert this Declaration. I shall only observe, that he concluded with saying:—

God so deal with us, and our posterity, as we shall inviolably observe the Laws and Statutes of that our native Kingdom, and the Protestant religion, the Laws of the Land, the just privileges and freedom of Parliament.

## **The King Consents to a Convention of Estates With Limitations**

Shortly after, the King hearing that a convention of Estates was summoned without his order or privity, easily perceived, this step was not taken without an intention to support it. He chose therefore to permit them to assemble, but with express order to limit their consultations to the best ways and means of supplying the Scottish army in Ireland, and to relieving public burthens by pressing a speedy payment of the brotherly assistance due from England. But the convention was by no means inclined to be thus restrained. When the Estates met, the first thing in debate was the limitation in the King's letter of license.

## **They Are Rejected by The Estates**

The Duke of Hamilton, with the King's other friends[63], voted it no Convention but as regulated by his Majesty's letter; but all the rest voted it a free Convention[64].

## **Hamilton and His Brother are Apprehended at Oxford**

The King pretended afterwards, the Duke of Hamilton and his brother the Earl of Lanerick had not served him with sincerity, and if they had pleased, they might have hindered the convention from meeting. Some time after, these two Lords repairing to Oxford, he ordered them to be apprehended, but the Earl of Lanerick found means to escape, and his brother the Duke was sent down to be imprisoned in the Castle of St Michael's Mount in Cornwall.

The Earl of Clarendon in his History supports, to the utmost of his power, the King's suspicions of these two brothers, whilst, on the other hand, there is, in the Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, a large vindication upon this article.

## **The Parliament of England Causes The Ecclesiastical Assembly to be Held at Westminster**

The convention of Estates met the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June, and the General Assembly of the Kirk, the 2<sup>nd</sup> of August. It is observable, it was in June that an ordinance of the Parliament of England, was published for calling an Assembly of Divines and others, to be consulted by both Houses, for settling the Government and liturgy of the Church of England, and that this assembly held their first session the first of July, a few days after the meeting of the convention of Estates in Scotland. "The sequel shewed with what design this assembly was appointed.

The precaution taken by the Scots was not ineffectual. They seem to have foreseen what happened soon after, for in the interval between the proposing a convention of Estates, and the time of their meeting, the Earl of Essex's army was seized with sickness after the taking of Reading; the city of Bristol fell into the King's hands; and Sir William Waller's forces were routed at Roundway Down.

If the King's successes had not received a check, by the raising of the siege of Gloucester, and the battle of Newbury it is very visible, the Parliament's affairs were in a very ill situation about the end of July and the beginning of August, that is, at the time the convention of Estates, and the general assembly met in Scotland.

## **The Parliament Send for Aid to The Estates of Scotland**

Accordingly, both Houses failed not to improve the precaution taken by the Scots, and which, in all appearance, had been suggested to them. As they saw, their affairs were declining, they applied, without farther consideration, to the convention of Scotland for assistance, and sent commissioners, with full powers to treat. These commissioners, who came to Edinburgh whilst the King was approaching Gloucester, found the Estates of Scotland as well disposed as they could wish[65].

## **They Offer to Endeavour After The Union of Both Churches**

Both Houses had foreseen, that the Estates of Scotland would demand, in return for their assistance, a positive engagement to establish in the Church of England a Presbyterian Government, like that in the Kirk of Scotland.

It is scarce to be doubted, that some of the directors of the Parliament's affairs had made such a private agreement with them, though it cannot be proved by any public acts. Nay, very likely, the Earl of Essex's army had been suffered to decay, on purpose to reduce things to such a state, that the assistance of the Scots should be absolutely necessary.

At least, it is hard to discover any other reason, that could have induced the Parliament to suffer that army to remain unserviceable, from the taking of Reading to the siege of Gloucester. It appeared that this proceeded not entirely from inability, since, when the danger grew more imminent, means were found to enable the Earl of Essex to relieve Gloucester. Now it was precisely whilst the Earl of Essex's army was thus neglected, that the Parliament resolved to desire the assistance of Scotland.

Be this as it will, both Houses sent, with their commissioners, two declarations, one directed to the convention, the other, to the general assembly. The first was, only to desire the speedy assistance of the Estates, and to inform them, that their commissioners had instructions to treat with them, not only concerning the satisfaction to be made for the desired aid, but also about settling the accounts between the two Kingdoms.

In the second, both Houses acknowledged the great zeal and love, manifested by the general assembly of the Churches of Scotland, in their endeavours for the preservation of the true Protestant religion, from the attempts of the Popish and Puritanical party, to the necessary reformation of Church Government in England, and the more near union of both Churches.

And therefore they exhorted the assembly to send into England some of their, body, for the furtherance of that work in conjunction with the assembly of divines now sitting at Westminster. They declared also, that besides their instructions in the civil matters of both Kingdoms, the commissioners had received directions to resort to and consult with the general assembly of the Kirk of Scotland in everything relating to the reformation of the Church of England and to that end, Mr. Marshal and Mr. Nye, Ministers of God's word, were appointed to assist the commissioners with their advice.

## **The Reasons for Assisting The Parliament**

With these declarations the commissioners found no difficulty in their negotiation. On the contrary, the general assembly addressed to the Estates a declaration, containing the reasons which ought to induce them to assist the Parliament of England. The reasons were to this effect:-

1. The controversy now in England being betwixt the Lord Jesus and Anti-christ with his followers, if we would not come under the curse of Meroz, we should come out, and help the Lord against the mighty.

2. There was an act passed by the convention of the Estates, Anno 1585, wherein the Estates found it necessary to enter in a league and Christian confederation, with all Protestant Princes and Estates, against the bloody league at Trent. Conformed to which there followed a League betwixt the two Crowns of Scotland and England, subscribed at Berwick 1586, against whatsoever foreign and intestine Powers of Papists should arrive or rise. And therefore the cause being the same, as well as the parties, and the danger, we are bound to perform now, what we promised then.

3. We stand obliged to England for old kindness to us, being in the same posture then, that they are in now; for in the year 1556 and 1557, the Estates of this land, finding the reformation of religion opposed by their own Princes with arms and violence, and themselves oppressed by the Popish army, fought and obtained the assistance of an army from England, whereby they expelled the French army, made the pacification at Leith, held the Parliament of 1560, established the religion.

Therefore they got new assistance from England to suppress the general Popish faction, whereby they took in the castle of Edinburgh from the Laird of Grange; and in that public printed prayer, prefix to the Psalm Book, we solemnly promised never to forget their kindness against the French; and if we call to mind the manifestation of the lawfulness of the expedition into England, we stand obliged to them for their late kindness; for they not only refused to levy arms against us in the last troubles in 1639, but also did mediate for a treaty, did welcome and kindly entertain our army for a year, did freely bestow upon us their brotherly assistance of thirty thousand pounds; whereupon we acknowledged our thankfulness, not to consist in affection and words at that time, but in the mutual kindness, and real declaration to be expected from the whole Kingdom of Scotland, in all time to come; besides solemn promises and vows repeated in our late declaration and information published to the world, wherein we assure them of our help in their need, as in the remonstrance of the States of Scotland, 1639, page 28. Remonstrance of the Parliament of England, 1640, page 15, 16. Intentions of the Army of Scotland, near the end.

4. The common danger imminent to both Kirks and Kingdoms, do invite us to help them; for we and they fail in one bottom, dwell in one House, are members of one body, that according to their own principles, if either of the two Nations or Kirks be ruined, the other cannot long subsist. We have the same friends and foes, and many years experience hath taught us, what influence Popery and Prelacy in England, may have upon Scotland; for from thence came the Prelates, the ceremonies, the book of Common-Prayers, Service-book, and upon our refusal, the bloody sword came from thence; therefore we are to take England's condition to heart, as a common cause, to put forth our helping hand, if we tender religion, Laws, and Liberties.

5. The common advantage redounding to both Kirk and Kingdoms, do persuade help; for hereby we have a fair opportunity to advance uniformity in discipline and worship, which will prove the surest bond of union and bulwark to both.

6. If we forsake England, we forsake our dearest friends, who can best help us in case we be reduced to the like straits hereafter by the common adversary.

7. If we suffer the Parliament of England to be cut off, we have lost our peace with England. If the popish and prelatical faction do overrule the Parliament, we may expect war both from King and Parliament, whereunto they will not want pretences. And we have reason to fear, that, seeing some of the malignants at home are reported to have vented, that the King was not tied to keep what he had granted to us, because by calling and keeping of our convention, we have first broken to him.

8. If we should desert them at this time, yet as Mordacai said to Esther, deliverance shall arise to them from else where, but we and our Father's house, nay look for disruption; and who knoweth, but we are restored to our religion and liberties, to a free convention at this time, and made a mirror of God's mercy to all Nations and Kirks, that we may help our brethren of England?

9. That the only means for the procuring of a happy agreement betwixt the King and the Parliament, is by putting up of the sword, and saving Christian blood from being shed, suppressing of Papists, and establishing religion in his dominions; for humble explications and remonstrances, reached out with naked hands, will not prevail with our adversaries, who have invironed our King, and closed his ears to the cry of his subjects.

But it will be objected, seeing our religion and liberties are established according to our own desires; and seeing his Majesty's declaration to the whole Kingdom, and letter to every nobleman and Borough, to give assurance for preservation of the same without altering, we have no interest nor hazard, however business go in England; but should keep ourselves in peace and quiet.

**1. Answer.** In all the proceedings of this business we have from time to time declared, That neither verbal promises, nor fair declarations for maintaining religion and liberty could secure us, because we have so often found *sasta verbis contraria*. As for example, the treaty of Duncce, when we confided to verbal gracious expressions of his Majesty's; yet afterwards they were denied, and burnt by the hands of the hangman, and an army levied against us. It was the counsel of Monsieur de Thou to the Queen-Regent of Scotland at St. Andrews, for reversing our first reformation, to grant our predecessors in fair promises and declarations all that they craved, and when thereby they should be divided, to interpret these by herself, and to take order with the heads of the opposers; and this policy was used by Charles IX. King of France, for the subverting of the Protestant religion in France, as witnesseth Monsieur de Thou, L. 71. p. 463.

2. As we have found by former experience, that the establishment of our first reformation by an act of assembly and Parliament, could not secure us from the violent pressing of innovations against both; and in the new remonstrance of 1640, page 16. we have fully expressed, that no assembly or Parliament, whereunto we fastened our hopes, can be any safety for us, so long as our enemies sit at the helm, and govern the King's Council, and make his Majesty interpret Laws contrary to the advice of judicators of Kirk and State. And of late our mediation betwixt him and his Parliament was rejected, and our Commissioners stopped from going to London, contrary to his own safe conduct.

3. If the Parliament of England that now is, be destroyed, who shall undertake for our safety? As the King's Declarations cannot exceed his person, or secure us at the hands of his successors, so we may perceive in the late discovery of the plots of the

Scots, English, and Irish Papists, that these declarations can be no sufficient security against the surprising of Papists and malignants, if they be permitted to carry arms within any of the Kingdoms.

**Secondly,** It is objected, that we are a poor people, not fit for such an undertaking. To which we answer:—

1. The representative body of the Kingdom now convened, can best satisfy this objection.
2. When God calls his people, and makes them willing, he gives them also strength, that through him they may do valiantly.
3. God hath helped us in all enterprises for his cause, and he will yet provide for us. We hope the wise convention of States will see to the conditions, that the Kingdom receive as little detriment as may be.

**Thirdly,** It is objected, they will not embrace a Presbyterian Government in the Kirk, and so no hope of uniformity:—

- Answer,**
1. They have already put out episcopal Government, root and branch, neither will they, nor do the Protestant Kirks know of any other but Presbyterian.
  2. If any zealous man amongst them have their scruples against Presbyterian Government, we trust the Lord will reveal the truth unto them.
  3. They have in many Declarations expressed their resolutions and desires for uniformity.

The assembly and Convention having respectively appointed Committees to treat with the English Commissioners, it was agreed at the first conferences, that the best and speediest means for accomplishing the union and assistance desired, was that both Nations should enter into a mutual Covenant or League. This Covenant was prepared in a very short time, so that August the 17<sup>th</sup>, it was presented to the estates and the General-Assembly, and approved by both the same day. On the morrow, being the 18<sup>th</sup> it was sent to England by the Lord Maitland, afterwards Duke Lauderdale. He was accompanied with Mr. Alexander Henderson, Moderator of the General Assembly, and Mr. Gillespy, both Ministers, as Commissioners from the assembly to treat with the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, about the union of the two Churches.

If the Scots were disposed to enter into a League with the English these last were no less desirous of it. August the 28<sup>th</sup>, ten days after the departure of the Scotch Commissioners, the Parliament of England consented to the Covenant. Immediately after, the assembly of divines were ordered by both Houses to frame an exhortation to the taking of the Covenant, to be read publicly in all the Churches. That done, the Covenant was ordered to be printed and published, and appointed to be taken the 22<sup>d</sup> of September by all the Members of Parliament, and the assembly of Divines, which was done with great solemnity[66].

The Covenant was as follows:—

**A solemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion,  
the Honour and happiness of The King, and The Peace and Safety of The  
Three Kingdoms: England, Scotland, and Ireland.**



**WE** Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgesses, Ministers of the Gospel, and Commons of all sorts in the Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, by the Providence of God living under one King, and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ the honour and happiness of the King's Majesty and his posterity, and the true public liberty, safety and peace of the Kingdoms, wherein every one's private condition is included, and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of God against the true religion and professors thereof in all places, especially in these three Kingdoms, ever since the reformation of religion, and how much their rage, power and preemption are of late, and at this time, increased and exercised, whereof the deplorable estate of the Church and Kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the Church and Kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland, are present and public testimonies;

We have (now at last) after other means of supplication, remonstrance, protections and sufferings, for the preservation of ourselves and our religion from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these Kingdoms in former times, and the example of God's people in other Nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn League and Covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do swear:—

**I.** That we shall sincerely, really and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, against our common enemies, the reformation of religion in the Kingdoms of England, and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches; and we shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms, to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confessing of faith, form of Church Government, Directory for worship and Catechising, that we, and our posterity after us, may, as Brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

**II.** That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, (that is, Church-government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers depending on that Hierarchy) superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine, and the power of godliness, lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues, and that the Lord may be one, and his name one in the three Kingdoms.

**III.** We shall with the same sincerity, reality and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the Parliaments, and the liberties of the Kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the King's Majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the Kingdoms, that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesty's just power and greatness.

IV. We shall also with all faithfulness endeavour the discovery of all such as have been or shall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the Reformation of religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties among the people, contrary to this League and Covenant, that they may be brought to public trial; and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the supreme Judicatories of both Kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

V. And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these Kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is, by the good Providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both Parliaments, we shall, each one of us, according to our place and interest, endeavour, that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity, and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent articles.

VI. We shall also according to our places and callings, in this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the Kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this *league and covenant*, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof, and shall not suffer ourselves directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give ourselves to a detestable indifference or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the “ Kingdoms, and the honour of the King, but shall all the days of our lives zealously and constantly continue therein, against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power against all letts and impediments whatsoever; and what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed; all which we shall do as in the sight of God.

And because these Kingdoms are guilty of many sins and provocations against: God, and his Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof: We profess and declare before God, and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our sins, and for the sins of these Kingdoms, especially that we have not, as we ought, valued the inestimable benefit of the Gospel; that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof; and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the causes of other sins and transgressions, so much abounding amongst us.

And our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour, for ourselves, and all others under our power and charge, both in public and in private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation; that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these Churches and Kingdoms in truth and peace. And this Covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his holy Spirit for this end, and

to bless our desires and proceedings with such success, as may be deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to other Christian Churches, groaning under, or in danger of, the yoke of anti-Christianity, to join in the same, or like association and covenant.

To the glory of God, the enlargement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian Kingdoms, and Commonwealths.

## **The Reason Why The Covenant Was So Readily Taken in England**

I have often said, that the Presbyterian party prevailed in the Parliament of England. This party impatiently waited for an opportunity to establish the Presbyterian government in the Church, and this seemed to them so favourable, that they resolved not to lose it. The affairs of the Parliament were in an ill way. The King was become master of Bristol. The Earl of Essex's army was unserviceable, and Waller's entirely dispersed by the loss of the battle of Roundway Down. Prince Maurice was with a good army in the west, where he met with no opposition.

The Marquis of Newcastle was master of all the north, and superior in number of troops to the Lord Fairfax in the County of York. In short, the King was now besieging Gloucester, when the Parliament's Commissioners came to Edinburgh. Had he taken that place, the Parliament would have had reason to fear a general defection, considering the advantages the King would have thereby received.

The two Houses had therefore, if I may so call it, no other refuge than the assistance of the Scots, an assistance which could not be procured, but by yielding them the article of uniformity, so passionately desired by them, being, in their opinion, the sole means of securing the enjoyment of their liberties. So, those of the Parliament's party that were most attached to the Church of England, clearly perceived, they must consent to a change of Church government, or be exposed to the hazard of losing the fruit of all their labours, in case the King should be restored by force of arms.

Things standing thus, they could not think it strange, that the Parliament should consent to an uniformity, in order to satisfy the Scots for their so necessary assistance. For this reason the Covenant was taken without murmuring, and it was not perceived, that this proceeding would increase the number of the King's friends, as the Parliament had ever dreaded, because it was done at a juncture, when the necessity of it seemed unavoidable.

## **The King in Vain Forbids The Taking of The Covenant**

Shortly after, the King issued out a Proclamation to forbid the taking of the Covenant, but it produced no great effect. On the contrary, the Committee of Estates did, that day their printed Act of the 22nd of October, ordain it to be sworn and subscribed by all the subjects, under pain of having their goods and rents confiscated.

## **It is Ordered to be Taken in Scotland Under First Penalties**

After that, they summoned all the Lords of the Council to come and sign it before them. The Duke of Hamilton, and some others, refusing to subscribe it, the committee, by another Act, of the 17th of November, ordered all their Lands to be seized, and their persons to be apprehended, with permission to kill such as resisted. Notwithstanding all this, the King, at the Duke's coming to Oxford, caused him, as I said, to be arrested.

After both Kingdoms had agreed upon the Covenant, the Estates of Scotland appointed Commissioners to treat with the English concerning the aid desired. The substance of the treaty, signed November the 29th, is as follows:-

## **Treaty Between England and Scotland**

- 1. That** the Covenant be sworn and subscribed by both Kingdoms
- 2. That** an army shall be forthwith levied in Scotland, consisting of eighteen thousand foot effective, and two thousand horse, and one thousand Dragoons effective, with a suitable train of artillery, to be ready at some general rendezvous near the borders of England, to march into England with all convenient speed, the said foot and horse to be well and completely armed, and provided with victuals and pay for forty days.
- 3. That** the army be commanded by a general appointed by the Estates of Scotland, and subject to such resolutions and directions as shall be agreed and concluded on mutually between the two Kingdoms, or by committees appointed by them in that behalf.
- 4. That** the charge of levying, arming, and bringing the said forces together, as also the fitting the train of artillery, be computed and set down according to the same rates, as if the Kingdom of Scotland were to raise the said army for themselves all which for the present is to be done by the Kingdom of Scotland upon accompt, and the accompt to be delivered to the Commissioners of the Kingdom of England, and when the peace of the two Kingdoms is settled, the same to be repaid or satisfied to the Kingdom of Scotland.
- 5. That** this army be likewise paid, as if the Kingdom of Scotland were to employ the same for their own occasion; and towards the defraying thereof, shall be monthly allowed and paid the sum of £30,000, Sterling by the Parliament of England, out of the estates and revenues of the Papists, Prelates, Malignants, and their adherents, or otherwise; and in case the said £30000, monthly, or any part thereof, be not paid at the time when it shall become due, the Kingdom of England shall give the public faith for the paying of the remainder unpaid with all possible speed, allowing the rate of 8 per cent, for the time of the performance thereof and in case that notwithstanding the said monthly sum of £30000. paid as aforesaid, the States and Kingdom of Scotland shall have just cause to demand farther satisfaction of their brethren of England, when the peace of both Kingdoms is settled, for the pains, hazard, and charges they have undergone in the same, they shall by way of brotherly assistance have due recompense made to them by the Kingdom of England, and that out of such lands and estates of the Papists, Prelates, Malignants, and their adherents; and for the assurance thereof the public faith of the Kingdom of England shall be given them.
- 6. And** to the end the said army may be enabled and prepared to march, the Kingdom of England is to pay in ready money to their brethren of Scotland the sum of £100,000, Sterling at Leith or Edinburgh, by way of advance beforehand, which is to be discounted back again to the Kingdom of England by the Kingdom of Scotland, upon the first monthly allowance which shall grow due to the Scottish army, from the time they shall make their first entrance into the Kingdom of England.
- 7. That** the public faith of the Kingdom of Scotland will be given, to be jointly made use of with the public faith of the Kingdom of England, for the present taking up £200,000 Sterling in the Kingdom of England, or elsewhere, for the speedy procur-

ing of the said £100,000 Sterling as aforesaid, as also a considerable sum for the satisfying in good proportion the arrears of the Scottish army in Ireland.

**8. That** no cessation, nor any pacification or agreement of peace whatsoever, shall be made without the mutual advice and consent of both Kingdoms.

**9. That** the public faith of the Kingdom of Scotland shall be given to their brethren of England, that neither their entrance into, nor their continuance in the Kingdom of England, shall be made use of to any other ends than are expressed in the Covenant, and in u the auricles of this treaty: and that all matters of difference that shall happen to arise between the subjects of the two Nations, shall be resolved and determined by the mutual advice and consent of both Kingdoms, or by such committees as for this purpose shall be by them appointed.

**10. That** the Kingdom of England do oblige themselves to aid and assist the Kingdom of Scotland, in the same or like cases of straights and extremities.

**11. That** during the time that the Scottish army shall be employed, as aforesaid, for the defence of the Kingdom of Scotland, there shall be fitted out, as men of war, eight ships, whereof six shall be of burthen betwixt one hundred and twenty and two hundred tun, the other between three and four hundred tun; all which shall be maintained at the charge of the Kingdom of England, to be employed for. the defence of the coast of Scotland, under such commanders as the Earl of Warwick for the time of his being Admiral shall nominate, with the approbation of the committees of both Kingdoms; which commanders shall receive from the said Earl general instructions, that they do from time to time observe the directions of the committees of both Kingdoms.

## **An Army Got Ready**

Though this treaty was not signed till the 29th of November, the Estates of Scotland were so secure, there would be no objections to the terms, that the troops of the most distant counties were now marching to the general rendezvous, whilst the treaty was in hand.

The very day the Covenant was sent to England, namely, the 18th of August, a Proclamation was published in the King's name according to the usual stile, commanding all the subjects of Scotland, from sixteen to sixty years old, to provide themselves with ammunition, arms, and forty days provisions, and to be ready to march for the defence of the Kingdom.

The King could not bear, that an order should be published in his name to his subjects of Scotland, to arm themselves against himself. He writ a vehement letter to the Council, commanding them expressly to call in the Proclamation, but it was to no purpose. The King seems not to have known, that in Scotland as well as in England, in all state affairs, the King is never considered as separated from the people, and that it is the usual practice to publish all public orders in the King's name, though they are prejudicial to his private interests.

History furnishes us with numberless instances, and the King had found, by too frequent experience for some time in England, that in making war upon him, it was pretended to be for his honour and true interest. He himself pretended, that he waged war with both Houses in defence of the liberties of Parliament. This is an effect of the constitution of the Government, whereby the King as the head, and the people as the body, are deemed inseparable. If they happen to be divided, it is not strange, that each pretends to act for the good of the whole, since this pretension is made the sole cause of their division.

## Manifesto of The Scots

Upon this foundation it was, that the Estates of Scotland published two manifestoes, wherein, supposing the King to have been, and still to be, guided by pernicious counsels, they pretended not only, that they might justly assist the two Houses against him, but were bound in conscience to make war upon him. They maintained, they had no other view, than to rescue him from the dangers he willingly exposed himself to, and to labour for his happiness and glory. After all, this maxim is not wholly peculiar to England and Scotland. It has been followed in other States during civil wars.

All that can be said, is, that many times the welfare of the King and State, is only a cloak to ambition, revenge, and other criminal passions. But it is not impossible, that what is frequently a pretence only, may sometimes be a very solid reason. It is the part of the wise and unbiassed, who seek only the truth, to distinguish the real motives which engage subjects to take arms against their Sovereigns, in States where an absolute and unlimited power cannot with reason be ascribed to the Prince, as in England and Scotland.

## The King's Answer

The King made a long answer to these manifesto's, but it was upon quite contrary suppositions. He pretended, both Houses of Parliament had forced him to take arms in his own defence:—

**That his consent to the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland,** was more than sufficient to secure their religion and liberties:

**That his Subjects of Scotland could not,** without being guilty of treason, make war upon him on any pretence whatsoever, and other the like suppositions, which the Scots did not grant, as he did not those made by them in support of their pretended right. There is one, among others, which frequently occurs in the authors who have writ on this subject, and which is admitted, or rejected, according as they lean to either party.

And this obliges me just to mention it, in order to arm the reader against the prejudices of both.

In the treaty of peace concluded at London 1641, there was this clause:—

**That** the. Kingdom of Scotland shall not denounce nor make war against the Kingdoms of England, or Ireland, without consent of the Parliament of Scotland; nor, on the other hand, the Kingdom of England make war against Scotland, without consent of the Parliament of England. And in case any of the subjects of any of the Kingdoms shall rise in arms, or make war against any other of the Kingdoms and Subjects thereof, without consent of the Parliament of that Kingdom whereof they are subjects, or upon which they do depend, that they shall be held as traitors to the States whereof they are Subjects, And that both the Kingdoms, in the cases aforesaid, be bound to concur in the repressing of those that shall happen to rise in arms, or make war without consent of their own Parliament.

The King supposing, that the Scots, in aiding the Parliament against him, intended to make war upon England, inferred from this clause, that they were guilty of treason. This inference was founded not only upon the supposition above mentioned, but also upon the convention of estates not being a true Parliament, and moreover upon his having given them license to meet, but with such limitations as had not been observed.

The Scots supposed on the contrary, that, far from intending to make war against England, their design was to aid and defend that Kingdom against the Popish and Prelatical party, and rescue

the King out of their hands. Thus, what the King called invading England, the opposite party called assisting it. This must be always remembered when we read the history of those days. The Scotch army entered England January 5, 1643-4. But it is not yet time to relate what they did there. It will be necessary first to speak of what passed concerning Ireland, and of some other important occurrences of the year 1643.

## **Affairs of Ireland**

As to Ireland, the success of the first campaign had been so equal on both tides, that neither could boast of having gained any great advantage. The point was to continue the war, each rightly judging, peace would be always very remote, so long as things remained in a state of equality.

### **The King Forms a Project of Making a Truce With The Irish**

And therefore the King and the Parliament thought of strengthening themselves against the ensuing campaign. The treaty of Oxford not succeeding, as was easy to foresee, the King thought of means to employ at home the English troops that served in Ireland, and to that purpose, of making a truce with the rebels. As this notable project could not but be odious to the English, and render suspicious all the King's protestations with respect to the Irish rebellion, he saw himself obliged to use more caution, to procure an excuse to conclude this cessation.

This he did by engaging the Lords Justices of Ireland, and the Council of Dublin to countenance his project. But as I may be accused of ascribing to the King motives he never had, I think it incumbent on me to allege here the unquestionable testimony of the Lord Clarendon. The reader will find it in Vol. II p. 318. Fol. Edit.

The King was not all this while without a due sense of the dangers that threatened him, in the growth and improvement of the power and strength of the enemy, and how impossible it would be for him, without some more extraordinary assistance, to resist that torrent, which he foresaw by the next spring would be ready to overwhelm him, if he made not provision accordingly.

And finding by degrees, that it was not in his power to compose the disturbances of England, or to prevent those of Scotland, and abhorring the thought of introducing a foreign Nation to subdue his own subjects, he begun to think of expedients which might allay the distempers in Ireland; that so, having one of his Kingdoms in peace, he might apply the power of that towards the procuring it in his other dominions. He was not ignorant, how tender an argument that business of Ireland was, and how prepared men were to pervert whatsoever he said, or did in it; and therefore he resolved to proceed with that caution, that whatsoever was done in it, should be by the council of that State, who were understood to be most skilful in those affairs.

Hence it is evident, that the King's design in making a truce with the Irish rebels, was to employ the English forces which served in that Kingdom, to subdue the Parliament, and that, to avoid the reproaches which might be cast on him for it, he resolved so to manage, that it should appear to be done by the Council of Ireland, that is, by the Lords Justices, and the rest of the Council.

In the passage I have quoted, the Lord Clarendon insinuates, that the King came not to this resolution till about the end of the year 1643, that is, when he was sure the Scots were to send an army into England. For, after relating what had passed during the campaign of 1643, the Parliament's negotiations in Scotland, the Covenant of both Kingdoms, the resolution taken in Scotland to aid the two Houses, the calling of the Oxford Parliament, which was not done till December the same year; he comes at last to speak of the King's resolution, to make use of the English troops that were in Ireland.

The King, (says he,) was not all this while without a due sense of the dangers that threatened him, and how impossible it would be for him to resist that torrent which he foresaw by the next spring would be ready to overwhelm him. He began therefore to think of expedients which might allay the distempers of Ireland. It is however certain, the King resolved to make a truce in Ireland long before the Parliament's negotiation with Scotland, and before the Scots resolution to levy an army. And what invincibly proves that the King was determined, before the engagement of the Scots, is, that the Irish truce was signed the 15th of September 1643, after a long negotiation.

Thus, the Lord Clarendon's insinuation, that the King did resolve to employ the English forces of Ireland, only to secure himself against the torrent that was ready to overwhelm him, being very ill grounded, confirms what will be seen hereafter, that he was not induced by necessity to make a truce with the Irish rebels, but by the hopes of subduing the Parliament with these additional forces.

### **The King's Content to Conclude This Truce**

To have a pretence to conclude this truce, the King believed, the best way was to persuade the public, it would be extremely advantageous, or rather was absolutely necessary, to the English in Ireland, and their only refuge, to prefer what they still possessed in that country. He had complained several times, that the Parliament neglected the Irish war, and would have had a numerous army sent thither.

But, as I said before, the Parliament suspecting, the King's aim was only to weaken them by that diversion, were contented with sending from time to time a few supplies to continue the war, besides the Scotch troops which made a great diversion in the north. These supplies, though inconsiderable, had however produced this good effect, that the rebels, instead of making greater progress. had on the contrary lost much ground, after several defeats.

They were however still much superior to the English, and though the English and Scotch forces were able to curb them a little, they were not strong enough to hope to reduce them to obedience. Nay, it was to be feared, they would in the end be overpowered with numbers, especially as the Parliament, engaged in a war with the King, could not send a powerful aid into Ireland, for fear of leaving England unprovided. This was the pretence used by the King to conclude a truce with the rebels.

### **The Perplexity of The Lord Justices of Ireland**

In the situation of affairs, since war had been declared between the King; and the Parliament, the Lords sufficeth who governed Ireland were greatly embarrassed. They had been commissioned by the King, and consequently from him they were to receive their orders. But on the other hand, the Parliament having taken upon them to pay the charges of the Irish war, they could not openly declare for the King, without forfeiting the assistance of the Parliament, the King not being in condition to supply them.

A perfect neutrality was not possible, because the King's and the Parliament's interests being opposite, they could not implicitly obey the one, without being suspected by the other. They chose therefore to try to content both, as far as was possible, and the rather, as the King and the Parliament expressed an equal desire to end the Irish war. But they could not remain long in this situation.

### **The Parliament Send a Committee to Dublin**

Such was their case at last, that it was not possible for them to please both. The Parliament having sent, in October 1642, a committee to Dublin to assist the Council, and settle with the



Lords Justices, what related to the continuance of the war[67], these Commissioners were at first received with respect, but in February 1643, by the King's express order, were sent back to England.

## **Some of The Lord Justices and Counsellors Removed by The King**

The King was well pleased, the Parliament should supply what was necessary for continuing the war, but unwilling they should have any share in the government of Ireland, or their Commissioners a place in the Council of State. Shortly after, he removed some of the Lords Justices and Counsellors[68].

Probably he was then forming the project of a truce with the rebels, and wanted for that purpose, that the Lords Justices, and all the Counsellors should be disposed to act only by his orders. Besides, on this supposition, the Parliament's commissioners could not but be a great impediment, had they continued to assist at the Council of State. From that time also, the instances of the Lords Justices to the King and Parliament for aid, became more pressing and frequent. They represented the state of the English in Ireland, as entirely desperate, without a speedy supply of men, money, and ammunition.

They said, the officers were very importunate for leave to return to England. In a word, they omitted nothing, that was apt to create a belief, there was no remedy. On the other hand, some officers of the English army presented a remonstrance to the Lords Justices, April the 4th, 1643, declaring, they were reduced to despair for want of money to subsist, and that it ought not to be thought strange, if in their case they should have recourse to the first and primary law of nature, which God hath endowed men withal, namely, the law of self-preservation.

If to these so earnest complaints be added, what the Lord Clarendon says, that the King resolved so to proceed, that every thing should appear to be done by the Council of Ireland, the sending back of the Parliament's commissioners, and the changes made among the Lords Justices, and members of the Council, one can scarce help suspecting these complaints to be all begged, on purpose to serve for pretence to the cessation.

This suspicion seems the more probable, as at that time the affairs of the English in Ireland were upon a very good foot, and as the Marquis of Ormond had just gained, at Ross, a signal victory over the rebels. Accordingly the Lords Justices, as well as the officers, took care not to make the progress of the rebels the ground of their complaints, but only the want of money, provisions, and ammunition.

## **The King Empowers The Marquis of Ormond to Treat With The Rebels**

However this be, the remonstrance of the officers being sent to the King, he took occasion from thence to send to the Marquis of Ormond a Commission, empowering him to treat with the rebels, and agree with them upon a cessation of arms, for one year. He gave notice of it to the Lords Justices, in a letter of April the 23rd, 1643, commanding them to assist the Marquis in the execution of his Commission, to the utmost of their power.

The date of this Commission is remarkable, for it evidently shows, that the Scots resolution to assist the Parliament, which was not taken till the following August, was not the cause of the Irish truce.

## **The Lords Justices are Very Urgent for Aid**

May the third, the King renewed his orders to the Marquis of Ormond concerning the truce. But before the Marquis had received these fresh orders, the Lords Justices had writ to the King, the

11th of the same month, a very expressive letter, representing the miserable condition of Ireland, in such terms as showed, that every one was reduced to despair for want of money, and provisions, though till then the English forces had been crowned with success against the rebels [69].

### **The King Sends The Letter to Parliament**

The King, who meant to take an advantage from this letter, to demonstrate to the public, the necessity of the cessation he intended to conclude, sent it to both Houses[70], who immediately took this affair into consideration. A Committee was appointed, with orders to think of ways to raise money for Ireland. Upon the report of the Committee, the Parliament resolved to raise money by voluntary contributions, and offered very advantages terms to such as should advance the sums required[71].

### **The King Sent New Orders About The Truce**

But notwithstanding this, the King, July the 2nd, dispatched fresh orders to the Lords Justices, and the Marquis of Ormond, to conclude a truce for one year, which they were already endeavouring. From the 20th of June, the general Council of the Irish assembled at Kilkenny, had granted a Commission to treat[72].

September the 7th, the King repeated his orders to the Marquis of Ormond, to conclude the truce as soon as possible. At the same time, he ordered him to send into England, all the English forces that could be spared after the conclusion of the truce. His reason was, and he could justly say it then, that an army was preparing in Scotland to invade England. But there was no mention of that article in the foregoing orders.

### **The Truce Signed**

At length, the cessation was signed the 15th of September, on the condition that both parties should remain in possession of what they held. The King founded the necessity of it, first, upon a remonstrance presented to him December the first 1642, by four Colonels, as well in their own, as in the names of many other officers, who served in the army of Ireland, wherein they told him, it was impossible for them to subsist any longer, if means were not found to supply their pressing wants.

**Secondly**, upon the repeated letters sent from the Lords-Justices to the King and the Parliament, since January 1642-3, wherein they said, the army was going to perish in few days, for want of assistance.

**Thirdly**, upon the forementioned remonstrance of the officers of tile 4th of April, wherein they pretended a few hours delay to assist them, would be too long[73].

Nevertheless this army, which was reduced to extremity the first of December 1642, found means to subsist till the 15th of September 1643, though the Lords Justices complained, they had received no supplies since November. This is a clear evidence, that all these complaints were very much aggravated by the private direction of the King, who meant to use them for pretence to the truce.

This is what the Parliament represented in a declaration published on account of the Irish cessation, before they had y notice of its being concluded: They complained very strongly, that they were never acquainted by the States of Ireland, with the treaty of a cessation, much less was their advice demanded, notwithstanding, that by act of Parliament, and by his Majesty's commission under the Great-Seal, both Houses were to advise, order, and dispose of all things concerning the government and defence of that Kingdom.

They said, that to accomplish more easily this dishonourable cessation, those of the State in Dublin, who were so honest and religious as to dissuade it, were first discountenanced, and at last put out of their places, and restrained to prison, as Sir William Parsons one of the Lords-Justices, Sir John Temple Master of the Rolls, Sir Adam Loftus Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and Sir Robert Meredith, one also of the Council-table. That it was made only with a view to discourage those who had subscribed to advance money upon the Parliament's proposals, in order to render impossible the maintenance of the army in Ireland, and to employ it in England, to the destruction of the Parliament. For these and many other reasons, which I omit to avoid tediousness, both Houses declared the intended cessation void, promising to indemnify those who should refuse to submit to it[74].

Meanwhile, the King who was assured of the concurrence of the Lords Justices, the Council of State, and the Marquis of Ormond General of the army, so ordered it, that after the conclusion of the truce all the English troops that could be spared were sent to him. These forces landed at Mostyn in Flintshire, and their first attempt was upon Hawarden Castle, which was surrendered to them the 4th of December.

Then they took some other small places in Cheshire[75]; after which the Lord Byron[78], who commanded for the King in those parts, besieged Nantwich, January the 15th 1643-4. Three days after, making a sudden and violent storm upon five several places of the town at once, he was every where repulsed with the loss of many of his men.

At last, the 21st of the same month, the Lord Fairfax, who advanced to relieve the town, entirely routed the Irish army, consisting of three thousand foot, (who were almost all slain or taken prisoners) and of eighteen hundred horse, most of whom escaped by flight, but were so dispersed that they could be of no farther service to the King. Colonel George Monk was taken in this action, and sent prisoner to the Tower of London, where he remained some time, till at last he took arms under the Parliament[77].

Thus the King received no advantage by these troops, nay, they rather did him great prejudice, in that, by all his proceedings to procure them, he confirmed the mistrust entertained by many people, of his being concerned in the Irish rebellion.

## **Several Events of The 1643**

Not to interrupt the thread of the military actions, and of what passed in Scotland and Ireland, I have been forced to pass over several important events of this year 1643, of which it will be necessary to speak, though without any connection, as they are of a different nature. The reader will easily, by observing the dates, perceive their relation to the general affairs. I shall begin with certain projects framed at London, to compel the Parliament to make peace, whilst the armies were in the field.

### **A Plea To Force The Parliament to a Peace**

The King was ever strongly possessed with the notion, that fear alone held most of the people attached to the Parliament, and that if he procured them a good opportunity to hold up their heads, he should oblige both Houses to make a speedy peace, without demanding the securities, which made the principal obstacle.

This was the favourite scheme, as well as of his Ministers, his Counsel; his friends and adherents in London and elsewhere; and this was the spring of several projects to force the Parliament to a peace, it would indeed be very strange, that so many able men should be of this opinion, without any manner of foundation. But on the other hand, one knows not what to think, when it is considered; that of so many projects, built upon this supposition, not one succeeded, which

seems to argue that the majority of the people were not for the King. However this be, it is certain, the King had many friends in London, and in the Parliament itself, who served him artfully, by pretending to dread that the war would be definitive to the Parliament; and thereby they endeavoured to infuse a real terror into the people, and incline them by degrees to wish and sue for peace.

These men incessantly plotted to sow discord between the Parliament and the people. As it was necessary for them to hold private correspondence with the Court, in order to at according to directions, his Majesty sent frequent messengers to London, sometimes secretly, sometimes openly, under colour of bringing messages to the Parliament, in order to convey his instructions to his friends, and be exactly informed of what passed in both Houses and the City.

### **The King Allows Free Commerce Between His Quarters and London**

With this view in December 1642, he published for the sake, as was pretended, of the inhabitants of London, a proclamation for the free and safe passage of all goods, wares and merchandises to the City. But the Commons suspecting some hidden mystery under this condescension, passed the next month two orders, the one:—

**That** no carriers or waggoners should be permitted to go to Oxford or elsewhere, without special licence from the Parliament: The other,

**That** any agent or servant to any person that was in arms against the Parliament? who should presume to come to Westminster, or reside about London, should be forthwith apprehended as a spy.

The 10th of April following, these orders were renewed, and even extended to all persons that should come from the King's quarters to London without a safe conduct, and the same was printed and published.

### **The King Send a Message to Both Houses Without a Safe Conduct**

In all appearance, the King, who had so many correspondents. in London, was not ignorant of this order. Nevertheless, on pretence it was not signified to him in form, he sent a message to the Parliament, with an offer of peace. In general terms, without demanding a safe conduct for the bearer. But the Commons, resolving to stop the course of these artifices, which served to carry on the King's private correspondence in London, ordered the messenger to be sent to prison, for coming without a safe-conduct.

### **The Queen is Accused of High Treason**

Three days after, to show the people, the King vainly amused them with hopes of a peace, they impeached the Queen of High Treason, and sent up the impeachment to the Lords by Mr. Pym. The King, full of indignation at this extraordinary proceeding, published a Proclamation, to forbid obedience to the orders of both Houses, declaring, he acknowledged them no longer for Houses of Parliament.

### **The King Forbids Obedience to Both Houses**

Affairs were in this situation, when both Houses discovered a conspiracy formed in London, ever under colour of procuring peace refused by the Parliament. I shall give the particulars of

this conspiracy, as they were communicated to the Lords by Mr. Pym, at a conference between the two Houses. He told them:—

**I. That** the conspiracy was formed of a mixture and conjunction of persons of several qualities, some whereof were of both Houses of Parliament, others of the City, and others belonging to the Court, who in their respective places and employments were to form and perfect the work, raised out of the allies of the late petition of London for peace.

**II. The chief actors were Mr. Waller**, a Member of the House of Commons, who pretended, and gave out to the red, that many others of that House, and of the Lords, were privy to and concerned therein; Mr. Tompkins, a Gentleman living in Holbourn, brother-in-law to the said Mr. Waller, and a servant to the Queen, as being Secretary to the Commissioners for her Majesty's revenue; Mr. Challoner an eminent Citizen; one Mr. Blinkard, Mr. Alexander Hampden, who brought the last message from the King; Mr. Hassel, one of his Majesty's messengers, &c.

**III. The method was**, for several persons in the City to dispose of themselves into a committee, to hold intelligence with both armies, the Court and the Parliament, to take a general survey of the affections of all the inhabitants within the weekly bills of mortality, which was to be done under these three ranks, right men, (or of the King's party) averse men, (or the well affected to the Parliament) and moderate men, (or neutrals;) to consider of arms, ammunition, and all provisions of war, to appoint out of themselves persons to treat with Mr. Waller and Mr. Tompkins in relation to the City, Court, and Parliament as also with Sir Nicholas Crisp, Sir George Binion, Captain Roydon and others at Oxford.

**IV. Mr. Waller's part**, was to engage a considerable part of the Lords and Commons, and to be a means of conveying counsels, resolutions and intelligence between them and the said City-Committee. Mr. Tompkins was not only an assistant to Mr. Waller therein, but an instrument to convey by Hassel and others their proceedings to the Court, principally to the Lord Falkland, and to receive thence directions, powers, and commands.

**V. For preventing discovery**, protestations of secrecy were taken, as they were Christians not to disclose it and no man in the City was to endeavour the engaging above two, whereby no one man could impeach many.

**VI. From the Court**, Mr. Heron and Mr. Alexander Hampden and others employed upon messages from the King to the Parliament, were to convey directions, encouragements, and advice to those in London and authority was to be given under the Great-Seal, and warrants under the King's hand, for settling a Council of war, naming of Generals and other officers, execution of martial Law, raising of money, and providing arms; and to facilitate the whole, part of the King's forces to be in readiness to assist the party here, as there should be occasion.

**VII. The particulars of the design itself were**, to seize the King's children, to secure several Members of Parliament, particularly the Lord Say, the Lord Wharton, Mr. Pym, Sir Philip Stapleton, Colonel Hampden and Colonel Strode, as also the Lord-Mayor and Committee of the militia, under pretence of bringing them to a legal trial; to seize upon the cut-works, forts, magazines, gates, and other places of importance in the City and the Tower, and let in the King's forces, and in the meantime to refill and obstruct all payments imposed by authority of the two Houses for support of their armies.

**VIII. For their authority they had the following.** commission brought up by the Lady Aubigny, (who was under custody) the said commission being found hid under-ground in Mr. Tompkins's cellar.

**IX. In pursuance of this commission,** they had often consulted of a General, and treated with Sir Hugh Pollard, prisoner in the Compter (once a Member of the House of Commons, but expelled, being accused of having an hand in the design to bring up the northern army against the Parliament,) about it. And a declaration was ready drawn, setting forth, the cause of their taking up of arms to be in pursuance of their late protestation, to maintain the true Reformed Protestant religion against all Papists and Sectaries, to oppose illegal assessments, &c. which was to be distributed to their friends, and on the night of their rising set upon the posts round about London.

Concerning which time of their rising they had also consulted, (of which precise notice was to be sent to Oxford, as to the day and hour) and some moved to have it done on Wednesday the last of May (being the fast day, and the very next day after the first intimation was given towards a discovery) but it had been put off, and not fully concluded, it being said, it should be left to the Lords to determine, whom Waller pretended should side with them. Mr. Hassel lay close at Beaconsfield, and had word sent, the great ship was come in the Downs, by which he was to understand, that the design was near ripe; and he acquainted the Lord Falkland at Oxford therewith, and received answer, that they should hasten it with all speed, and when they were ready, three thousand of the King's forces were to advance from Oxford within fifteen miles of London, to be ready upon notice to fall into the works, and assist; and white ribbons or tape was agreed to be worn by all concerned in this action to distinguish them.

The Lord Clarendon, who is very large upon this conspiracy, denies neither the plot itself, nor the King's commission, brought to London by the Lady Aubigny[78], but urges, that the Parliament confounded in one single plot, two different projects, the first formed by Waller, Tompkins, and Challoner, who were at London, and the other by Sir Nicholas Crisp, who being Recorder of London[79], had been imprisoned, and making his escape, had retired to Oxford. Very well; but whether there were two plots or one, it is so less apparent, that the King's design was to compel the Parliament to a peace, and that his frequent messages to both Houses, with offers of peace, were often but artifices to carry on his correspondence in London.

## **The Two Houses Resolve to Unite Themselves More Strictly**

This discovery caused both Houses to resolve to unite themselves still more strictly together, by a new Covenant or Oath, tendered to all the members, and afterwards to the army, and such of the people as were willing to take it. Tompkins, Challoner, and two other conspirators were hanged[80]. But Waller saved his life, paying a fine of ten thousand pounds, and was banished the Kingdom. Hampden died in prison before his sentence, and Hassel died likewise the night before his trial. The ill success of this plot, prevented not the like from being contrived the next August.

Since the miscarriage of Waller's conspiracy, the King had a train of successes, which revived the courage of his friends at London, who began to be dismayed. The Lord Fairfax was defeated at Atherton in Yorkshire. The Queen was come to his Majesty with a considerable supply. Waller was entirely routed at Roundway-Down; and the King, now master of Bristol, was preparing to besiege Gloucester.

## **New Plot - August**

Thus crowned with success, he thought it a favourable opportunity to force the Parliament to a peace, and all his London friends began to use their endeavours. Whether this project came from the Court, or the King had only approved of it, he believed it requisite to prepare the minds of the people by a public Declaration, to this effect:—

## The King's Declaration

**As the grievances and losses** of no particular persons could be compared to the damage he himself sustained; so a peace could not be so welcome to any man as to him. God Almighty knew, with what unwillingness, and anguish of soul, he submitted to the necessity of taking up defensive arms. And the world knew, with what justice and bounty he had repaired his subjects for all the pressures they had borne, by such excellent laws, as would for ever have prevented the like; and with what earnestness he desired to add any thing, for the establishment of the religion, Laws, and liberty of the Kingdom; all which had been evidently invaded by those who had sacrificed the public good to their own ends. He well remembered the protestation made by him, at the head of his army:—

To defend and maintain the true reformed Protestant religion, and if it should please God to bless his arms with success, he would maintain the just privileges and freedom of Parliament, and govern by the known Laws of the land, for whose defence that army was only raised.

And there could not be a more seasonable time to renew that Protestation than now, when God had vouchsafed him so many victories, which would hinder him from falling under the scandalous imputation, that his messages of peace proceeded from the weakness of his power, not love of his people.

He declared therefore to all the world, in the presence of God, that he was so far from intending any alteration of the religion established, in which he was born and bred, and would resolutely die, or from the least thought of invading the liberty and property of the subject, of violating the just privileges of Parliament; that the preservation of the established religion, the Laws, the liberties of the people, and the just privileges of Parliament, should be equally his care, as the maintenance of his own rights!

Whether those that were enemies to the established ecclesiastical Government, who persecuted the learned, orthodox Ministers, and put into their places, ignorant, seditious, and schismatical preachers, who vilified, *The book of Common-Prayer*, and profaned God's worship, were like to advance religion:

Whether those who, without the least shadow of law, imposed exorbitant taxes upon their fellow subjects, imprisoned, tormented, and murdered them, were like to preserve the liberty and property of the subject: And whether those who had invaded the just rights of the Crown, denied the King his negative voice, awed and terrified members of both Houses, were like to vindicate the privileges of Parliament, all the world might judge.

In short, after several invectives against the two Houses, he concluded with saying:

Whosoever have been misled, by those whose hearts from the beginning have designed all this mischief and fall redeem their pass crimes, by their present service and loyalty, in the apprehending or opposing such who shall continue to bear arms against us, and shall use their utmost endeavours to reduce those men to their due obedience, and to restore the Kingdom to its wonted peace, shall have cause to

magnify out mercy, and to repent the trespasses committed against so just and gracious a Sovereign[81].

It is not difficult to perceive, that by this declaration, and especially by the latter part of it, the King's aim was to excite and authorize an insurrection in London against both Houses, and what happened presently after puts it entirely out of doubt. This declaration was therefore a preparative for the execution of a plot, to compel the Parliament to a peace.

Undoubtedly, the King was really desirous of a peace. But it must be always remembered, what peace it was he so earnestly wished.

It was a peace that should reinvest him with all his prerogatives, after which, he promised to govern according to the known Laws of the land. But in this promise lay the whole difficulty of the peace, the Parliament pretending it could not be relied on, and the King offering no other security than his word, tacitly supposing it to be a crime to doubt his sincerity.

### **The House of Lords Propose to Send Propositions of Peace to The King**

This Declaration was no sooner published than the King's friends began their usual artifices in London. They affected an extraordinary terror, caused by the prosperous success of the King's arms, and insinuated, that the consequences should be prevented by a peace. But as the example of Tompkins and Challoner had effectually terrified the King's most devoted friends, not one dared openly to expose himself to the same danger.

It was therefore resolved among them, that the House of Lords should first break the ice, and propose a peace to the Commons, which should be seconded by the King's friends in London. The Upper-House consisted but of few Peers, some of whom were either openly or privately for the King. Others were his enemies, and some were ready to follow the stream which way soever it carried them.

These last were the men the King's party strove to gain by various means, in order to be superior in the House of Lords, some by promise, others by threats, and some again by way of persuasion,, intimating to them the absolute necessity of a peace. In short, they secured a majority of voices in the Upper-House: not that all they prevailed with, absolutely promised to be devoted to the King: (that was not the point;) but only to agree that a peace should be proposed by their House, which could not be considered but as a very innocent thing.

The managers of this contrivance took care, not to propose a peace without terms such as the King desired. That alone had been sufficient to make them lose some of those they had gained. They had only to engage the Commons to enter into negotiation, after which, they hoped the superiority the King then had, supported with the endeavours of his party, would be capable to remove, in his favour, the difficulties that might occur in the principal articles.

### **Commons Resolve to Send Propositions of Peace to The King**

This resolution being taken, the Lords sent and desired a conference with the Commons, where they declared, that they had resolved to send propositions of peace to the King, and hoped the Commons would concur with them. The propositions were:—

- 1. That both armies** might be presently disbanded, and his Majesty be entreated to return to his Parliament, upon which security as should give him satisfaction.



**2. That Religion might be fettled** with the advice of a synod of Divines, in such a manner as his Majesty, with the consent of both Houses of Parliament, should appoint.

**3. That the militia**, both by sea and land, might be settled by a Bill; and the militia, forts and ships of the Kingdom, put into such hands as the King should appoint, with the approbation of both Houses of Parliament: and his Majesty's revenue to be absolutely and wholly restored unto him; only deducting such part, as had been of necessity expended for the maintenance of his children, and not otherwise.

**4. That all the members of both Houses**, who had been expelled only for absenting themselves, or mere cc compliance with his Majesty, and no other matter of fact against them, might be restored to their places.

**5. That all Delinquents**, from before the tenth day of January 1641, should be delivered up to the justice of Parliament, and a general pardon for all others on both sides.

**6. And lastly**, that there might be an act of oblivion for all by gone deeds, and acts of hostility. Probably, those who had caused these propositions to be passed in the House of Peers, did not themselves believe, a peace could be made upon these foundations.

The difficulties which occurred in the three first proposition, had been very often debated, both before and since the beginning of the war, without the possibility of coming to any conclusion. It was therefore unlikely, that the King, in his prosperity, would grant what he had denied when his affairs were not in so good a situation.

But, as I said, the intention of the managers of this contrivance was only to procure a negotiation, persuaded as they were, that by their interest and cabals, or by an insurrection of the people, they should cause these points to be decided in favour of the King. For that reason, the principal proportion, namely, the third concerning the militia, which the Parliament had always fully explained, was expressed in a very general and ambiguous manner, in these terms, That the militia might be settled by a Bill.

## **The Commons in a Fright Consent to The Propositions**

The Commons perfectly saw what was the aim of the authors of these proportions, and were terrified at it. The House was apprehensive, that they were but too powerfully supported, otherwise, it was not likely they should have taken such a step, at a time when a Committee was already gone to desire assistance of the Scots. Wherefore, after a long debate, it was resolved, by a majority of votes, that the propositions should be sent to the King.

It is extremely probable, this resolution was taken only to amuse the King's friends, and to gain time, in order to break their measures the more easily. For, the next day the Lord-Mayor of London, attended with a crowd of people, came to the House of Commons, of which he was a Member, and delivered, from the Common Council, a petition, wherein the House was entreated to persist in their former resolutions, and reject the propositions of the Peers.

The Lord Mayor affirmed also, that the people of London were ready to exert their utmost for the vigorous prosecution of the war. Whereupon, the House took courage again, and reversed the resolution of the foregoing day. Thus, the King's friends were in their turn greatly embarrassed, and under a necessity of taking new measures.

The expedient they devised was to cause the women to rise, in hopes that such an insurrection might breed a greater, and occasion some revolution.

August the 9th, a petition for peace was presented to the Commons by two or three thousand women, with white silk ribbons in their hats. The conditions proposed by them were exactly the same as the King had always offered.

A general answer being sent to them, they were not satisfied, and their number by noon increasing to five thousand, they came to the door of the House, crying peace, peace; give us those traitors that are against peace, that we may tear them to pieces; give us that dog Pym.

Part of the trained bands (that usually stood sentinel there) firing upon them with powder only, to fright them away, they laughed at it, and finding a heap of brickbats in the yard, threw them at the sentinels, and drove them away. At last, some troops were forced to be sent for, who, after using fair means in vain, drew their swords, and cut them over their hands and faces.

A ballad singer was killed upon the spot[82], and another woman lost her nose, whereof it was said she afterwards died. At length, they were dispersed. The Lord Clarendon, who says many were killed and wounded, affirms, they were the wives of substantial citizens; which is hardly credible[83].

Thus ended the grand project of forcing the Parliament to a peace, a project wherein means was found to engage several Lords, and many Commoners, under colour that a peace was necessary to the State, nothing could be truer, but care was taken not to discover to them, that on pretence of labouring for the public, the King's advantage alone was really sought.

## **Character of The Earl of Essex**

The Earl of Essex was one of those who were most desirous of peace, but not in the same manner as the King's friends. These were for a peace, and used their utmost endeavours to procure it: but it was such a peace as the King offered, that is, a peace founded only upon his word. The Earl of Essex did not think it impracticable, in concluding a peace, to find necessary securities for the nation's Liberties: as appears in his letter of the 9th of July to the speaker, wherein, after the description of Chalgrave Field: he says:—

### **His Letter to The Speaker**

If it were thought fit to send to his Majesty to have peace, with the settling of religion, the Laws and liberties of the subject, and to bring unto just trial those chief delinquents that have brought all this mischief to both Kingdoms; and (as my Lord of Bristol spake once in Parliament) how we may be secured to have these things performed hereafter; or else, if his Majesty shall please to absent himself, there may be a day set down to give a period to all these unhappy distractions by a battle, which, when and where they shall chuse, that may be thought any way indifferent, I shall be ready to perform that duty I owe you; and the propositions to be agreed upon between his Majesty and the Parliament, may be sent to such an indifferent place, that both armies may be drawn near the one to the other; that if peace be not concluded, it may be ended by the sword.

It is evident, this is not the language of a man proposing a peace to gratify the King, and solely with intent to procure a negotiation from which the King might reap some advantage; but of one that heartily wished for such a peace, as might put a happy period to the distractions of the Kingdom: or if that could not be by means of peace, to end them at least by a battle.

He was, doubtless, of opinion, that the nation would run less hazard by venturing a decision by arms, than by the continuation of the war. Nothing better demonstrates the uprightness of his intentions. But there were few in those days of the same disposition. The King passionately wished for peace; but it was on condition he should be no loser by it, that he should be restored to all his rights, and his word relied on for the future. As to Religion, all he would yield, was, that the Presbyterians should not be compelled by penal Laws to conform to the Church of England.

Hitherto he had advanced nothing that might make them hope for a public toleration of their religion. The Parliament for their part wished likewise for peace, provided by this peace the King was restrained from returning to his former courses, that is, was so humbled that he should be able to do nothing without the consent of both Houses, and enjoy only the empty name of a King, with the external badges of royalty.

As to religion, there were very many, as well members as others, who preferred the continuation of the war, let what would be the event, to seeing the Bishops restored to their power. This must be always remembered, when either of the two parties is heard to speak of peace. The like disposition to the Earl of Essex was doubtless the cause that some were dazzled with the bare sound of peace, and the limitations inserted in the propositions to be sent to the King at the time of the late plot.

But it may be affirmed, that the chief authors of the artifice were far from having the nation's welfare in view, and thought only of serving the King. I don't question, but some others were persuaded to consent to the propositions by reason of the end proposed by the Presbyterian party, and now publicly known, perceiving, that the advantages the Parliament might gain upon the King in the continuation of the war, would only serve to ruin the Church of England with the greater ease.

### **The King Tries in Vain to Gain The Earl of Essex**

The Earl of Essex's integrity made him experience what usually happens to honest men in civil dissensions, where the moderate pass for indifferent, and coldly affected to their party. The King, who was informed of this Lord's moderation, imagined, he desired a peace only, because he was displeased with the Parliament, and convinced of the injustice of the cause he had espoused.

In this belief, he unsuccessfully used all means to gain him. On the other hand, the most violent of his party grew jealous of the Earl of Essex, perceiving he was no proper instrument for their designs. Wherefore they no longer confided in him, or at least, feigned not to trust him, in order to have, by his removal, another General, more compliant and manageable.

### **The Earl of Manchester is Made General of The Associated Counties**

They cast their eyes on Edward Montague, Earl of Manchester, known formerly by the name of the Lord Kimbolton, and began with advancing him to the command of the forces of the eastern associated counties, to which Lincolnshire was lately added, to go and oppose the Earl of Newcastle, and an ordinance was passed, to raise new levies (by pressing) to reinforce this army.

### **The Earl of Essex is Displeased**

If the Earl of Essex had joined with the Parliament only out of passion, humour, or interest, the mortifications he met with, would have been apt to make him turn to the King, to be revenged of the two Houses. But that was not his character. Though he had complained several times of

the disregard shewn him, in leaving his army without recruits and clothes, and though several Lords of the King's party took this occasion to try to persuade him to change sides, he ever remained firm to his principles.

How strong soever their solicitations might be, he never gave the least reason to believe, he was capable of betraying the Parliament, who had trusted him with the command of their forces. Both Houses being informed of the instances made to their General, assured him of their esteem and acknowledgment for his great services, and promised to recruit and clothe his army, before those of Sir William Waller, and the Earl of Manchester, which was accordingly done.

This satisfaction was more than sufficient, to make him forget all the occasions of complaint before given him. A famous historian has been pleased to ascribe the Earl of Essex's constant attachment to the Parliament, to his not having steadiness enough to engage in so hazardous an enterprise, as that of forcing the Parliament to a peace.

I am persuaded, this was owing to the King's, and all his party's prepossession, that there was not a single man for the Parliament, that was satisfied of the justice of his cause. This prejudice was never relinquished.

## **What The Project of The King's Friends Was**

The project of those who had undertaken to gain the Earl of Essex, was, that as soon as he should give the word, the Lords and Commoners who were in the secret, should retire to the army, and under the security thereof, protest against the violence that was offered, the breach of their privileges, by the Common Council's taking notice of their debates, and overruling their conclusions, by hindering the fending the propositions to the King.

They did not doubt, but by their example, great numbers would take the same course, by which means they hoped to be strong enough to constrain the Parliament to make peace. And in case the Parliament should remain obstinate, their design was to enter upon a separate treaty with the King, as men undeceived, who having been seduced by the Parliament, were at length sensible of the injustice of their cause.

They imagined, the whole Kingdom would do the same, and the Parliament be entirely forsaken. For the King and his party always fancied, that among the Parliament's adherents, not one was so, through persuasion, honour, and conscience, but through seduction, fear, and ignorance. This caused them to take so many wrong steps, to compel the Parliament to a peace by the people's means, steps that proved extremely prejudicial to the King. That with regard to the Earl of Essex, was no less so than the rest.

The Lords and Commoners who were concerned in this stratagem, as well as in Waller's plot, fearing the Earl of Essex might discover them, thought proper to avoid being called to an account, by retiring to the King. Of this number were the Earl of Portland[84], and the Lord Conway, who had been imprisoned for Waller's affair, and afterwards released, the Lord Lovelace, who had only stayed with the Parliament by the King's leave, the Earls of Clare, Bedford[85] and Holland.

The Earl of Northumberland dissatisfied with his not having in the Parliament the same credit as formerly, feigning an indisposition, obtained the Parliament's leave to retire for his health to his house at Petworth in Sussex. (As this place was liable to be infested from some of the King's quarters), it was generally believed, he had assurances of not being molested. The flight of all these Peers turned greatly to the King's disadvantage, as it deprived him of so many friends in the Parliament, who were always ready to serve him, and wont to direct his adherents in London.

Moreover, by the absence of these Lords, the King's enemies were more at their ease, and found fewer obstacles to their designs, than before. For shortly after, the Earl of Essex's army was enabled to relieve Gloucester, and the Parliament approved of the Covenant made with Scotland, in which doubtless they would have been opposed by those that were lately withdrawn.

I must now proceed to other matters.

## **Disgrace of John Hotham**

I just mentioned, that Sir John Hotham, Governor of Hull, was apprehended by order of Parliament: It is now time to speak of the cause of his disgrace. The King had been so incensed with him, that there was little probability of his ever pardoning the indignity he had received from him, or of Hotham's delivering himself into his hands. And yet, the desire of becoming master of Hull in the one, and the thirst of revenge in the other, made them forget all that was passed.

Hotham, as he could not bear that, after the service he had done the Parliament in keeping Hull for them, without dreading to expose himself to the King's indignation, the Lord Fairfax should be made commander in chief of all the forces in the North, an honour, which doubtless he thought himself more worthy of, resolved to be revenged for this pretended injustice, by delivering the place to the King[86].

The precise time of his applying himself to the Earl of Newcastle is not known, but it is certain, he writ several letters to him, which were communicated to the Queen while she was in the North. He had drawn his son, Captain Hotham, into the plot, and it was agreed between them, to deliver Hull to the Queen, when on her march with her troops to the King.

Meanwhile, young Hotham having given some occasion to suspect him, was seized by Sir John Meldrum, and sent Prisoner to Nottingham Castle. Hotham found means to escape, and going to Lincoln, writ from thence to the Parliament, complaining of the injury done him, and affirming, he was ready to answer whatever should be laid to his charge. But as the Queen was now upon her march, and it was time to execute the design, he returned to Hull to contrive the means with his Father.

The Queen thought herself so secure of having Hull very soon in her power, that she said in her letter of the 27th of June to the King:—

She stayed at Newark but for one thing, to have Hull and Lincoln, for which she hoped he would pardon two days stop.

At the same time that the order was sent to seize young Hotham, the Mayor of Hull was told to have an eye upon the father, examine his conduct, and take care to preserve the town. The son's return to Hull after his escape from Nottingham, the suspicions he already lay under, and the notice received from, Mr. Moyer, Captain of a man of war then in the road, that Hull was going, that night or the next, to be delivered to the King, made, Sir Matthew Boynton, the Mayor, though brother-in-law to the Governor, resolve to prevent it.

That very night, whilst the Hothams were in bed, all the townsmen, officers, and soldiers of known affection to the Parliament, were assembled without noise, and all the ports of the town seized, without one drop of blood, or so much as a musket discharged.

Meanwhile, I know not for what reason, they had neglected to secure the two Hothmans[87], who found means to get out of the town: but at their coming to Beverley, they were both seized and brought to London, where, after a long imprisonment, they were condemned and executed [88].

There were two things which did the King great injury, with regard to the people, and from which he omitted no opportunity to justify himself, knowing how detrimental such prejudices might be to him. The first was, that he countenanced Popery; the second, that he had excited the rebellion, or at least connived at it. These two articles both Houses made no scruple to insinuate, and even to maintain openly in their Papers. Not that they had positive proof of what they advanced; but they drew from his actions, and divers past events, inferences, to some of which it must be owned, the King answered but weakly, or in generals, or, according to his custom, by ambiguous expressions, capable of a double meaning.

As to the first charge, he took occasion to make the following protestation, just as he was going to receive the Sacrament, from the hands of the Lord Archbishop Usher:—

## **Protestation of The King Concerning Religion at Oxford**

**My Lord,**

**I**espise many resolved Protestants, who may declare to the world, the resolution I do now make. I have, to the utmost of my power, prepared my soul to become a worthy receiver; and may I so receive comfort by the blessed Sacrament, as I do intend the establishment of the true reformed Protestant religion, as it stood in its beauty, in the happy days of Queen Elizabeth, without any connivance at Popery. I bless God, that in the midst of these public distractions, I have still liberty to communicate; and may this Sacrament be my damnation, if my heart do not join with my lips in this Protestation.

## **Remark on This Protestation**

Charles I. was undoubtedly very zealous for the Protestant religion, as professed in the Church of England. But it is no less certain, he never scrupled to favour the Papists, whether out of complaisance to the Queen, or from a belief, that the strict observance of the penal Laws made against them, was not necessary to the welfare of the Protestant religion.

It is therefore very difficult to explain what he meant by these words, without any connivance at Popery. It cannot be thought, that his intention was to swear, he would never grant the Papists any toleration, since at this very time he was negotiating the Irish cessation, whereby toleration was granted to the Catholics of Ireland; and it will hereafter appear, that in treating of a peace with the rebels, he scrupled not to grant them that article.

Much less still may we venture to affirm, that by the word connivance, he understood all manner of condescension for the Papists. This sense would be repugnant to his principles and usual practice. It seems therefore most reasonable to think, that he made a distinction between Popery and Papists, and that when he promised to establish religion in its beauty, his meaning was, that he would suffer no popish tenets to be mixed with the doctrines of the Church of England. But if this was his meaning, it was not to the purpose, since this was not properly the thing he was charged with.

As he was very artful in chusing expressions, to which it was difficult to give a fixed and determinate sense, it is certain, his most solemn protestations produced not the intended effect.

## **The Declaration of Both Houses Against The King**

As to the second charge relating to the Irish rebellion, I do not think I can give a clearer knowledge of the matter, than by inserting the substance of a Declaration published on this occasion by both Houses, the 25th of July 1643. They shewed:—

**That** in the second year of his Majesty's reign, a design was formed in Ireland, to bring in a public toleration of the popish religion in that Kingdom, and to suspend all proceedings against Papists, for a sum of money to be paid to his Majesty. That the then Bishops of Ireland made a Protestation against it, setting forth, how grievous a sin it was to consent to such a toleration, and of what dangerous consequence it might be. And the House of Commons in a remonstrance made in the third year of his Majesty's reign, informed, that even then the popish religion was professed in every part of that Kingdom, and that Monasteries and Nunneries were then newly erected, and replenished with men and women of several orders, beseeching his Majesty, that some speedy course might be taken for redress therein; yet in the beginning of the fourth year of his Majesty's reign, all this was granted and confirmed by his Majesty, in consideration of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, to be levied in three years upon the Kingdom in general, as well upon the Protestants, as upon the Papists:—

**That** many potent and notorious Papists had been created Peers by his Majesty.

**That** when, by direction of the Lord Chancellor Loftus, and the Earl of Cork, then Lords-Justices, proceedings were begun against the Papists upon the Statute of 2 Elizabeth, for not coming to Church, and the Judges in their circuits gave that Statute in charge, and indictments were framed thereupon, directions were sent from England, to suspend and stay all proceedings upon that Statute, when by taking the penalty imposed by that Statute, being nine-pence, for absenting from Church, Sundays and holidays, the poor Protestants there might have been eased of many heavy payments and taxes, which were after imposed upon them.

**That** the late Earl of Strafford being the King's Lieutenant there, did by his great favourite Sir George Ratcliff, one of his Majesty's Privy-Council of that Kingdom, hold correspondence with the popish Clergy, and particularly with Paul Harris, a known Priest, who had both public and private access to Sir George Ratcliff at all times, as well by night as by day.

**That** in March 1639, the Earl of Strafford carried with him into Ireland, Sir Toby Matthews, a notorious, pernicious, English jesuited Priest, (banished at the beginning of this Parliament, upon the importunity of both Houses) lodged this Priest over against the Castle of Dublin, the house where the Earl did himself reside, and from whence this Priest daily rode to the public Mass houses in Dublin, and negotiated the engaging of the Papists of Ireland, in the war against Scotland.

**When** the late Lord Chancellor Loftus, and the Earl of Cork, were Lords Justices, they endeavoured to suppress the Mass houses in Dublin, and to convert them to pious uses; one, which was in the street called the Back Lane, they disposed of to the University of Dublin, who placed a Rector and scholars in it, and maintained a weekly Lecture there: But after the Earl of Strafford came to the government, the lecture was put down, the scholars displaced, and the house became a Mass-house, as formerly it had been.

**That** divers monasteries and nunneries were newly erected, immediately before the rebellion broke forth in divers parts of that Kingdom:

**That** at Naas, where the Earl of Strafford had his chief seat and resort, convents of friars, namely, Augustines, Franciscans, Dominicans, were not only permitted, but also an house built there by the said Earl, for another purpose, (as he pretended) soon after the building was converted to a Friary, by the connivance of the said Earl.

**That** the popish Irish army was kept on foot there or a long time after the beginning of this Parliament; to the great furtherance of this rebellion, by teaching those barbarous villains the knowledge of arms, under the notion of fighting against Scotland, but now made use of to extirpate both English and Scots from the Kingdom of Ireland.

**And** that lead might not be wanting to the completing of this intended rebellion, the silver-mines of that Kingdom, which afforded great store of lead, and therefore fit only to be in the hands of Protestants of known integrity, were farmed out by his Majesty to most pernicious Papists, namely, Sir George Hamilton, Sir Basil Brook, and the like; and upon the discovery of the plot for the surprising of the city and castle of Dublin, divers barrels of musket bullets were found (upon search) in the house of the said Sir George Hamilton in Dublin.

**That** the Earl of Strafford had, by a violent endeavour, entitled his Majesty by office to the whole Counties of Roscommon, Mayo, Slego, Galloway, and Clare, and to a great part of the Counties of Limerick and Tipperary; by which means a door was opened, not only to increase his Majesty's revenue, but therewith to settle a plantation of Protestants; and yet when the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland, did by their letters exceedingly importune his Majesty, that he would not part with those Counties; and that the plantation of English Protestants might proceed as was formerly intended by his Majesty, notwithstanding, did, in the Queen's presence, by a clandestine agreement, give away, at the Papists request, those five whole counties, for a rent of £2000. or thereabouts.

**That** Archdeacon Maxwell testifies in his examinations taken in Ireland, that he heard Tirligh Oge O'Neale, brother to Sir Phelim O'Neale, the Arch-rebel of Ulster, confess, that the rebellion was communicated by the Popish Irish Committee to the Papists in England, who promised their assistance. And MacMahoun, who was to join with the Lord Macguire for the surprising the Castle of Dublin, being taken and examined, at the rack confessed, that the original of that rebellion was brought to them out of England, by the Irish Committee employed to his Majesty for redress of grievances.

**That** the Earl of Castle Haven, a Peer of England, and a notorious rebel in Ireland, Mr. Porter who declared himself a Papist in Ireland, Sir Basel Brooke, the Popish treasurer for the monies raised by the Queen's solicitation for the war against the Scots; Mr Andrew Brown a Lawyer of Lincoln's Inn, heretofore expelled thence for being a known Papist, with divers other dangerous English Papists, went out of England into Ireland, the summer before the rebellion broke forth, and were very active there.

**That** the rebels in all parts of Ireland professed, that, the cause of their rising was to preserve his Majesty and the Queen, from being oppressed by the Puritan Parliament, and that it was by their consent, for they had good warrant in black and white for what they did. They called the English army, Parliament rogues, and traitors to the Queen; and told them at the beginning of the rebellion, that e're long they should see England as much in blood as Ireland then was.

**That** they had their party in England and Scotland, which should keep both Kingdoms so busy at home, that they should not send any aid against them, with a multitude of such like expressions from the Irish of the best quality; as may appear by the examinations of Colonel Audley Mervin, William Stuart, Esq., Henry Stuart, Gent, herewith printed, and by divers other proofs.



**In** the same month of October, wherein the rebellion of Ireland brake forth, the Lord Dillon of Costlough (now in arms against the Parliament and Kingdom of England) went out of Scotland from his Majesty into Ireland, bringing his Majesty's letters, obtained by mediation of the Queen, to be presently sworn a Privy-Counsellor of Ireland; who when he had taken the oath of a Privy-Counsellor, presents to the Lords Justices and Council, from many of the inhabitants of the county of Longford, a letter in the nature of a remonstrance, full of unreasonable demands: As namely, to have freedom of religion, a repeal of all laws made to the contrary, and the like.

**In** December after the rebellion, the same Lord Dillon, together with his brother-in-law, the now Lord Taaffe, a notorious Papist, repaired into England, bringing with them several papers and instructions from many Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, all now in rebellion, to negotiate for them to his Majesty, and as they solicited with his Majesty here on the behalf of the rebels, so do they solicited the rebels from hence in the name of his Majesty, to persist in their rebellion, as appears by the testimony of Mr. Jephson, a Member of the House of Commons lately delivered at a conference before both Houses in these words, viz.

**At my late being at Oxford**, finding my Lord Dillon and the Lord Taaffe in favour at Court, I acquainted the Lord Faulkland, his Majesty's Secretary, that there were two Lords about the King, who, to his Majesty's great dishonour, and the great discouragement of his good subjects, did make use of his Majesty's name to encourage the rebels:

**To make this appear**, I informed, that I had seen two letters sent by the Lord Dillon and the Lord Taaffe to the Lord of Muskcrie, the chief man in rebellion in Munster, and one of the Irish Committee sent into England, intimating, that though it did not stand with the convenience of his Majesty's affairs to give him public countenance, yet that his Majesty was well pleased with what he did, and would in time give him thanks for it; (or near to that purpose.)

**That these letters were seen by the Lord Inchiquine**, the chief commander of the English forces in Munster, and by his Secretary, who had kept copies of them, and that I was ready to justify as much. Whereupon the Lord Faulkland was pleased to say, that they deserved to be hanged. But though I stayed there at Oxford about a week after this discovery made, I never was called to any farther account, nor any prejudice done to these two Lords, but they had the same freedom in Court as before, for ought I could observe or hear to the contrary.

**That** since this discovery made to the Lord Faulkland, the same Lord Taaffe, one Roche, and William Brent

**Brent a Lawyer**, active Papists, with letters from his Majesty, went from Oxford to Dublin: And upon Thursday before Whitsuntide 1643, in the evening, taking with them one Colonel Barry, a professed Papist, and pretending for Connaught, slipped away to Kilkenny, where the Tuesday following was a general assembly of all the chief rebels.

**When** they had done their errand, Barry was lest Lieger at Kilkenny among the rebels; the Lord Taaffe returned to Dublin, and upon Friday the 9th of June 1643, the Lord Taaffe, with divers of the Privy-Council of Ireland, that favoured the rebels, met at the Marquis of Ormond's house, where the propositions which the

Lord Taaffe brought from the rebels were debated. The Lord Taaffe is since gone into Connaught, Brent is come back to Oxford to give an account of this employment.

**By** this every man may construe, what was meant by his Majesty's not consenting that the Parliament should send a Committee into Ireland the last year, to endeavour the carrying on the war against the rebels, upon pretence that the Earl of Leicester was presently to go over thither, who is yet remaining at Oxford.

**That** when that Committee had prevailed with the Lords Justices and Council, and with many of the prime commanders; and other officers of the army in Leinster, to subscribe by way of adventure for land in Ireland, to be settled by a new Bill, very considerable sums which were to be deducted out of their respective entertainments; then to render this endeavour fruitless, one Captain Tamer did confidently affirm, that those which had or should subscribe, were enemies to the King, a thing so incredible, that few could believe it, till the same man went to Oxford; and upon his return to Dublin, assured the Lord Marquis of Ormond the officers, that he had discoursed with his Majesty about this way of subscription, and that his Majesty did not approve of the same: Whereupon those who had subscribed did withdraw their hands, and the rest were wholly discouraged.

**That**, about this time, a Commission was sent over to meet with the rebels, and to hear what they could say, or propound for themselves; which Commission was directed to the Lord Marquis of Ormond, and to some other commissioners; among whom Thomas Bourk, that had an hand in contriving this rebellion, was one, and who brought the said commission in Ireland, and confidently delivered the same at the Council Table, to the amazement of all the Council then present, that were not acquainted with the plot.

**That** the Lords and Commons, to whose direction the war was committed, thought it expedient to send into Ireland a Committee for that purpose, consisting of members of the House of Commons, but authorised from both Houses, who carried with them above twenty thousand pounds in ready money, besides great store of powder, match, and other ammunition:

**But** when those who favoured the rebels, saw, that during the abode of the Committee there, parties were continually sent forth to destroy the enemy; and that the Committee engaged their own particular credits, to take up monies for the relief and setting forth of the army; a letter was sent from his Majesty, and brought over by the Marquis of Ormond's own Secretary, wherein his Majesty did require the words Justices and Council, not to admit the Committee any more at their debates. And it is observable, that this letter was only signed with his Majesty's hand, without any Secretary's hand to avow the same.

**The Commons** cannot conceive what is meant, that the Justices and Council are straightly charged in that letter, upon their allegiance, not to suffer the Committee to sow sedition among his Majesty's good subjects; unless to stir up and incite the English soldiers in the pay of the Parliament, to proceed vigorously against the Irish rebels, he construed as the sowing of sedition among his Majesty's good subjects.

**That**, according to the testimony of Sir William Brereton, Knight of the Shire for the county of Chester, there landed, in June 1643, many Irish rebels in Werral in Cheshire, some whereof acknowledged, that they had washed their hands in the blood of several English and Scotch in Ireland, and now hoped to wash their hands in the blood of Englishmen in England:

**The** country where these rebels first arrived, did all rise with their best weapons, and apprehended several of them; but they were rescued out of their hands by a troop of horse, which came from the commissioners of Array, who also seized about twenty eight of the honest countrymen prisoners.

**And** that the Councils now predominant at Oxford, and the supreme Council of rebels at Kilkenny, are concurring and aiding one another, as well by sea as by land, is apparent by that which follows:

**The** Commissioners authorized to command the King's forces in the West; by an authority derived unto them under the Great Seal of England, do grant commissions or letters of mart, for the apprehending and taking, for his Majesty's service, all ships and vessels belonging to the cities and towns that have declared for the Parliament; and on the other side, the rebels of Ireland grant the like commissions.

**And** as the ships in his Majesty's service do gratify the rebels of Ireland, in seizing the ships that bring provision for the relief of the English army in Ireland; so the rebels of Ireland do in like manner gratify his Majesty, by commanding the ships set forth by them to examine all English ships at sea, whether they be for the King or Parliament; and if they be for the King, to let them go; but if for the Parliament, to take and pillage them. All which is proved by depositions herewith annexed.

**The Earl of Antrim**, a notorious rebel, was taken by the Scots army in Ulster and imprisoned there, upon suspicion of High Treason: To avoid his trial, he broke prison, and fled into the north parts of England, and hath been with the Queen at York a long time; from whence he was sent to the rebels of Ulster, with secret instructions, and had ammunition assigned him by the Queen's directions: And what care was taken of his ammunition appears by a letter here annexed, dated at York the 8th of May 1643, written by Serjeant Major Rosse at the desire of Mr. Jermin.

**Since** this care taken of the ammunition of the Earl Antrim, the Earl of Antrim is taken the second time by General Major Monroe, as he was returning from the Queen, to the rebels of Ulster with divers letters, instructions, and papers:

**And** by the confession and deposition of the Earl of Antrim's own servant, who was taken with his master, and fines condemned and executed, it is evident, that there was, and doubtless yet is, a design on foot to reconcile the English and Irish in Ireland, and that by their joint power having expelled the Scots, the Irish forces there might be sent against the Parliament of England. The Earl of Antrim, the Lord of Aboyn, and the Earl of Niddisdale, were three principal agents employed in this plot. This clearly appears, in that the Lord of Aboyn, in a letter taken in the Earl of Antrim's pockets, writes in these words:—

**My Lord,**

**B**EING certainly informed by Niddisdale's servant, That there is a new order since we parted, for stopping of the ammunition, I have taken occasion to entreat your Lordship by this bearer, that I may know the particulars of it. I must confess it surpriseth me, that any distance should alter so seasonable a conclusion: And certainly, I shall never deserve to be made the instrument of frustrating the hopes of those parts, which should have been enabled by this supply: I am persuaded, there is scarce another mean to make our fidelity useless for her Majesty's service.

**And** that it might appear to the rebels of Ireland, that the Earl of Antrim was accounted his Majesty's good subject, and had his Majesty's approbation for what he was to act there, he was furnished with a pass from the Earl of Newcastle.

The Pass is here inserted at length in the declaration. The rest of the article tends to shew by the Earl of Antrim's confession and that of Steuart one of his servants, that the Earl was employed by the Queen to make peace with the rebels.

**The House of Commons**, among a numerous company of proofs of this kind, concluded with the testimony of John Dod, late Minister at Annegillisse in the County of Cavan, who was examined at the bar of the House of Commons, and testified:—

**That** after he had suffered many miseries in this rebellion of Ireland, he repaired into this Kingdom, and some occasions carrying him to Oxford, he stayed there seven weeks, and came out of Oxford the 13<sup>th</sup> of June 1643.

**That** during his stay there, he saw a great number of Irish rebels, whom he very well knew to have had a hand in the most barbarous actions of that rebellion; as the dashing of small infants in pieces, the ripping up of women with child, and the like, among whom was one Thomas Brady, who, at Turbet in Ireland, within seven miles where the said Dod lived; as thirty six old men, women, and children, not able to see, were passing over a bridge, caused them all to be thrown into the water, where they were all drowned, that this Brady is now at Oxford in great favour, and Serjeant Major to Colonel Percy's regiment:

**That** he saw there three Franciscan Friars, namely: \_\_\_\_\_ and three Jesuits, namely \_\_\_\_\_ who were all very earnest for the cause and daily encouraging the soldiers to fight against the Round Heads, and for that purpose have listed themselves in the Lord Dillon's troop, and are called Cornets:

**That** there are daily and public meetings Mass, in almost every street there; and verily believes in his his conference, that for one Sermon preached, there are four Masses said now at Oxford:

**That** he saw Sir John Dungan there, a man accused of High Treason in Ireland, for being in the rebellion, and fled into England, who hath a commission for a troop of horse:

**The Lord Barnewall** of Trimblestown, and his son, who hath a commission for a troop of horse, and is now gone into Wales to raise them:

**A son** of the Lord Newterfield, who hath gotten a command likewise:

**That**, as near as he can possibly compute, there was then at Oxford above three thousand rebels; and that most of the King's Lifeguard are Irish.

The two Houses concluded in the following manner:—

**Upon the whole matter**, no man can think, that this Rebellion in Ireland, so barbarous and bloody, that one hundred and fifty four thousand Protestants, men,

women and children, English and Scotch, were massacred in that Kingdom, between the 23rd of October, when the rebellion broke forth, and the 1<sup>st</sup> of March following, by the computation of the Priests themselves that were present, and were directed by some chief rebels of Ireland to take this computation, lest they should be reported to be more bloody than in truth there was cause:

**No man can believe**, that this horrid and unparalleled rebellion should be the undertaking of the rebels alone, being set on foot when a Parliament was sitting in England, that could not dissolve without its own consent, when all nations professing the Romish religion, were at peace with England, and so engaged at home, that the rebels, in reason, could not expect any considerable assistance from them, nor could think themselves able to encounter England or Scotland either, much less both together:

**So that** to imagine the Nobility, Gentry, and in a manner the whole Kingdom of Ireland, should thus desperately engage their lives and estates in so rash an enterprise, without being encouraged, incited, nay, commanded from England, with assurance both of connivance and assistance too, were to deny them to be reasonable creatures.

**And therefore the House of Commons**, abundantly satisfied in their own conferences and judgments of the truth thereof, cannot but declare to the world, that by all these concurring circumstances, and convincing proofs, they are persuaded, that this unheard of, and monstrous rebellion of Ireland, was projected, incited, and assisted by those Councils now only prevalent with his Majesty:

**That the Queen**, with her Romish Priests, the Papists of all his Majesty's three Kingdoms, have been principal actors and sticklers herein:

**That**, now those bloody rebels have in a manner rooted out the Protestant religion in Ireland, there is a design to pardon them, and bring them into England to do the like:

**That** no earthly power is likely, in human reason, to withstand this damnable plot, but the power of the Parliament in England, which is now declared by a late Proclamation, to be no free Parliament, to be null, and of none effect; and all possible endeavour used, by strength and stratagem, to destroy the same. So that the House of Commons do conceive it impossible, that so many of those which would be thought the honest and moderate English Protestants, should any longer be blinded and led on, to join with German, French, Walloon, English, Scotch, and Irish Papists; and thereby to surrender up at once the Protestant religion, the Parliament, liberties, and Laws of England, into the hands of Papists and strangers; that so this renowned Kingdom may be no more a Nation.

As the charge against the King of exciting the Irish rebellion, or at least of conniving at it, made a great noise in those days, and as all the histories are full of it, I thought it necessary to shew the grounds or pretences of it, by giving the substance of this Declaration. For it is not likely, the Parliament should have omitted any thing capable of proving their assertion, though it be true, that the King afterwards took certain steps which could have very much swelled this Manifesto.

### **The Parliament's Policy in Accusing The King**

I should be glad, according to my usual method, to give here the King's particular answer to these articles. But I have not been able to find any, or so much as to know, whether he ever

returned an answer. Indeed he used his utmost endeavours to clear himself from this accusation; but it was only by generals and protestations, without replying to any particular article, no not even in his *Eikon Basiliké*, where he undertakes to vindicate his whole conduct.

I cannot therefore but observe, concerning this declaration, that there are some articles which seem very much aggravated: and others, from whence may be drawn consequences not so odious as those here insinuated. But then it cannot be denied, that there are some, to which it were to be wished, for the King's honour, he had returned distinct and particular answers.

It appears by this Manifesto, that the Parliament had little regard for the King. But besides the animosity and revenge which might enter into the design of blackening his reputation, it is certain, policy had no small share in it.

The King, in all his public Papers, represented himself as being perfectly innocent of all that was laid to his charge, and as having undertaken the war only for the defence of the Laws and liberties of the nation. He described the two Houses as a company of robbers, who for their own private ends, had put the Kingdom in a flame, refused the obedience due to him, and, without any cause, trampled upon all the known laws of the land.

The gratifying the passion of revenge was not the King's sole motive; there was another much more dangerous to the Parliament ; and that was, to draw the people of London to his side, by means of these Papers (which his friends took care to disperse in the city) and thereby to force both Houses to conclude such a peace as he desired, that is, a peace which should restore him to all his rights.

If therefore the two Houses, out of respect to the King, had neglected to defend themselves, their silence might have been very prejudicial to them, since people are apt to believe, if an accusation be not answered, it is because there is no good answer to be given. It was therefore the Parliament's business to try, as far as possible, to enlighten the people, whom the King, as they pretended, had a mind to impose upon by general Protestations, which they laboured to shew his actions did not answer.

This was the great end of this Declaration, wherein they endeavoured to demonstrate the King's insincerity, in that, whilst he called heaven and earth to witness, that he had no other intention than to maintain the Protestant religion, without conniving at Popery, he was labouring to make a peace with the Irish rebels; a peace, which in the conjuncture of affairs could not be concluded, but by granting things inconsistent with the safety of the Protestant religion.

## **The Parliament Orders The Burning of “*The Book of Sports*”**

On the other hand, as the King by his papers and emissaries in London, was continually endeavouring to convince the public of the greatness and sincerity of his zeal for religion, for the Laws and the liberties of the people, without ever mentioning what passed the fifteen first years of his reign, the two Houses were concerned to renew the remembrance of those times, lest the occasion of their fears and jealousies should in the end be forgot.

And therefore they did two things very proper to produce this effect. The first was, to order King James's book for tolerating sports on Sundays, which Charles I. had caused to be published again in the Churches, to be burnt by the common hangman. This book being almost forgot, could not produce any great effects at the time I am speaking of. But in all appearance, both Houses meant thereby to insinuate to the people, what was to be expected from the King's great zeal for Religion, in case he came to be restored to his former power.

## **Judge Berkley Sentence**

The second was, to proceed to judgment against Judge Berkley, whom the Lords condemned in the exorbitant fine of twenty thousand pounds, and to stand committed to the Tower till he should be tried upon the other articles alleged against him. For this sentence concerned only that part of his charge relating to his extra judicial opinions in the case of ship money.

Berkley was one of the King's most zealous instruments to establish an arbitrary power. Nevertheless, he had now lain three years in prison, without being thought of. But this year the Parliament believed it proper to bring him to judgment, as well to revive the memory of a time, the King was endeavouring to bury in oblivion, as to reap the benefit of his fine[89].

### **The King's, Queen's and Princes's Revenues Seized.**

This last motive makes the Lord Clarendon say, that the Parliament, in appropriating the fine to themselves, which by the Laws was due to the King alone, were (thought by many to be) guilty of a greater crime than that for which Berkley was sentenced. This supposes, that even when the King and Parliament were making war upon one another, the Parliament should do the King justice, and send him the money arising from fines and confiscations. But the two Houses were so far from allowing this maxim, that, on the contrary, the same month they passed an ordinance for seizing the King's, Queen's, and Prince's revenues, for the public use[90], that is, to be employed in the war against the King.

Four days after, the King on his part published a proclamation, forbidding all tenants or debtors to pay any rents or debts to such persons as were in open rebellion against him. But these orders, as well from the King as the Parliament, were executed only in places where they were supported with power.

### **The Return of Some of The Lords Who Had Retired to The King**

Most of the Lords, who had withdrawn from the Parliament, and retired to the King, meeting with a very cold reception at Oxford[91], thought fit once more to change sides, and return to London. The Earl of Holland led the way. He was at first put under confinement, but some days after, had leave to live upon his own estate, without any employ.

Probably, he had expected a better reception, since after his return he published a Declaration very injurious to the King, wherein he said, that retiring to Oxford, in hopes by his credit to procure a peace, he had been labouring it to the utmost of his power, but (added he) without success, the King and his Council being entirely averse to all accommodation, because every thing at Court was managed by the Papists[92].

The Earl of Northumberland, who was retired to Petworth, being informed how ill the Earl of Holland was received at Oxford, thought it proper to return to the Parliament, where he was received with respect, both Houses being willing to suppose, he had never intended to leave them, though many suspected he had withdrawn to his own estate, on purpose to see what reception the other Lords would meet with at Oxford.

The Earls of Bedford and Clare took also the same course, and came off with being debarred for a time from sitting in Parliament[93].

### **The Parliament Orders a New Great Seal**

One of the principal transactions of this year 1643, was the resolution of both Houses to make a new Great-Seal.

It had been proposed by the Commons in July, but, whether through scruple, as some pretended, or because the King's secret party were yet very numerous in the House of Peers, the Lords

refuted their content, or rather delayed their answer. But in the November following, their scruples vanished. The Commons represented to them in a conference, the mischiefs occasioned by the conveying away, and through the want, of the Great-Seal[94].

**I.** It was secretly and unlawfully carried away by the Lord-Keeper Littleton, who ought not to have departed without leave of both Houses. Nor would have been suffered to do so, if his intentions had been discovered.

**II.** It hath been since taken away from him, and put into the hands of ill-affected persons, so as the Lord-Keeper being sent to by the Parliament for the sealing some writs, answered, He could not seal the same, because he had not the seal in his keeping.

**III.** That those who have had the managing thereof, have employed it to the hurt and destruction of the Kingdom; as by making new Sheriffs, to be as so many commanders of forces against the Parliament; by issuing out illegal commissions of Array; by sending forth proclamations against both Houses of Parliament, proclaiming them traitors.

And through the want of the Great-Seal;—

1. The Terms have been adjourned, the course of justice obstructed.
2. No original writs can be sued for without going to Oxford, which none that holds with the Parliament can do, without peril of life or liberty.
3. Proclamations in Parliament cannot issue out for bringing in delinquents impeached of High Treason, or other crimes, under pain of forfeiting their estates.
4. No writs of error can be brought in Parliament to reverse erroneous judgments, nor writs of election issued out for chusing new members upon death or removal of any, whereby the number of members is continually lessening.
5. Every other Court of Justice has a peculiar seal, and the Parliament, the supreme court, has no other seal but the Great-Seal, and so now no seal at all.
6. The Great-Seal is the *Clavis Regni*, and therefore ought to be resident with the Parliament (the representative of the whole Kingdom), whilst it continues sitting; the King, as well as the Kingdom being always legally present in it during its session.

The next day the Lords declared their consent to the making a new Great-Seal. Accordingly a Great-Seal was made exactly like that in the King's hands[95], and, by an ordinance of both Houses, it was declared, that all Letters Patents, and Grants which had passed under the Great-Seal since the 22nd of May 1642[96], were void and of no effect. That the new Great-Seal should be of like power and validity as any Great-Seal of England had ever been, and be put into the custody of the persons hereby ordained commissioners for that purpose, who should have the same power and authority as any Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper had used to have.

On the last of November, the new Great-Seal was carried by the Speaker of the Commons, attended with the whole House, to the Lords, and delivered to the Lord Grey of Werk their Speaker, who in the presence of both Houses gave it to the Commissioners[97]. The first thing sealed with it, was a Patent to the Earl of Warwick, of Lord High-Admiral of England, the Earl of Northumberland not being in that favour with both Houses as formerly.

## Remark on The Great Seal



The King and his friends made a great noise upon this encroachment of the Parliament, and urged the statute of the 25th of Edward III, by which the counterfeiting the Great-Seal, is in express terms declared to be high treason. But it is easy to perceive, this statute concerns only private persons, and not both Houses of Parliament, and that it was not possible, when the statute was made, to foresee the King and the Parliament would be one day divided.

Besides, it cannot be said, that private persons have any right to dispose of the Great-Seal. But it is not the same with both Houses of Parliament, who are the representatives of the nation. For the Great-Seal is not the King's Seal in particular, but the Kingdom's, and the Kingdom is a body composed of the King, who is the head, and the people who are the members.

If the King has the disposal of the Great-Seal, it is only as he is the most noble of the members of this body, considered as being united with, and not as being separated from, the other members[98].

If therefore such a separation happens, as was at the time I am speaking of, it is hard to conceive, by what title the King or people, separately, may claim the disposal of the Great-Seal, which is the seal of their joint, not separate, authority. In short, I doubt, that they who most strenuously affirm, that in such a separation, the King ought to have the sole disposal of the Great-Seal, are willing to admit all the consequences flowing from that principle.

The Great-Seal stamps an inviolable authority upon all the acts to which it is applied. If therefore, in case of an open war between King and Parliament, the King could, by means of the Great-Seal, communicate such an authority to all his particular acts, where would be the bounds of his power, which by the constitution of the Government, is limited by the Laws.

He would need only to declare by Proclamation under the Great-Seal, as Charles had already done, that, according to the Laws, the members of Parliament are traitors and rebels, and then the point would be decided by the sole possession of the Great-Seal, and the King might assume an unlimited power by this authority. But how would the case be, if the Parliament was in possession of the Great-Seal, and by the like Proclamation should declare the King traitor and rebel; would the application of the Seal give such an act an inviolable authority?

It will doubtless be said, that the Great-Seal gives an inviolable authority to such acts only as are agreeable to the Laws, and that the Laws expressly declare those who take arms against the King, guilty of High-Treason. But it is manifest, the Laws, as they neither could, nor ought to foresee an actual separation between the King and the people represented in Parliament, have considered the King only as the head, inseparably united with the body, and not as the head divided from the other members.

Else it might be said, the Laws have ascribed to the King an unlimited power, which is directly contrary to the constitution of the English Government. Certainly the Laws have considered the King but as head of the State, and the crime of taking arms against him relates, not more to his person in particular, than to the rest of the State. The Parliament therefore seems to have had no less right to make a new Great-Seal, than the King would have had, if the Common-Seal had been in the hands of the Parliament, since the Seal was not the property of either, but belonged to both, considered as being inseparably united together.

## **Count Harcourt's Embassy**

About this time, Count Harcourt, a Prince of the House of Lorraine, was sent from France into England. He came directly to London, where he was received with great ceremony, as ambassador extraordinary, though he had not presented his credentials to the Parliament. But it was supposed, he was not without them, and intended to address himself first to the King.

After some days stay in London, without any application to both Houses, he went to Oxford, where he had several conferences with the King. After that, he writ to the Earl of Northumberland, that having proposed to his Majesty, from the King of France, and the Queen-Regent, the making of a peace with his subjects, he found him wholly inclined to enter into negotiation, and that if both Houses would inform him wherein consisted the differences between the King and them, he would gladly use his interest to adjust them. Both Houses thought it very strange, that this Prince should offer his mediation, without producing his credentials. They told him therefore by the Earl of Northumberland, that they received with all due respect, the offers of the King and Queen-Regent of France, and that as soon as he should show, he was authorized for such a mediation, they would not fail to appoint a committee to treat with him.

But he had no credentials for the two Houses, the Queen-Regent not judging proper to own them for a Parliament, since the King of England refused them that title. So, this pretended mediation was not only fruitless, but was also a clear indication, that the French Court had sent this embassy only as an outward testimony of their concerning themselves in the King's affairs, though, in all appearance, they did not much desire to see an end put to the troubles of the Kingdom[99].

### **Sir Edward Deering Returns to Parliament**

Sir Edward Deering, who had made himself so famous at the beginning of this Parliament, by his zeal for his country, and by several noble speeches upon grievances, was grown extremely averse to the proceedings of both Houses, since he found, the aim of some of the leading men was to establish Presbyterianism in the Church of England.

For that cause, after the war was begun, he forsook the Parliament, and turned to the King. But, in all appearance, he was no better pleased with the Court than he had been with the Parliament, since he followed at last the example of the Lords abovementioned. He came to London in February 1643-4, and presenting a petition to the House of Commons, whereof he was member, he obtained leave to spend the residue of his days at his House, near Canterbury, where he died within a few months[100].

### **Mr Pym's Death**

Mr. Pym one of the pillars of the Parliament, and a chief director of the affairs of the House, died December the 8th, 1643. The King's adherents speak of him as of a very wicked man, and those on the side of the Parliament represent him as the greatest patriot then in England. Opinions so opposite about the same person are not uncommon. It is not strange, that from opposite principles should be drawn contrary consequences. Thus much is certain, Mr. Pym's death was a very great loss to the Parliament, he being one of the most able members of the House[101].

### **The Commons Hangs One of The King's Messengers as a Spy**

The Commons, as was said, imprisoned in May this year, 1643, a person sent by the King with the offer of peace, and shortly after, he was discovered to be one of those employed by the King, to keep a correspondence in London. The King could not be ignorant, the Commons had twice declared, they would treat as spies such as should come from the King's quarters to London, without a safe conduct.

Besides that he had good correspondent's in London and the Parliament, he had no occasion to be informed of these particular resolutions, to know, it is not allowable for men, without a safe-conduct, to come into the enemies quarters, since it is a maxim received, wherever a war is declared.

But there was something in the present case still more particular. For, upon the House arresting this messenger, his Majesty, by advice of his Council, had deemed it inconsistent with his honour to hold any farther correspondence with the Parliament. Moreover, the 18th of October, both Houses had published an ordinance, declaring, any person coming to London from the King's quarters, should be looked upon as a spy. And yet twelve days after, on the 30th of October, the King sent privately to London, Daniel Kniveton, a State messenger, with three proclamations, one against taking of the solemn League and Covenant; another, against the observation of the monthly fast, enjoined by the Parliament; a third for removing the seals of the green wax offices belonging to the exchequer, King's Bench, and Common-Pleas, to Oxford.

This man was taken up, and committed to prison. Nevertheless, the 19th of November following, Carpenter, another messenger, was privately sent by the King with an order to the judges to adjourn the term to Oxford[102]. Carpenter was also apprehended, and they were both tried and condemned to die.

Kniveton was the less excusable, as he had before been taken and detained at Windsor for the same reason, and discharged by the General. All the defence he made was, that being the King's sworn messenger, he was obliged to obey him; that besides, not taking London for a garrison, he thought he might have come without drum, trumpet or pass. But this defence not being capable of saving his life, he was executed. Carpenter, though under the same condemnation, was reprieved and committed to Bridewell[103].

The Lord Clarendon speaks of the sentence passed upon these men as of a great injustice, for two reasons; that they were obliged to obey the King, being his messengers; and that the Parliament had not caused their ordinance to be notified to the King.

I doubt, all will not be induced by these reasons to condemn the proceedings of both Houses. The King at least seems not to have blamed them, since he did not use reprisals, neither does it appear that he ever complained of it in form.

In proportion as the war was continued, the animosity between the King and the Parliament was inflamed, who no longer regarded each other. The King refused to own the two Houses for Parliament, and they omitted nothing, as appears in their Declaration concerning the Irish rebellion, to blacken the King's reputation.

### **The Assembly of Divines Writes to The Churches Abroad by Order of Parliament**

These proceedings were not confined to England, where they might be in some measure necessary, because the point was to gain the people, but care was taken also to convey papers abroad, tending to vindicate one of the parties, and blacken the other. Both Houses being informed, or it may be supposing, that the King had emissaries abroad, who were using their utmost endeavours to represent the civil wars in England as a horrible rebellion against the Sovereign, ordered the assembly of Divines then sitting at Westminster[104], to write letters to the Churches of Zealand, Holland, France, Switzerland, to warn them against the artifices of the King's agents, by giving them a clear relation of the affairs of England.

They charged them to insist chiefly upon the King's employing Irish rebels and other Papists, to be governors, commanders and soldiers; to lay before them the proofs of the intention of the King's counsellors to introduce Popery, and hinder the reformation designed by the Parliament:

Lastly, to inform them of the disadvantageous opinion of the King's party concerning the Protestant Churches abroad, because not governed by Bishops. The assembly failed not to send to these Churches a circular letter, which was properly a manifesto for the Parliament against

the King, with copies of the solemn League and Covenant, and of the Declaration of England and Scotland on that subject.

## **The King's Manifesto Touching Religion**

Some time after, the King on his part published a manifesto, addressed to all the Protestant Churches, to efface the impressions which the Parliament's circular letter might have caused. This Manifesto, which was very short, contained only a Protestation that he had never intended to consent to the public exercise of the Catholic religion in his Dominions, but was firmly resolved to adhere, to his last breath, to the Church of England, wherein he was born, baptized and educated; and to the Liturgy of that Church, approved by so many Convocations and Parliaments, by all the Protestant Churches, and the Synod of Dort.

## **The King Troubled How to Find Money**

Mean while, the King was very much perplexed how to maintain the war the ensuing campaign, knowing the Parliament were preparing to exert themselves powerfully. He had been openly charged, before this Parliament, with arbitrarily exacting money of his subjects, without consent of Parliament.

He had himself owned, he had exceeded his power, since he had not only redressed that grievance, but also protested several times, he had redressed it freely and willingly. Since the war was begun, he had never ceased to accuse both Houses of the same arbitrary actions, which he himself had been so often upbraided with, in that they imposed taxes upon the subjects without their consent, which was directly contrary to the known Laws whereon he perpetually insisted.

By demonstrating that both Houses violated the Laws, he pretended to gain the people to his side. Meanwhile, money was necessarily to be raised, not only to maintain the forces already on foot, but also to levy others, in order to resist the Scots, who were upon the point of entering England. If, for the maintenance of these forces, he had imposed taxes by his sole authority, he could not have reproached both Houses for the same thing, and perhaps would have disoblged his own party by acting against the Laws.

Money, however, was to be found at any rate, otherwise he would not be able to continue the war. Hitherto he had used several ways to raise money, without giving any advantage against him, whether by selling or mortgaging the Crown-lands, or by the voluntary contributions of his well wishers. But the means he had already used were too uncertain to be safely relied on.

He sought therefore and found an expedient to free himself from this straight. He assembled at Oxford all the members that, according to him, had been driven from the Parliament; pretending, these members were the true Parliament, and the more, as he had publicly declared, he no longer looked upon both Houses at Westminster as such. He did not expect this new Parliament would increase the number of his friends; but he could reasonably hope it would grant him an aid of money, and that being authorised by such an act, he might openly and by way of authority levy what money was necessary. This happened accordingly, and was properly the King's aim in calling this Parliament, which met at Oxford the 22nd of January 1643-4[105].

## **Parliament at Oxford**

As it was not proper the King should immediately discover his sole end in calling this extraordinary Parliament, he only told them in his first Speech, that he had assembled them to receive their advice, and consult with them how to appease the troubles of the Kingdom.

## **This Parliament Proposes Peace**

The first step taken by this Parliament, was to try to convince the public of their intention to labour for peace.

I have already explained the constant ambiguity of the word peace, and the different senses given it by the two parties, and therefore think it needless to repeat it. There is no question, the King heartily wished for a peace, but it was on condition it should be made after his manner, and in his sense of the word, else he was very averse to it. To be convinced of what I advance, a man needs only consider what the Lord Clarendon says, speaking of the motion made in the Council to summon the Oxford Parliament, which the King scrupled a little. The King was at first in some apprehension, says that illustrious historian:—

That such a conflux of persons together of the Parliament, who would look to enjoy the privileges of it in their debates, might, instead of doing him service, do many things contrary to it, and exceedingly apprehended, that they would immediately enter upon some treaty of peace, which would have no effect; yet whilst it was in suspense, would hinder his preparation for war, and though no body more desired peace, yet he had no mind that a multitude should be consulted upon the conditions of it: imagining, that things of the greatest importance, as the giving up persons, and other particulars of honour, would not seem to them of moment enough to continue a war in the Kingdom.

Hence appears what sort of peace was desired by the King. It was not such a peace as the Oxford Parliament might think reasonable, but a peace whereby he should not be obliged to make any concessions.

But his Council quickly freed him from these apprehensions, by the same method used on the like occasion in the beginning of the war. It was intimated to him, that there was no probability, the two Houses at Westminster would ever treat with the members that should meet at Oxford, because they would not look upon them under any notion, but as private persons, and deserters of the Parliament.

Whereupon the King's scruples vanished. As the Oxford Parliament was entirely directed by the King, and as his Majesty agreed to the proposing a peace to those at Westminster, it may easily be guessed, that in so doing, his intention was not to conclude it, unless both Houses at Westminster would have submitted to his terms. But the two Houses at Oxford had another view in this proceeding. Namely, to lay a snare for the Parliament at Westminster, and engaged them, if possible, to treat with them, which would have been owning them for a Parliament. However, they expected to reap some advantage from their refusal.

## **A Letter From The Parliament at Oxford to The Earl of Essex**

To this end, a letter was sent to the Earl of Essex, signed by the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, forty three Lords, and a hundred and eighteen members of the House of Commons. In this letter it was said, That his Majesty having summoned them to attend him at Oxford, they were assembled in obedience to his commands:—

**That** his Majesty was pleased to invite them in the Proclamation of summons, by graciously saying, His subjects should see how willing he was, as far as in him lay, to restore the peace of the Kingdom:

**That** this invitation had not only been made good to them, but seconded by u such unquestionable demonstrations of his Majesty's deep sense of the miseries and

calamities of his poor subjects in this unnatural war, and of his most entire and passionate affections to redeem them from that sad and deplorable condition, by all ways possible consistent with his honour, or the future safety of the Kingdom:

**That** as it were impiety to question the sincerity of them, so it were great want of duty and faithfulness in us, (his Majesty having vouchsafed to declare that he did call us, to be witnesses of his actions and privy to his intentions) should we not satisfy and witness to all the world the assurance we have of the piety and sincerity of both.

Adding:-

**That** being satisfied of this truth, they had yet hopes to be the happy instruments of their country's redemption from the miseries of war, and restitution to the blessings of peace and were desirous to believe, that his Lordship, howsoever engaged, would co-operate with them in the blessed work, by truly representing to, and industriously promoting with, those by whom he was trusted[106], their most earnest desire, That some persons be appointed on either part, to treat of such a peace as may yet redeem their country from the brink of destruction.

### **The Earl of Essex's Answer**

The Earl of Essex returned this short answer:—

**That** the letter he had received, not being addressed to the two Houses of Parliament, nor any acknowledgment of them being therein, he could not communicate it to them:

**That** the maintenance of the Parliament of England, and the privileges thereof, was That for which himself and his whole party were resolved to spend their blood, as being the foundation whereon all the laws and liberties of the nation were built[107].

Though the Earl of Essex said, he could not communicate the letter to the Parliament, it was known however that his answer had been concerted with a Committee of both Houses, called the Committee of State.

### **The King's Message to Both Houses at Westminster**

Wherefore, the King, knowing thereby the intention of both Houses, believed he should run no great hazard by sending them a message, in a letter to the Earl of Essex, directed to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster. This message contained the usual offers to treat of a peace, and appoint Commissioners, if they would do the like on their part.

### **Declaration of Both Houses to The King**

The King added, he took this step by the advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Oxford. Both Houses easily perceived, the King was laying a snare for them, by putting them under a necessity, either of accepting his offer, in which case they should indirectly own the Lords and Commons assembled at Oxford for a Parliament, or of rejecting it, and so furnishing him with a reason to upbraid them for refusing to labour for a peace. But they little regarded this artifice, and for answer declared, they would never own the Members who had deserted both Houses for a Parliament:—

**And hereupon**, added they, we think ourselves bound to let your Majesty know, that seeing the continuance of this Parliament is settled by a law, (which, as other laws of your Kingdoms, your Majesty hath sworn to maintain, as we are sworn to our allegiance to your Majesty, these obligations being reciprocal) we must in duty, and accordingly are resolved, with our lives and fortunes to defend and preserve the just rights and full power of this Parliament, and do beseech your Majesty to be assured, that your Majesty's royal and hearty concurrence with us herein, will be the most effectual and ready means of procuring a firm and lasting peace in all your Majesty's Dominions, and of begetting a perfect understanding between your Majesty and your people, without which your Majesty's most earnest professions, and our most real Intentions concerning the same must necessarily be frustrated.

I have before shown, with what thoughts the King proposed a peace to both Houses at Westminster, namely, that this general offer would not be accepted, as was easy to foresee.

### **The Oxford Parliament's Declaration on Peace**

Upon this refusal it was that both Houses at Oxford exulted, as if the bare proposal of a peace had been a clear and evident demonstration of their sincere desire to make a reasonable peace. They published upon this occasion a long Declaration, so like those published by the King on the same occasion, that it was not difficult to perceive it flowed from the same fountain.

They published also, some time after, another pretending to show, that the members assembled at Oxford had been forced from the Parliament by the threats and outrages of the leading men. In this declaration were repeated all the outrages and artifices used by the chief of the party, to intimidate such as would not conform to their sentiments, and this, it was pretended, was the sole reason of their being obliged to retire.

This was really the King's scheme, but it may be said to be ill grounded. For the members who had deserted the Parliament, had not, for the most part, absented themselves, till long after these pretended outrages, some by the King's own express order, others for fear of being punished for endeavouring to raise commotions against the Parliament. But care was taken not to mention this in the Declaration. After all, supposing some had withdrawn themselves purely out of fear, it is certain, their number came far short of those who retired with the sole view of serving the King. However, they were all confounded in the same class, as having been expressly driven from the Parliament.

### **The Westminster Parliament's on The Same Account**

Some time after, both Houses at Westminster published also a manifesto, wherein they pretended to show, that under the specious colour of proposing peace, a snare was laid to engage them tacitly to own that they were not the Parliament, but that the true Parliament was assembled at Oxford. They drew their proofs from several letters written from Oxford to the Earl of Essex, from the expressions in the King's late message, but especially from an intercepted letter from the Lord Digby, where he said:—

**A point** which his Majesty may not suffer them to gain, without subverting the grounds and maxims of all his late proceedings against them, and that which he now goes upon by the advice of all his Nobility here, as you will perceive by this enclosed Proclamation[108], upon the effects whereof all the eyes of the Kingdom are fixed.

**God send them** to be as good actuated, as they are in speculation, for I am confident, that in reason it carries probability of the surest and readiest way to a reestablishment

of his Majesty in his just Rights and powers, of any course that hath been yet attempted.

### **Votes at Oxford Against The Scots**

The day before the two Houses at Oxford writ to the Earl of Essex, to propose a peace, they voted, That the Scots having entered the Kingdom in an hostile manner, had thereby denounced war against England, and that all the English, who should assist them, should be deemed as traitors and enemies to the State.

March the 12th, the same Houses at Oxford voted, That the Lords and Commons now remaining at Westminster, are guilty of high treason, (for raising of forces under the command of the Earl of Essex) for consenting, and being assisting to the present coming in of the Scots into England, and for counterfeiting the Great-Seal. But as votes did no hurt to the Parliament at Westminster, so neither were they of much advantage to the King. He found a more real benefit from them, with regard to the affair for which the Oxford Parliament was summoned, I mean, the aid of money he expected for the support of the war.

### **Means to Procure The King Money**

This Parliament was however greatly embarrassed, how to give the King an effectual assistance, for that was the principal affair. If, as the only and true Parliament, they had laid a general tax, the King would have run the hazard of meeting great opposition in levying the money, all the inhabitants of the counties on his side, not being satisfied that such a Parliament had a lawful authority.

In that case, he would have been obliged to use force to compel those that should refuse to pay, which did not suit with his present circumstances. Another method was therefore taken, which, doubtless, was suggested by the Court. This was, to advise the King to borrow one hundred thousand pounds, of the richest men of his party.

### **The King Endeavours to Borrow Money From Particular Persons**

To that purpose, the Commons went into their respective counties, to take the number of those who were reckoned moneyed-men, and make a list, wherein were set down the quality and ability of each. The Commons being returned to Oxford with their lists, the taxes were proportioned; after which, the King writ circular letters to every particular person, to borrow of one, a hundred pounds, of another, two hundred, promising to repay the same as soon as he was able, and not forgetting to say in these letters, that this loan, was by advice of his Parliament[109].

Thus, though this Parliament did not think themselves sufficiently authorized to impose a general tax, the particular persons who were rated, were no less obliged to furnish what was laid on them, since these loans were made with the advice of both Houses. The King would have found less advantage in a general tax, for it was much easier to raise a hundred thousand pounds upon particular rich men, than upon the whole Nation.

Now the point was to procure the King, certainly and speedily, the money he wanted. Accordingly it was seen shortly after, that this was the sole motive of chusing that method; for the Oxford Parliament hearing, that both Houses at Westminster had laid a duty upon wine, beer, ale, and other commodities, which they called an excise, a word before unheard of in England[110], made no scruple to enjoin the like in the counties where the King's authority was acknowledged.



## **The Parliament at Oxford Prorogued**

From that time, nothing remarkable passed in this Parliament, which sitting till the 16th of April,, was prorogued to October, and never met again. It served only to procure the King money, for which it was solely designed, and to exhibit a spectacle never before seen in England, namely, two Parliaments at once, holding their sessions at the same time.

## **The Scotch Army Enter England**

Three days before the opening of this Parliament, the Scottish army entered England, notwithstanding the reason, which it seemed should have hindered their march[111].

The Marquis of Newcastle who commanded in the north for the King, hearing that the bad weather prevented not this army's advancing towards the borders, began to march also with his troops, and came to Newcastle the 2nd of February[112]. The Scotch army approaching the town, the General ordered it to be summoned; but the summons had no effect. He stayed in those parts all the rest of February, waiting for his artillery, which was coming by sea. The 28th of the said month, he passed the Tyne at some distance from Newcastle[113], having left on the north side of the town, six regiments of foot, and some horse, to keep the garrison in awe.

The Marquis being too weak to venture a battle, contented himself with harassing the Scots by frequent skirmishes, in order to retard their march; but at last he thought proper to retire to Durham, where the Scotch General followed him, though with great inconvenience, as he wanted forage for his horse.

## **The Lord Halifax Defeats Colonel Bellafis at Selby**

When the Marquis of Newcastle marched out of York to oppose the Scots, he left the command of the city with a good body of troops to Colonel John Bellafis[114]. As soon as the Lord Fairfax was informed, that the Marquis had taken the northern rout, he resolved to march towards York, and to that end, ordered his Son Sir Thomas Fairfax to meet him at a certain place, with the party he commanded, that they might act in conjunction.

But Bellafis having notice of this design, departed from York with most of the garrison to hinder their junction, and posted himself at Selby. A few days after, the Lord Fairfax, having taken a great circuit, to deceive the vigilance of the enemy, and joining his son, suddenly attacked Selby, with about four thousand men, where Bellafis lay with fifteen hundred horse, and eighteen hundred Foot; forced the town, took the Colonel prisoner, with sixteen hundred of his men, and killed a great number.

## **The Marquis of Newcastle Returns to York**

The Marquis of Newcastle heard this sad news at Durham, the Scots being then within two miles of the place. He immediately feared, that the Lord Fairfax, after his victory, would attack York, or at least, march directly towards Durham, to put himself between the two armies. For this reason, he suddenly resolved to retire to York, as well to secure himself, as that city, which otherwise would have been in great danger.

It soon appeared, that the Marquis had taken this resolution very seasonably, for, the 20th of April, that is, nine days after the Selby fight[115], the Lord Fairfax joined the Scots at Tadcaster, whence the two Generals resolved to go and besiege York. But as that city was too large to be invested on all sides by the two armies, particularly towards the river, over which the Marquis had made a bridge of boats[116], they desired the Earl of Manchester, General of the forces of the eastern associated Counties, to advance to this siege.

Till the arrival of the Earl of Manchester, the two Generals held the city blocked up to the southward of the river Ouse. I shall interrupt for a moment, the account of the siege of York, to speak of the ill success of the Parliament's arms at Newark.

### **Meldrum Defeated at Newark by Prince Rupert**

Whilst the Marquis of Newcastle was in the north, observing the Scotch army, the Lord Willoughby of Parham, and Sir John Meldrum, with above five thousand men of the Parliament's forces, besieged Newark, a considerable town in Nottinghamshire, where the King had placed a garrison.

As soon as the King knew it, he sent orders to Prince Rupert, to endeavour to relieve the place. The Prince being then at Chester, put himself immediately upon the march, and being joined by other troops, made a body of seven thousand men, with which he advanced towards Newark. Meldrum, who commanded alone at the siege, the Lord Willoughby being gone elsewhere, resolved to fight the Prince, and to that purpose drew up his forces at a little distance from the town.

The 21<sup>st</sup> of March there was a sharp conflict, particularly at a bridge, by which Meldrum had resolved to retreat in case of need. The bridge was vigorously attacked, and as bravely defended. Mean while, after the fight was over, Meldrum finding himself too weak to renew it the next day, resolved to retreat over the bridge in the night. But he found the guard he had left there had deserted, and the bridge in the possession of the enemies[117].

So, not being able to retreat, and perceiving himself surrounded with the King's forces, Meldrum sent a trumpet to the Prince for a parley. It was agreed, that the foot should march away with their swords, colours, and drums; all the officers with their arms, horses, and baggage and the troopers and dragoons, with their swords, horses, and colours. But he was forced to deliver all his ordnance and ammunition with about three thousand muskets.

The Prince, after this expedition, which gained him great honour, returned into Shropshire, and from thence into Lancashire, to relieve the Countess of Derby, who for the space of eighteen weeks was besieged in Latham House, and made a gallant defence against a body of two; thousand men[118]. In his way to Latham, the Prince took by storm Stopworth, a small town in Cheshire.

Whilst he was advancing towards Latham, the besiegers raised the siege, and part of them under the command of Colonel Rigby, went and reinforced the garrison of Bolton in Lancashire, which was in great danger. The Prince pursued them, and without giving them time to come to themselves, took the town by storm[119].

After that, he attacked Liverpool, a seaport town on, the edge of Cheshire, where those who pass into Ireland generally embark. The Governor, Colonel Mere, after some resistance, conveyed on board the ships in the pool most part of his soldiers[120], and the richest goods in the town, and then the Prince entered with little opposition.

### **Prince Rupert is Ordered by The King to Relieve York**

Here he received a letter from the King, ordering him to march with all speed to the relief of York, which was now besieged. The King said to him in this letter, that his affairs were in so very ill a state, that it would not be enough, though his Highness raised the siege of York, if he had not likewise beaten the Scotch army; which word's induced the Prince to fight a battle that proved very fatal to the King.

## **Exploits of The Earl of Manchester**

I left York blocked up by the English and Scotch armies, commanded by the Lord Fairfax and the Earl of Leven, till the Earl of Manchester should join them. The Earl of Manchester was General of the seven eastern associated counties, who had raised an army of fourteen thousand horse, foot, and dragoons. With this army, the Earl of Manchester had already done the Parliament great service. In the last campaign he had taken the town of Lynn, and in the beginning of this, had possessed himself of Lincoln. As several of the leading members of Parliament thought of putting him in the Earl of Essex's place, occasion was taken from the services he had performed, to make a constant provision for his army.

## **The Parliament has Five Armies**

To that end, by an ordinance of both Houses, May the 15th 1644, each of the seven associated counties were charged and rated at such a weekly sum for the maintenance of his army[121], after which, he received orders to join the two other armies, to besiege York together. The Parliament had also taken care for the subsistence of the Earl of Essex's[122] and Sir William Waller's armies; so that in May, they had five armies on foot, besides the troops dispersed in several counties, and in garrison.

## **The Earl of Manchester Joins Fairfax and The Scots**

Before the Marquis of Newcastle was blocked up in York, he had sent General Goring with four thousand horse, to ravage the parts in subjection to the Parliament. Wherefore, the Earl of Manchester detached likewise three thousand horse, which were joined by two thousand, sent from the Scots before York, to wait the motion of Goring.

## **The Siege of York**

The Earl of Manchester therefore joined the two armies only with his foot, and some few horse [123], and presently after the junction, the siege of York was begun. The Marquis of Newcastle had sent the King word, that he hoped to hold out six weeks or two months, and besought him to think in the mean time how to relieve him.

To retard, as much as possible, the progress of the siege, he made overtures for a treaty, but on such conditions as he knew would not be granted. Nevertheless he gained seven or eight days by this artifice, so that the cessation he had obtained, did not expire till the 15th of June. On the 24th, he Sallyed out, and furiously attacked the Earl of Manchester Leaguer; but after a sharp conflict, was repulsed with loss.

## **Prince Rupert Approaches York**

On Sunday the 30th of June, the besiegers had certain notice, that Prince Rupert was advancing at the head of an army, of near twenty thousand men, which had greatly increased in their march, as well by the troops drawn from several garrisons, as by Goring's horse, who had joined them, so that this army was not inferior to the three armies employed in the siege.

## **The Prince Comes to York**

The three Generals, after a short consultation, thought it advisable to raise the siege, and join their armies, whether, as some affirm, with design to give battle, or to avoid it, as others pretend. Be this as it will, they posted themselves on Marston Moor, about five miles from York. But though indeed Prince Rupert must have passed that way to come at them with his army, they left

however two sides of York open, that provisions and ammunition, and even troops by final, parties might be conveyed in. If the Prince's design had been only to relieve York, he had already effected it, and had only to remain in his post, and keep the enemies at a bay, till all necessaries had been sent into the city[124].

But that same day, coming to York with a guard of two hundred horse, he conferred with the Marquis of Newcastle, or rather signified to him, that he intended to fight, according to his Majesty's express orders. As the Prince was extremely haughty, he made not the least compliment to the Marquis, upon the authority he assumed, in resolving to give battle, contrary to the Marquis's opinion, who maintained, it was by no means requisite in the present juncture, and the rather, as he expected five thousand men, who were coming from the north to his assistance.

Moreover, the Prince made no scruple to command, without saying any thing to the Marquis, the forces in York to be ready to join him next morning in order to engage. And yet, these forces had been levied by the Marquis and ever commanded with great reputation. Besides, the Marquis's birth and merit seemed to require a greater regard from the Prince.

Perhaps it never came into the Marquis's thoughts to desire a fight of the King's express order, or else he believed it to be an affront to the Prince, to show the least doubt of such an order. However this be he told him, he was ready to obey his Highness in all things, who might dispose of his troops as he pleased, and for his own part, would be contented to charge in the battle as volunteer.

His dissatisfaction was farther increased, when having asked the Prince, what service he would be pleased to command him, the Prince answered him, he would begin no action upon the enemy till early the next morning, and desired him to repose himself till then. Thus, the Prince had the sole management of the intended battle, without consulting the Marquis any more. Though he had ordered his forces in York to come and join his army, it does not appear that he had assigned any command or post, to the Marquis of Newcastle, perhaps, because he said, he would be in the battle as a volunteer. It cannot be denied, this behaviour was very severe to a Lord, who had always shown for the King, a zeal and affection not to be surpassed, nor perhaps equalled.

## **The Parliament Generals Retire**

In the night, the three Parliament Generals having considered, that the place was relieved, and thinking, Prince Rupert had no farther design than to lay in provisions, resolved to march to Tadcaster, Cawood, and Selby, as well to preserve the East-Riding, as to hinder the furnishing of York with provisions from thence.

## **The Prince Forces Them to Engage**

Accordingly they began their march early in the morning, the Scots leading the van. But about nine o'clock they had intelligence, that the Prince was approaching with his army, and indeed he was advanced with five thousand horse, near their rear. Whereupon they were obliged to draw up speedily, and call back their van, which made all possible haste to re-join them.

Fortunately for them, the foot which the Prince had drawn out of York, could not come up with his army till noon, and this gave the Scots time to re-join the rest of their army, which they had left in the morning. The armies were both drawn up about two in the afternoon. But there was between them a deep and large ditch, which neither cared to pass, for fear of giving the enemy too great an advantage. For this reason, they stood looking upon one another above two hours, each expecting the other to begin the charge.

## **The Battle of Marston Moor**

Prince Rupert himself headed the Left-wing[125], consisting of five thousand horse. The right-wing was commanded by Sir Charles Lucas, with Colonel Hurry, and the main body by General Goring. It does not appear, that the Marquis of Newcastle had any command in this action.

The Parliament's right-wing opposite to Prince Rupert, was led by Sir Thomas Fairfax, the left by the Earl of Manchester, assisted by his Lieutenant General Oliver Cromwell. In the main battalion towards the right was the Lord Fairfax, and General Leven towards the left. At last, between six and seven in the evening, the Parliament Generals gave the signal, and marched to the enemies. I shall not undertake to describe this battle, because in all the accounts I have seen, I meet with so little order and clearness, that I cannot expect to give a satisfactory idea of it, to such of my readers as understand these matters.

## **The Prince's Army is Routed**

I shall content myself with relating one remarkable circumstance, besides the success in general. The left-wing of the King's army, commanded by Prince Rupert, was entirely routed by the Parliament's right-wing, whilst the King's right-wing had the same advantage over the left of the Parliament. The two victorious wings, after chasing their enemies, returned to the field of battle, and, I know not by what accident, were face to face so that each stood on the same ground that the enemy possessed at the beginning of the battle.

Here the fight was renewed, and maintained on both sides with great warmth and vigour, till at last night approaching, the King's horse were put to flight, and pursued as long as day would permit. It was probably at this time that the Prince's foot were also routed. I say, probably, because in the description of this battle, it does not appear what the foot did. But this is not the only time that we are left in the dark, when we read in histories the descriptions of battles.

They are generally made by persons who have not the least tincture of the art of war, and who by dwelling upon some frivolous circumstances, pass over those that might give the intelligent reader clear ideas. It suffices therefore to say, that the Prince's army was pursued within a mile of York, where they retired in the night.

The countrymen who were commanded to bury the dead, gave out that they interred four thousand one hundred and fifty bodies. It was reported that three thousand of the Prince's men were killed. But the conquerors affirmed, they lost not above three hundred[126].

Though Prince Rupert had always been victorious where he had commanded in chief, it is not very surprising that he should once be defeated; this is a misfortunate incident to the greatest Generals. But his resolution to retire next day with his army, must needs appear very strange. His 6 horse had not suffered much, because they had taken to flight betimes, at least those of the left-wing, commanded by himself, and his foot were also in good condition, the greatest storm having fallen on the Marquis of Newcastle.

He might therefore have defended York-, and waited the King's orders upon this fatal accident. So, this extraordinary resolution can scarce be imputed but to an excessive shame and indignation, which hindered him from considering how prejudicial it would be to the King his uncle's affairs, He sent the Marquis of Newcastle notice of his design, just as the Marquis was sending him word, that he was instantly going to quit the Kingdom.

They both put their resolutions in practice. The Marquis repaired that very day to Scarborough, and embarked for Hamburg[127], and the Prince left York, and marched towards Chester with the remains of his army. It is easy to guess why the Marquis of Newcastle quitted the King's service, after having been so unworthily treated by Prince Rupert.

## **The Taking of York**

He believed doubtless, he could not with honour resume his former command, having been deemed incapable to serve the King on so important an occasion. Nay, very probably, he imagined, the Prince would not have behaved to him in so haughty and rude a manner, if he had not thought he should be avowed. Nevertheless, the Prince could afterwards produce in his vindication only the King's letter above mentioned, which he understood in a sense the King himself had never thought of[128]. It may therefore be affirmed, that his committing so many errors one after another, was entirely owing to his excessive haughtiness.

## **The Three Armies Separate**

The Parliament Generals improved their victory, and the dissension of their enemies. They returned to their posts before York, which was left to the discretion of Sir J. Thomas Glemham the Governor, who seeing himself unable long to resist, surrendered this important place upon honourable terms. They were no sooner in possession of York, but the three armies separated.

The Lord Fairfax with his forces remained at York, as Governor. The Earl of Manchester marched towards Lincoln, not to be remote, without necessity, from the allocated counties, whose troops he commanded. The Earl of Leven with the Scotch army marched northward to join the Earl of Calendar, who was advancing with a strong reinforcement from Scotland.

## **The Scots Take Newcastle**

When these forces were joined, he laid siege to Newcastle, which surrendered at discretion about the end of October[129]. Thus the battle of Marston-moor left the King all the north, which hitherto had given the Parliament forces a powerful diversion. But this was not all the mischief the King had to fear. There was danger of the three victorious armies joining in the heart of the Kingdom, those of the Earl of Essex and Sir William Waller, and of their taking at once all the places which were still in his power.

This was the more to be feared, as when he heard of the defeat of his army at Marston Moor, he was himself marching to the relief of the west, where the Earl of Essex then was with an army, which the King's forces in those parts were not able to withstand. This is what I must now explain, and withal speak of what passed at Oxford, whilst the northern armies were in action.

## **Extraordinary Preparations of The Parliament for The Campaign of 1644**

**1644 AD]** The Parliament seem by their extraordinary preparations in the beginning of the year 1644, to have intended to put a speedy conclusion to the war. Besides, the armies of the Lord Fairfax and Scotland, and that of the Earl of Manchester, which was paid by the eastern counties, anew regulation was made the latter end of March, for the maintenance of seven thousand five hundred foot, and three thousand horse, to be commanded by the Earl of Essex.

At the same time, by another ordinance, the four southern associated counties, namely, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Hampshire were to maintain an army of three thousand six hundred foot, twelve hundred horse, and five hundred Dragoons, under the command of Sir William Waller. These were not new armies, they subsisted before the regulation; but the point was to recruit them, complete the number fixed by the Parliament, and settle the necessary weekly payment of their subsistence money[130].

## **Resolution to Send Waller into The West**

Though Sir William Waller was worsted at the battle of Roundway Down, the two Houses, far from losing their esteem for him, resolved to send him into the west, with an army capable of withstanding Prince Maurice, who found no farther opposition in those parts. The King having notice of this design, resolved to endeavour not only to hinder Waller's march into the west, but also to break the association of the four southern counties, where he had many friends, and even hoped to procure an association of these counties in his favour. To that purpose, he gave the Lord Hopton[131], an army consisting of troops drawn out of several garrisons, and of two regiments of foot lately arrived to Bristol from Ireland[132].

As soon as these forces were assembled, the Lord Hopton posted himself at Winchester, where Sir John Berkley brought him two regiments newly raised by him in Devonshire, and the King lent him a detachment of a thousand men commanded by Sir Jacob Ashley. All these forces together made an army of four thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse[133], with which he resolved to march into Sussex.

Waller, who was then quartered about Farnham, assembled his troops and faced the enemy: but after some flight skirmishes, he retired into Farnham Castle, from whence he took a journey to London, to represent to the Parliament his want of supplies, without which it would not be possible to perform what had been enjoined him.

### **Waller Takes Arundel**

Immediately after Waller's departure for London, the Lord Hopton marched with part of his army to attack Arundel Castle, which was surrendered upon terms. But hearing a few days after, that Waller was returned to Farnham with a strong reinforcement, he rejoined the rest of his army.

### **Waller Retakes it**

Waller's journey to London answered his expectation. Besides a brigade of Londoners under Major-General Brown, he procured an order of Parliament to the Earl of Essex, to send him from his army a thousand horse under the command of Sir William Balfour. He was no sooner returned to Farnham with these supplies, but he marched all night, and at break of day beat up one of the Lord Hopton's quarters at Alton, and carried away prisoners Colonel Boles's regiment of Foot[134]; a troop or two of horse, which were in the same quarters, having betimes taken to flight.

Then he marched directly to Arundel Castle, and made the garrison prisoners. Here the learned Mr. Chillingworth was taken, and died within few days.

### **Battle of Arlesford**

The King hearing of the supplies given to Waller, sent a reinforcement to the Lord Hopton. The Earl of Forth, the King's General[135], would go himself, but refused the command which the Lord Hopton offered to resign to him.

The Lord Hopton having then an army of about eight thousand men, resolved to give Waller battle, and begun his march with that intent, at the very time Waller was advancing towards him with the same resolution. The two armies met between Farnham and Winchester on Chert-ton-Down near Arlesford, where the battle was fought the 29th of March. The Lord Hopton was defeated and forced to retire to Reading, and afterwards to Oxford[136].

Waller marched to Winchester, and became master of the city, but did not think proper to besiege the castle, (which was his own inheritance) because he had elsewhere more important

affairs, as will be seen presently. The Lord Clarendon pretends, the loss sustained by Waller at Alresford hindered him from improving his advantage, and marching into the west, as he had resolved. But it may be affirmed, this was not the thing that prevented his taking the western rout. It was rather owing to the Parliament's resolutions, by whom he was recalled to London, after having dismissed the auxiliary regiments of that City, and Kent, which were also come to join with him.

## **Resolution to Besiege Oxford**

Both Houses perceiving, that by the King's late loss at Alresford, his army was discouraged and considerably lessened; that moreover, they had sufficient forces in the North to have nothing to fear from the Marquis of Newcastle, who was shut up in York, resolved to besiege Oxford, where the King was with his army.

## **The Earl of Essex and Waller March Towards Oxford**

So, having relinquishes, or suspended, the design of sending Waller into the west, they laboured with all possible diligence, to put the two armies of Essex and Waller upon the foot settled by their ordinance, that they might act together against Oxford.

The King had ever imagined, that Waller's design was to march towards the western parts. For which reason he had assembled his forces at Marlborough, and afterwards posted himself at Newbury, where he had remained some time, till he could better discover the designs of his enemies. But having at length found, the Parliament had altered their measures, he came to Reading, and caused the fortifications to be demolished, in order to strengthen his army with the garrison, consisting of two thousand five hundred men.

He also ordered Prince Rupert to come and join him: but afterwards permitted him to relieve Latham House, where the Countess of Derby was besieged. With the Reading garrison, his army was increased to eight thousand five hundred foot, and four thousand horse. But being still ignorant of the designs of his enemies, he thought proper to retire to Oxford with his whole army.

Meanwhile, the Parliament, who had for some time found means to take their resolutions with more secrecy than formerly, perceiving the two armies of Essex and Waller ready to march, sent to each a supply of four thousand two hundred of the trained-bands of London. So, the Earl of Essex's army consisted of twelve thousand foot, and three thousand horse and Waller's of seven thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse and Dragoons.

These two Generals had orders to march separately, and besieged Oxford, if the King remained there, but if he went from thence, the Earl of Essex was ordered to follow him with his army, and Waller to march into the west, according to the first project. They departed from London, the 14th and 15th of May, to put themselves at the head of their respective armies, and immediately marched towards Oxford.

## **The King Abandons Abington**

The King had posted almost all his infantry at Abington, in order to stop the enemies, and have time to consider what measures he should take, in case they really intended to besiege Oxford, which he still questioned. As Abington could not be easily defended but on the east side, and he was unwilling to run any unnecessary hazard, he had ordered General Wilmot to make a vigorous defence, if attacked on that side, but if on the west from Wantage and Farrington, to relinquish the place.

But whether the order was not clear and full, or for some other reason, Wilmot, at the enemies approach, on the east side, immediately retired to Oxford, and the Earl of Essex instantly entered



Abington. The King perceiving the siege of Oxford was resolved, had but one way to hinder it, which was to defend the passes of the rivers Isis and Cherwell, which run on the west and East-sides of the City, and to that end he quartered his horse near the Isis, and his foot towards the Cherwell.

As the motions of the Parliament armies entirely proceed from the situation of Oxford and the adjacent Country; and as, without this knowledge, scarce anything would be intelligible, I shall pass over the particulars which to me seem not absolutely necessary, and content myself with saying, that Waller found means at last to gain the pass at Newbridge over the Isis which enabled him to fall upon the rear of the King's foot that were defending the Cherwell[137].

### **The King Withdraws From Oxford with His Horse**

Whereupon the King drew all his forces into Oxford and to the north of the City, with thoughts at the same time of providing for the safety of his person, not judging it proper to suffer himself to be shut up. There was no time to lose, for the King's troops were hardly retired, when the Earl of Essex passed the Cherwell at Gosworth bridge with his army.

### **The Two Generals Relinquish The Design to Besiege Oxford**

So the King giving orders to his horse, and a small body of foot, to wait for him at such a place, left Oxford the 3rd of June about nine o'clock at night, and safely passed between the two Parliament armies[138]. He was out of all danger of pursuit before the news of his retreat reached the enemies, and came at length, on June 6 to Worcester, after having endured a great fatigue. The two generals were extremely surprised, when they heard the King had escaped them. But it was too late to hope to overtake him.

Meanwhile, the city of Oxford being well stored with provisions and ammunition, and the King having left there almost all his foot, they did not think fit to besiege it, and the rather, as they had no orders to do it, unless the King remained there.

### **The Earl of Essex Marches to The West Contrary to Parliaments Orders**

The Parliament's intention was, that in case the King quitted Oxford, the Earl of Essex should follow him with his army; and Waller with his, take care of the affairs of the west. But the Earl of Essex, for some unknown reason, reversed this order, and would himself march into the west. And when Waller urged the Parliament's orders, the Earl of Essex positively commanded him, as his general, to obey, to which the other could make no reply.

So, the Earl immediately began his march to the west. The Parliament were very much offended with the Earl of Essex's disobedience, and sent him an order, which reached him at Salisbury, to return, follow the King, and leave to Waller the western expedition. But the Earl, instead of complying, sent a letter to the committee of war[139], with the reasons of his conduct, subscribing his letter, Your innocent, though suspected servant, Essex.

Whether both Houses were satisfied with the Earl's reasons, or believed it proper not to incense him in such a juncture, they suffered him to pursue his march, which he did in a slow and easy manner, till he came into Devonshire.

### **The Queen Retires into France**

The Queen had been ever since April at Exeter, the capital of that county, where she was delivered of the Princess Henrietta, about a fortnight or three weeks before the Earl of Essex's

approach. As soon as she heard of his entering Devonshire, she sent and desired a safe conduct to retire to Bristol[140]. The Earl of Essex answered, if her Majesty would please to go to London, he would have the honour to wait upon her thither; but could not give her a safe conduct to Bristol, without the express order of both Houses. Whereupon the Queen withdrew into Cornwall and some time after into France, with a convoy of men of war, sent her by the Prince of Orange.

## **Price Maurice Raised The Siege of Lyme and Retires into Essex**

Prince Maurice had been, since the 20th of April, before the little town of Lyme, which made a more obstinate defence than was expected. This place, and Plymouth, were almost the only towns in the west that were for the Parliament. It was therefore very necessary for the Parliament, to have in those parts, forces capable of reviving the courage of their friends, who had received no assistance since Prince Maurice's arrival.

## **Essex Progresses in The West**

At the Earl of Essex's approach, who was now advanced to Dorchester, the Prince raised the siege of Lyme, and retired to Exeter. The same day, the Earl of Essex possessed himself of Dorchester. Then, he detached Sir William Balfour, who took Weymouth, whither the Earl of Essex instantly repaired. He had some thoughts of besieging Exeter, and indeed marched that way; but, considering that Prince Maurice was there with his whole army, he was afraid of losing too much time in the siege, and stopped at Chard, where he remained some time, and from thence marched to Tiverton.

Whereupon, Prince Maurice sent a detachment from Exeter, with orders to secure Barnistable, but the inhabitants shut the gates against them, and immediately sent to the Earl of Essex, to come and take possession of the town, which was done accordingly by the Lord Roberts.

## **Captain Howard Hanged for Desertion**

Here was taken Captain Howard, who having been formerly Lieutenant to Captain Pym had deserted, with nineteen troopers, to the King's party; for which being now tried by a Council of War, he was condemned and executed. Upon this, Prince Maurice caused to be hanged Turpin, a sea captain, taken prisoner in attempting to relieve Exeter, when the Earl of Stamford was besieged in it.

He being indicted for levying arms against the King, was by the Judges, Heath, Forster, Banks, and Serjeant Glanvil, condemned, but hitherto reprieved, by reason of the consequences. The Parliament was very much incensed at this reprisal, considering the difference between a prisoner of war, and a deserter. Wherefore having Serjeant Glanvil in their custody, who had lately quitted the King's party, and returned to London, they ordered him to be impeached of High-Treason.

Soon after, the King's party caused fourteen clothiers to be hanged at Woodhouse in Wiltshire [141], and the Parliament ordered eight Irish men to be executed, who had been taken prisoners in some action. These are the sad effects of civil wars. These executions gave occasion to the Parliament, in August following, to erect a court martial, to which were given very severe instructions, chiefly with respect to deserters. About the middle of July, Taunton Dean was taken for the Parliament, by a party of the garrison of Lyme[142].

## **The King's March After His Flight From Oxford**

I am obliged for a time, to break off the narrative of the affairs of the west, to relate what the King did after his happy escape from Oxford.

He arrived the 6th of June at Worcester with his little army; but stayed there only a few days, hearing Waller was marching that way. When he quitted Worcester, he made several marches and counter-marches[143], to deceive the vigilance of his enemy, not being strong enough to venture to expect him.

At last, having made a shew of marching towards Shrewsbury, Waller doubted not but his design was to join Prince Rupert, who was still in those parts. For this was before the battle of Marston-moor. He thought it therefore very important to march before, and post himself between the King and Shrewsbury, in order to hinder his joining with the Prince.

The King was very glad to have deceived Waller. As soon as he knew Waller expected him upon, that route, he feigned to take it indeed, but suddenly turning about, instead of continuing his march towards Shrewsbury, took the road to Oxford, and left Waller in his post, without any possibility of overtaking him. When he came near Oxford, he was joined, by the rest of his army, which he had left there when he quitted that city. Then, no longer fearing Waller, since he was stronger than he, he went and quartered in Buckinghamshire, without any other design than to give the enemy battle, if there was occasion.

## **The Fight at Cropedy Bridge**

Waller having been thus circumvented, approached the King however, and at length the two armies were in fight, with the river Cherwell between them. Waller drew up on a very advantageous ground, imagining the King would pass the river to attack him, and thereby furnish him with an opportunity to fight with advantage. But the King, to draw him from his post, feigned to march northward, and accordingly advanced into Northamptonshire, leaving a strong guard at Cropedy bridge, to hinder the enemies from passing, and following him in the rear.

Whilst he was marching, he had intelligence, there was a body of three hundred horse going to join Waller, within two miles of the van of his army, and was told they might be easily cut off, if the army moved faster. Whereupon orders were sent to the van, and main body, to advance faster.

As soon as Waller perceived there was a great distance between the King's rear, and the rest of his army, he detached a thousand horse, to pass the river at a ford, a mile below, and himself, with fifteen hundred horse, one thousand foot, and eleven pieces of cannon, attacked Cropedy bridge, took it, and passed his troops. Which done, he fell upon the King's rear, but was repulsed, with loss of many of his men, and part of his cannon.

This is all that can be gathered with any clearness, from the accounts of this battle[144]. The detachment, which, I said, passed the ford, had much the same success. Waller being thus repulsed, and forced to recross the river, drew up his men on a hill, and there waited the King's motions. As it was yet but three in the afternoon, the King, believing the enemies were discouraged with their ill success, ordered Cropedy-bridge, and the ford, to be attacked by two great detachments.

The first was repulsed at the bridge, with great loss on the King's side. The other gained the ford; but all that could be done, was to maintain it, expecting in vain, till night, that the first detachment would recover the bridge. Night coming on, both sides retired, Waller remaining master of the two passes.

The King was so prepossessed with the notion, that the enemies army was entirely discouraged, that he refolded to fend them an offer of Pardon by a herald, imagining it would be immediately accepted, and Waller deserted. In this belief, he sent a trumpeter to Waller, to desire a safe-conduct for a gentleman to deliver a gracious message from his Majesty.

Waller answered, he had no power to receive any message without permission from the Parliament, to whom his Majesty was to make application. The two armies faced each other for the space of two days, standing in the same posture, after which they both drew off, each taking a different route[145]. In all appearance, Waller after this loss, did not think himself in condition to go any more in quell of the King, who was superior to him in number. As it was about this time, that the report of Prince Rupert's defeat at Marston-moor was spread, Waller thought, doubtless, there was no great necessity to hazard a second battle, since the King would probably be very much distressed.

When he knew afterwards, the King was marching towards the west, he gave himself still less trouble about what the King might attempt, since it belonged to the Earl of Essex to get off as he pleased. There was not a sufficient union between them, for Waller to be much concerned at what might happen to the Earl. Perhaps too, his not being able to follow the King, who was marching against the Earl of Essex, was the reason why he dismissed the regiments of the London auxiliaries, which, added to his loss at Cropedy, disabled him from acting till he had fresh troops.

## **The King Marches Towards The West**

The King, who at the beginning of this campaign was in a sad strait, found himself, a month after, much at ease. Of the two armies by which he had been attacked, one was unable to hurt him, and the other was gone into the west, where he himself was very strong.

In the first; place, he was master of all the fortified towns, Plymouth excepted. Secondly, he had at Bristol a large garrison, part whereof might be drawn out upon occasion. In the third place, almost all the gentry of the western counties were well affected to him. There were only the meaner sort of people, who were divided between him and the Parliament, but who however were always ready to join with the strongest. Lastly, Prince Maurice had at Exeter, and in the neighbourhood, four thousand men, which could be easily brought to him by the north of Devonshire, and the Earl of Essex not be able to prevent it.

All these considerations determined him to march westward, to give the Earl of Essex battle, if an opportunity offered. He had scarce begun his march, when he received the ill news of what passed at York, which confirmed him in his resolution. He perceived, that if he remained in the middle of the Kingdom, where he had few friends or fortified towns, the three Parliament armies, which were now separated, would not fail to rejoin, and then he should be too weak to withstand them.

As soon as the King had taken this resolution, he informed Prince Maurice of it, that he might be ready to join him, and by the same express sent orders to the Lord Hopton, to draw what men he could out of Wales and lead them to Bristol, that he might meet him on the way with those troops, and as many more as could possibly be spared from that garrison.

So, the King making easy marches, in order to give the Welsh troops time to join him, came the 5th of July to Bath, from whence, after two days, he departed, and at length arrived at Exeter. When all the forces, he had sent for, had joined him, he saw himself at the head of an army much more numerous than the Earl of Essex's.

## **The King's Message to Both Houses for Peace not Answered**

Five days after the fight at Cropedy Bridge, the King's being at Evesham, caused to be drawn up a message for peace to both Houses, a copy whereof was sent to the Earl of Essex by the Marquis of Hertford, to be communicated to the Parliament, it being intimated that the French agent had the original to deliver if required. This message directed to the Lords and Commons

of Parliament assembled at Westminster, contained a general offer to treat of peace, and if commissioners should be sent to him, he would grant them a safe conduct. The two Houses, ever jealous of the King, thought there was some artifice concealed in sending them only a copy of the message, and that his aim was to engage them to demand the original of the French agent.

Besides, they did not conceive themselves to be owned by the direction of this message as the two Houses of Parliament, and therefore imagined, the King had a mind to reserve to himself the power of saying, that he did not acknowledge them for the true Parliament of England[146], and indeed he ought not, according to his principles, since he had published the forementioned declaration against them. Wherefore they resolved to take no notice of the message, nor return any answer.

Whilst the King stayed at Bath, he had assembled the inhabitants of Somersetshire, at Kingsmoor, and made a speech to them, exhorting them to take arms for him, and furnish him with money. He told them:—

**That** victory was the only means left to restore peace to the nation, that blessed peace which he had so often fought for from them at Westminster, and which they had so scornfully rejected. But, continued he, when I mention peace, I would be understood to intend that peace, which is built upon such foundations as are most likely to render it firm and stable; wherein God's true religion may be best secured from the danger of Popery, Sectaries, and innovations; the Crown may possess those just prerogatives which may enable me to protect and govern my people according to law; and the subjects be confirmed in those rights which they have derived from their forefathers, and which I have granted them in Parliament; to which I shall always be ready to add such new graces, as I shall find most to conduce to their happiness:

**This** is the peace which I labour for, wherein I may duly expect your best assistance with your hearts, and hands, and purses.

For the clear understanding of the King's meaning, not only on this, but on all other the like occasions without exception, it must be considered, the Parliament did not deny, that a King of England ought according to the laws of the Land, to enjoy such prerogatives as his Majesty demanded; but they affirmed, it ought to be for the welfare, and not for the destruction of the People.

They pretended, that Charles I. had abused these prerogatives to destroy the rights of the subject, and from thence drew this inference, that it was absolutely necessary to put it out of his power to abuse them for the future, which could be done only by depriving him of part of the prerogatives he had abused.

They maintained, only the King's bare word could not be relied on, and there was need of a stronger fence to secure the Laws. The King, on his part, did not deny he had made ill use of his power. But he had repaired the mischief he had done, and protested, his intention was to govern for the future, according to the Laws of the Land.

What therefore was the ground of the war? Why, the Parliament would not trust to the King's word, and the King refused to give other security. When therefore the King so frequently offered peace, on condition he should be restored to all his prerogatives, excepting those he had departed from in this Parliament, far from shewing by these offers, that he was sincerely desirous of peace, he rather demonstrated, that nothing could satisfy him but an entire victory, whether by arms or treaty. On the other hand, when the Parliament seemed to wish for peace, but on condition that the King should be divested of his prerogatives, was not this in reality to wish for

war, since it was desiring to secure by a treaty an advantage, which their arms had hitherto rendered very uncertain?

We must not therefore be misled by the sound of the word peace, which was, as appears, a very ambiguous term, and of which both sides, especially the King, made a parade to dazzle the people. I am in hopes this remark will be of use to explain many the like passages of this reign.

When the Earl of Essex heard of the King's approach, he called a Council of War, to debate what was to be done in this emergency. His own opinion was, to return, and hinder the King from penetrating farther into the country, and to give him battle if a favourable opportunity occurred. He represented, that in Devonshire or Somersetshire as he should not be striated in room or provisions, he might either fight, or avoid it as he should think fit.

But the Lord Roberts of Truro[147], Field-Marshal in this expedition, whose estate lay all in Cornwall positively affirmed, that as soon as the army should enter that county, the people would all declare for the Parliament; that then it would be impossible for the King to come there, and the army might easily subsist, and be reinforced with a great number of troops. Upon this assurance, which afterwards proved very false, the Lord Roberts, rather by a sort of violence, than the strength of his reasons, caused it to be resolved, that the army should march into Cornwall.

### **The King Follows Lord Roberts**

Pursuant to this resolution, the Earl of Essex entered that county the 26th of July, after forcing the passage at Newbridge, which was bravely defended, by Sir Richard Greenvil. The same day the King came to Exeter[148], and after a general muster of his army, followed the Earl of Essex, who did not find in Cornwall what the Lord Roberts had made him expect.

He advanced however to Lancelton, and from thence to Bodmin, where he writ to the Parliament, that he did not doubt, the King's design was to straiten him for provisions, and therefore earnestly desired, that an army might be sent into the west to be upon the King's rear, and hinder him from executing his project. But as Sir William Waller was not ready to march, being then in London, soliciting supplies for his army, all that could be done was to detach Colonel Middleton with two thousand five hundred horse and Dragoons[149], with orders to march westwards.

### **The King's Letter to The Earl of Essex**

The King seeing the Earl of Essex entangled in a county where he wanted provisions for the subsistence of his army, thought it a fair opportunity to try to gain him. Wherefore he sent him a letter under his own hand, persuading him to free himself from his present straits, by restoring peace to the Kingdom, that is, by declaring for such a peace as the King desired. The Earl of Essex returning no answer to this letter, Prince Maurice, and the Earl of Forth lately made Earl of Brentford, the King's General, writ to him two days after; and the next day he received another letter on the same subject, signed by the Lord Hopton and many General Officers of the King's army.

### **The King Arrests Lord Wilmot**

At last, he returned a brief answer to the Earl of Brentford, that he had no commission to treat. About this time, the Lord Wilmot, Lieutenant-General of the King's horse, was arrested and sent prisoner to Exeter, by his Majesty's order, he having taken the liberty to send the Earl of Essex word, that if he would enter into treaty, the officers of the King's army were so desirous of peace, they would constrain his Majesty to conclude it upon reasonable terms. Wilmot's

disgrace bred some murmurs amongst the officers of horse, by whom he was very much beloved.

Nay, they presented a petition to the King, to pray him to let them know what crime that Lord was accused of. The King, in such a juncture, was very ready to give them this satisfaction. Nevertheless the Lord Wilmot was deprived of his post, which was given to the Lord Goring, after which, he had leave to retire beyond seas[150]. It was generally believed, in the army, that Wilmot's disgrace was owing to some intrigue of the Court, and the King's private hatred of him on account of the part he had acted against the Earl of Strafford.

### **The Earl of Essex is in Great Straits**

The Earl of Essex perceived too late the vanity of the Lord Roberts's promises. So far were the people of Cornwall from rising in his favour, that on the contrary they ran in crowds to join the King's army. The Earl could have provisions but by sea, and in small quantities, by means of a river which afforded him a communication by sea with Plymouth[151].

At last, Sir Richard Greenvil having brought the King a supply of troops, it was resolved in a Council of War, to make use of the superiority of the number, not to compel the Earl of Essex to fight, but to cut off his provisions entirely. This was happily effected, by means of a fort run up on the bank of the river, by which the enemies received their provisions.

### **The Earl of Essex Saves His Horse Quits The Army and Retires**

Thus the Earl of Essex being reduced to the last extremity, after having kept his post almost a month, resolved to abandon his army, to avoid falling into the King's hands. But before he executed that design, he ordered Sir William Balfour to endeavour to save the horse, which he performed very fortunately in a dark misty night, by passing unobserved through the King's quarters[152].

As soon as the Earl of Essex knew the horse were out of danger, he sent to the King and demanded a parley, but before the answer was returned, took ship with some officers and retired to Plymouth, leaving Major-General Skippon to see to procure the best terms he could for the foot. The King having granted the parley desired by the Earl of Essex before his departure, a conference was held between some officers of both armies, where the following articles were agreed on[153]:—

**I. That** on the morrow, being the 2nd of September, all the officers and soldiers under the command of the Earl of Essex, shall deliver up all their cannons and train of artillery, with all carriages, necessities and materials thereunto belonging; and likewise all arms offensive and defensive, with all ammunition whatsoever, except only the swords and pistols of all officers above the degree of Corporals.

**II. That** immediately after, all officers and soldiers shall march out of their quarters to Losswithiel with their colours, trumpets, and drums; and that all officers above the degree of Sergeants, shall take with them such horses and servants as properly belong to them, with all their bag and baggage, and waggons with their teams.

**III. That** they shall have a safe convoy of one hundred horse, from their quarters, to Losswithiel, and thence in their march to Pool and Wareham.

**IV. That** in case they shall march from Pool to any other place by land, that they shall not bear arms more than is allowed in the agreement, until they come to Southampton or Portsmouth.

**V. That** all the sick and wounded should be left at Fovy till such time as they can be conveniently transported to Plymouth.

**VI. That** all the officers and soldiers shall be permitted to receive all moneys, provisions, and other accommodations, as they should be able to procure from Plymouth; to which end they shall have a pass for any twelve persons, whom they shall send for the same.

**VII. That** there shall be no inviting of any soldiers, but that such as will voluntarily come to his Majesty's service, shall not be hindered.

By this treaty, the King properly gained only artillery, arms, and ammunition. But though it was something to reduce this army to such a condition, it would have been of much more advantage to him, had he made the officers and soldiers prisoners of war. For the Parliament wanted neither artillery, nor arms, nor ammunition, to repair their army, which indeed was able within five or six weeks, to give the King battle. It is to be presumed, the King had good reasons to be satisfied with this little advantage.

### **The Earl of Essex Well Received at London**

Though the Earl of Essex might have been justly upbraided for the two faults he had committed, in obstinately pursuing his march into the west, contrary to the orders of both Houses, and in preposterously running himself into Cornwall he was not insulted for his misfortunes, but at his return was very civilly received.

It was then no proper time to examine his conduct. The point was to recruit and arm the ruined army, as well as that of Waller, and accordingly both Houses applied themselves to it with all possible diligence. They ordered also Colonel Middleton to repair speedily to the Earl of Essex's army, and the Earl of Manchester to march the same way with his forces.

### **The King's Message to Both Houses With The Offer of Peace**

After the King had gained so considerable an advantage, he hoped, the frightened Parliament would desire nothing more than to come to an agreement. He plainly perceived, that such a peace as he desired was impracticable, as long as the Parliament was prosperous. But he flattered himself with the hopes, that after so great a misfortune, his enemies would gladly accept his offers, and insist no longer upon terms he was fully resolved not to grant.

In this belief, he sent from Tavistock a fresh message to both Houses, with offers of peace, and annexed to it a duplicate of his former message from Evesham. This message was so worded, that he seemed out of pure moderation to offer, after his victory, to be content with having, by a peace, what he was in condition to obtain by force of arms.

But if notice be taken of what I before said, to explain what is to be understood by the peace offered by the King, it will be found, that through an excess of modesty, moderation, and affection for his people, he would be satisfied to obtain by a treaty, what hitherto he had not been able to procure by arms:

For that was the real meaning of his offer, though disguised under the specious name of peace. The Parliament must have understood it in that sense, since it was not regarded. The King himself, doubtless, did not believe, he could deceive the two Houses by the bare name of peace, after having so often experienced how much they were upon their guard in that respect. But these frequent offers of peace were properly designed to make impression upon the people, who did not discover their true meaning.



## **The King Attacks Plymouth Without Success**

The 10th of September, the King appeared before Plymouth[154], in hopes, that after his late victory, the gates would be opened to him. But having summoned it in vain, and even given some assaults, he was forced to retire, the season not permitting him to undertake so important a siege, which, probably, would have employed him several months. Besides, his design was to march to London, where he supposed all were in the utmost confirmation. Meanwhile, General Goring, with a detachment of the army, became master of Barnstaple.

## **The Arrival of The Elector Palatine at London**

I have had frequent occasion to speak of the affairs of the Elector Palatine, and to observe, how much James I, and Charles I, neglected the interests, the one of the King his son-in-law, and the other, of the Elector his nephew. All the Elector's dominions being in the hands of his enemies, he fled for refuge to the King his uncle, who gave him a pension for his subsistence.

This pension, it is likely, was ill paid since the King was engaged in the war with Scotland, and still worse, since the beginning of this Parliament. So the Elector having attended the King till he retired into the north, and seeing the war ready to kindle, abruptly quitted the King his uncle at York, He retired into Holland, and stayed there till August 1644, when he suddenly came to London to reside there, under the protection of the Parliament.

## **The King Writes to The Elector**

The King hearing of it, writ to him, to know the reason of so extraordinary a proceeding. It does not appear what answer the Elector returned, but probably, not knowing how to subsist, and considering the King his uncle was not able to maintain him, he believed, he should send more assistance in the Parliament, which had ever expressed a great affection and zeal for his House.

He was not deceived in his expectations, for the Parliament granted him an honourable pension, which was more regularly paid than the former from the King[155]. He afterwards desired and obtained leave to hear the debates in the assembly of Divines. Probably, as he did not care to be concerned in military affairs, he sought to spend his time in conversing with the learned, and improving himself in matters of religion.

## **The Resolves to March to London**

The King was so strongly possessed with the belief, that his victory could not but make a strong impression upon the minds of the people, that he resolved to march directly to London. He did not question, but his army would considerably increase by the way, and the people forsake the two Houses, when they should see him marching towards the metropolis.

It is true, such turns had been formerly seen in England, but very seldom or never in favour of Princes, whom the Nation believed to have cause to complain of. However, though Charles had given but too much occasion to complain of his Government, yet was he persuaded, he was beloved by the people, and imputed whatever they did against him, to the artifices, calumnies, promises, threats, and violence, that were used to mislead or compel them.

In this belief, he imagined, the people wanted only an opportunity to free themselves from the yoke of the Parliament, and that the present one being very favourable, was not to be neglected. He published therefore the 30th of September, a Proclamation, dated at chard, wherein he set forth, with what earnestness and sincerity he had always desired, and offered peace, which had been constantly rejected by both Houses, after which he said:—

**That** he had therefore resolved with his army, to draw presently towards London, and his southern and eastern counties, not looking upon these parts as enemies to him, but as his poor subjects, oppressed by power, (of which he was assured) the greater part remained loyal to him and so delivering his protection; hoping, that at a nearer distance of place, there might be begot so right an understanding between him and his people, that at length he might obtain a treaty for peace, and a full and free convention in Parliament, and therein make an end of these unhappy differences, by a good accommodation; whereby his people might be settled in the possession of their rights and liberties.

**And** therefore he required his subjects within his own quarters, through, or near which he should pass, forthwith to prepare themselves with the best arms they could get, to be ready to join him. He authorized likewise as well the trained bands of London as his subjects of the eastern and southern Counties, to chuse their own commanders among those gentlemen and citizens, that were of approved loyalty, and lovers of peace, requiring them at his approach, to put themselves in arms, and assist in this expedition, and commanding them to seize such places of strength, as the rebels were possessed of, and to apprehend the persons of all such as should hinder the settling the peace of the Kingdom.

All the effect this Proclamation produced, was, that the inhabitants of Somersetshire, where the King then was, presented a petition to him, humbly beseeching his Majesty:—

**That** they might have liberty to wait upon him in person, and, at a nearer distance of place, become petitioners to both Houses to embrace his Majesty's offers of peace; and in case of refusal, they promised to spend their lives and fortunes, in assisting him to compass by the sword, what by fair means could not be effected.

But this was only a promised aid, and as yet too remote, for the King to make any use of it in the present expedition.

### **The King Meets Obstruction in His March**

If every thing had happened as the King had imagined; if the people had flocked to his army; if he had been cheerfully supplied with all necessaries, very probably, he might have arrived at London before the Parliament forces could have been joined to form a new army. But his army, instead of increasing in their march, as he expected, daily diminished by fatigues, by want of money, shoes, and stockings, by sickness, which disabled many of his men from following the army[156].

He was obliged to make frequent halts in several towns to wait for money and other necessaries, which, he perceived, would not be supplied when he should be removed. The horse being discontented, as well at the Lord Wilmot's disgrace, as at their having received no pay this campaign, he was forced to stay till the eastern counties should supply him with money to satisfy them, otherwise he durst not advance. These delays were the reason that he came not to Salisbury till the 15th of October, six weeks after the advantage gained in Cornwall. Then it was that he altered his resolution, and instead of marching to London, contented himself with returning to his old quarters in and about Oxford. Nay, this project could not be executed without difficulty, considering the measures taken by his enemies.

### **Parliament Forms a Great Army**

Whilst the King was on his march, the Parliament was not idle. They had provided six thousand arms, and clothes for the Earl of Essex's foot, and detached the city brigade consisting of five

thousand men[157], besides the necessary recruits, to join him. Sir William Waller had taken the field again, his army being recruited and reinforced, and was now at Andover ready to march.

The Earl of Essex's horse, which had fortunately escaped in Cornwall, came to him, as well as those sent into the west, under the command of Colonel Middleton. Thus, the Earl of Essex saw himself in condition to march the 7th of October in order to join Sir William Waller and the Earl of Manchester, who was within distance.

The King having notice that Waller was to march to Reading, advanced with all possible diligence towards Andover, to give him battle before he had joined the Earl of Essex. Nay, he fell upon his rear and killed twenty or thirty of his men. But this could not hinder the junction of the three armies, which was done the 21<sup>st</sup> of October.

Whilst the King's enemies lay so near him, he very unadvisedly, as it seems, detached from his army the Earl of Northampton with three regiments of horse, to relieve Banbury Castle, which had been besieged ever since July the 19th, and was now reduced to extremity. The Earl succeeded in his expedition, but the King was like to pay dear for it, since, a few days after, he was forced to fight, deprived of the aid of these three regiments.

His design, as I said, was only to retire to Oxford, there being no farther reason to induce him to pursue his march towards London. But he would first besiege Dennington Castle, and therefore advanced to Newbury, which lies but a mile from that Castle, whilst the Parliament army was at Reading. The next day, that army marched towards Newbury, where the King fortified himself in the best manner he could, and placed his foot in the entrenchments, whilst the horse were posted in two adjoining open fields, and for some days there were frequent skirmishes between the two armies.

## **The Second Battle of Newbury**

At last, on the 27th of October, being Sunday, the Parliament Generals having divided their forces into two bodies[158], attacked the King's entrenchments at two several places. The fight, which began about three or four in the afternoon, held till night, and was extremely sharp, each side repulsing the other by turns. This is all that can be gathered with any certainty from the accounts of this battle, except that when night approached, the assailants forced part of the entrenchment, and took some pieces of ordnance. But night hindered them from improving this advantage, and put an end to the fight[159].

## **The King Returns in The Night Leaving His Cannon in Dennington**

Meanwhile, the King fearing the enemy would next morning penetrate into his lines, withdrew in the night, and marched to Wallingford, leaving his heavy cannon and baggage in Dennington Castle. The Earl of Essex was not in the battle. He had quitted the army some days before, whether on account of some sudden indisposition, or perhaps out of some discontent, not being able to agree, either with the Earl of Manchester, or Sir William Waller[160].

The Parliament-Generals, who thought themselves victorious, should, one would think, have attacked the King in his retreat, which they could not be ignorant of, it being then full-moon. They suffered him to march however without pursuing him[161], so that he safely arrived at Oxford. But this was not their greatest error. The King having left his cannon, ammunition, and baggage in Dennington Castle, they could have done nothing more advantageous than to employ their whole strength to take the castle. But they contented themselves with summoning the Governor[162], and, upon his refusal to capitulate, they remained quiet at Newbury without

attempting any thing against him. This negligence must have been owing to the dissension amongst them, the one blaming the other for being the cause, that with so superior an army, the King's was not entirely routed. This dissension grew so high, that whatever was proposed by the one, was sure to be opposed by the other.

We shall see hereafter still worse effects of their discord, and the alterations it occasioned.

## **The King Returns to Dennington Castle and Takes Away The Cannon in Sight of The Enemy**

Meanwhile, the King being informed of the discord between the Parliament Generals, and of their leaving Dennington Castle un-attacked, very wisely improved so favourable a juncture.

Some days after his arrival at Oxford, he was joined by Prince Rupert, who brought him some horse. He drew a body of foot out of the garrison of Oxford, and other neighbouring towns, and the Earl of Northampton rejoined him with his brigade of horse. By means of these supplies he formed an army of six thousand foot, and five thousand horse, with which he marched back towards Newbury the 2nd of November.

After the battle, the Parliament army had moved towards Oxford, but was returned to Newbury, on pretence that the ways were un-passable. But the chief reason was, the generals could not agree, there being no commander in chief. They received some intelligence of the King's march; but would not believe it till they heard of his being within six miles of Dennington. Whereupon they resolved to draw up the next day between Dennington and the King's army.

To that end, orders were given for all their horse to rendezvous early on the morrow, it not being possible to march that day by reason their quarters were too separate and remote. But that very night, the King pursued his march to Dennington, and drawing up his army, between the Castle and Newbury, waited in that posture to see what the enemy would attempt. Though presently after the Parliament army was also drawn up, the Generals, having viewed the posture and strength of the King's, and held a council of war, judged it unsafe to engage.

So, after some skirmishes, the King having drawn out what he left at Dennington, marched back to Oxford, where he arrived the 21st of November. In his way thither, he sent a detachment of his army to the relief of John Pawlet, Marquis of Winchester, who had been long besieged in his own Castle of Basing. But this detachment found the siege already raised. Thus ended the campaign of the year 1644, which proved not so fatal to the King as he had reason to fear, though however he lost York and all the North.

It is time now to speak of some other occurrences of the year 1644, which had no immediate relation to the war, but of which the knowledge is no less useful and necessary than that of conflicts and battles, though they have no natural connexion together, nor depend upon each other.

## **An Ordinance to Forbear One Meal a Week**

**March the 26th 1644**, the Parliament passed an ordinance, enjoining every family (within the bills of mortality, for three months) to forbear one meal a week, and contribute the value thereof for the public occasions. This was properly laying a tax upon every family. For otherwise, very likely the Parliament did not much care whether this weekly meal were foreborn or not, provided the value (which was to be set upon each person and family) were paid.

**April the 13th** an Oxford spy was executed in the Palace Yard at Westminster.

**The 15th of the same month**, it was voted by the Commons, that the committee of both Kingdoms should prepare propositions for peace, to be presented to the King. Not that they desired then to enter into a new treaty with the King, for, since the conferences at Oxford were broken off, nothing had passed to induce them to alter their plan. But herein they had a double view, first to let the public see, they pretended not absolutely to reject peace, as they were charged by the King:

**Secondly**, they had thereby a pretence ready to propose a peace, in case they were forced to it by the misfortunes of war during the campaign. What confirms this to have been their chief aim, is, that these propositions, which after all were the same in substance with those debated at Oxford, were not sent up to the Lords till the 19th of August, at the very time that the Earl of Essex was driven into Cornwall and not to the King till the 20th of November.

### **The Parliament to Keep Their Resolves More Private**

**To the year 1644** the affairs of the war were so publicly debated in the Parliament, that the King was acquainted with the resolutions there taken, before they were begun to be executed. But this year the managers thought fit to give the Committee of both Kingdoms, who were charged with the affairs of the war, more power than before, that they might give their orders, and cause them to be executed, without being obliged to communicate their resolutions to both Houses.

I do not know whether this was by express vote, or by mere usurpation, the Committee knowing they should at least be avowed by the leading members, in case it was attempted to call them to an account. A considerable advantage indeed was hereby gained, in that the resolutions became more private, and the King had not so good information. But on the other hand the Committee had by it a power which might be of very dangerous consequence.

### **Differences Between The Two Houses About The Committee of The Two Kingdoms**

And therefore several Members complained, that the most important affairs were not communicated, but that the direction and management was reserved to themselves alone by the Committee. The time for which they had been appointed being about to expire, the Commons passed an ordinance, for the continuance of the Committee three months longer, and sent it up to the Lords. But the Peers instead of passing the ordinance as sent by the Commons, added a clause to increase the number of the Committee, with five Lords and ten Commoners (of their Nomination) ( 1 ).

It is not to be doubted, the King's private friends used their endeavours to increase the number of the Committee, in hopes of being able to gain some one to inform them of what should pass there. But the Commons foreseeing the consequence of this addition, refused to consent to it, and desired the Lords, that they would pass the ordinance without any amendment.

The Lords declining to do it for some time, the Commons found means to get the Lord-Mayor and Common-Council of London to petition them among other things, that the Committee of both Kingdoms might be continued as it was ( 2 ). Then the Lords perceiving, that since the City of London interposed, their refinance would be fruitless, passed the ordinance four days after. The declarations of the City of London were a curb frequently used by the Commons to stop the career of the King's friends, when by their cabals they were endeavouring to disturb their deliberations, or to sow discord between the two Houses. Besides that it would have been dangerous as well as unjust to disoblige that great City, by whom the charges of the war were chiefly born, experience had shown, that the City had infallible expedients to support their friends in the Parliament.

The historians of the two parties are in different sentiments on this subject. The King's adherents pretend, that in general the Londoners were for the King, and would gladly have accepted the peace he was pleased to offer them, but were over awed by their magistrates, who were almost all devoted to the Parliament.

On the contrary, the Parliament's friends affirm, that the number of Londoners who were for the King was far short of that of his enemies, and that the commotions now and then in the City, whether to demand peace, or to disturb the Parliament's debates, were but an effect of the cabals of some private persons, who secretly adhered to the King, and endeavoured to sow dissension between the Parliament and the City. That this manifestly appears in the ill success of all their attempts.

## **Ordinance Against Members That Had Deserted**

There was in the London Petition abovementioned, another article of no less importance. A great many members of both Houses, as I have observed, had deserted the Parliament, before and after the beginning of the war. Some had taken this course out of affection to the King, and in order to serve him in his army, others by his express command, several through fear and punishment, for endeavouring to force the Parliament to a peace, and perhaps, some to avoid being exposed to the outrages of the London Mob.

By the retreat of these Members, the opposite party to the King was become so superior in both Houses, that no man durst any longer oppose whatever they thought proper to move. Indeed, it would have been very fruitless, for the King's new friends in the Parliament to strive to support his interest. The King had therefore perceived, that his policy in diminishing the number of members in both Houses, instead of being advantageous, had, on the contrary, proved very prejudicial, to him, for by that means the resolutions against him passed in Parliament with much greater ease.

His enemies were now freed from restraint, and met with no farther opposition. The Commons perceiving, that from time to time some of these Members returned to London, thought not proper to admit them into the House, pursuant to a vote passed long before upon that head. They were apprehensive, if such Members were admitted, the King might in time send them so great a number, as would suffice to obstruct their deliberations. Meanwhile, to justify their refusal to admit them, they so managed, that in the petition presented to them by the Common Council of London, was inserted an article, That none of the Members who had deserted the Parliament should be received, without satisfaction first given to both Houses for their future fidelity.

In pursuance of this desire it was declared soon after, by an ordinance, that such Peers as had deserted, or should desert the Parliament, should not be readmitted without the consent of both Houses; and that whatsoever member of the House of Commons had so offended, or should so offend hereafter, and adhere to those that were levying war against the Parliament, were and should be absolutely disabled from sitting in the House of Commons. By this means, such as might intend to return to the Parliament for the King's service, had sufficient warning, that their artifice would be without effect

## **The Earl of Leicester Returns to London**

Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, who about this time quitted Oxford, and returned to London, was not of the number of those who forsook the King to do him service.

He had too much reason to be dissatisfied with his Majesty, for amusing him two years together, under colour of sending him into Ireland, and for appointing at last the Marquis of Ormond, for Lord-Lieutenant in his room. The Earl of Leicester was however ordered into custody at his

coming to London, but, in all appearance, it was only to show, that the new ordinance was intended to be rigorously executed.

## **Embassy From The States General**

**In January 1643-4, the States-Genera of the United Provinces**, sent Ambassadors into England, to offer their mediation, which the two Houses made no great account of, knowing what credit the Prince of Orange, the King's son-in-law, had in these provinces. Besides, the Ambassadors, who were all supposed to be the Prince of Orange's creatures, refused to acknowledge the two Houses of Westminster, for the Parliament of England.

In short, these Ambassadors, after several journeys to Oxford, and attempts to persuade the Parliament to accept their mediation, without the previous acknowledgment required, fully owned the two Houses for the Parliament of England, and presented a memorial to offer their mediation. It must be observed, this was the next day after the news of Prince Rupert's defeat at Marston-moor (3). As they had long delayed this acknowledgment, both Houses left them some time, in their turn, without any answer, being willing, doubtless, to intimate to them, that this mediation did not appear to them sufficiently impartial.

**Wherefore the 10th of December**, they demanded a public audience, which was granted, and in which they offered again the mediation of their matters. Both Houses answered, that they readily accepted the mediation of the States: but had already sent propositions to the King for a treaty of peace, of which they were to wait the success:—

That, moreover the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland, being united together by a solemn Covenant, they could do nothing without the concurrence of the Scots, which would require some time. Thus they evaded the offers of the States-General, not believing such a mediation could be for their advantage.

## **Holles's Fine Repaid to Him**

**In July it was ordered by the House of Commons**, that the fine imposed by the Star-Chamber upon Mr. Denzil Holles, for his asserting the liberties of his country in Parliament, should be repaid him out of the King's revenue.

**In October**, an ordinance of both Houses was published, commanding, that no quarter should be given to any Irishman taken in arms against the Parliament.

**In November**, the Lord Macguire, and Mac Mahone, were brought upon their trials. They were apprehended at Dublin the very day they were to surprise the castle, and sent into England, where they had been confined in the Tower ever since. They had found means to break prison, and conceal themselves in a house in London. But unfortunately hearing a woman crying oysters in the street, one of them put his head out of window to call her, and was that instant espied by a servant of Sir John Clotworthy, who knew him, and immediately gave notice to the Lieutenant of the Tower. They were both seized again, and shortly after condemned and executed (4).

## **The Condemnation and Execution of Laud**

**Since the famous William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury had been imprisoned at the end of the year 1640**, I have had but little occasion to speak of him. It is time now to relate the catastrophe of his life. He was accused by the Commons of High treason, December the 18th 1640, and thereupon committed to the custody of the Black-Rod.

**The 26th of February** following, the articles of impeachment were brought in against him, and then he was sent to the Tower. There he remained till October the 23rd, 1643, when the

Commons having added ten fresh articles to the impeachment, he was ordered by the Lords to answer the 30th of the same month.

It would be too tedious to specify all the petitions he presented, and all the expedients, his Council submitted him with, to cause his sentence to be deferred. It suffices to say, that he gained time till the 11th of November 1644, on which day he spoke several hours together in his own defence (5).

But whether the Commons were afraid, their proofs were not sufficient for his condemnation, or the delays granted him by the Lords, gave them cause to think, they were inclined to save his life, they used the same method as in the case of the Earl of Strafford, I mean, a bill of attainder, which passed their House the same day the Archbishop made his defence before the Peers, with but one dissenting vote.

The Bill being sent up to the Lords, they acquainted the Commons, at a conference, that indeed they found the Archbishop guilty of the charge as to matters of fact, but desired some farther satisfaction in point of Law, whether the matters amounted to treason. Whereupon the Commons communicated to them the reasons, whereby they pretended to prove him guilty of that crime.

**Upon which the Lords, the 4th of January,** passed the Bill of Attainder, whereby it was ordained, he should suffer death as in cases of high treason, and on the 6th, both Houses ordered he should be executed the 10th. On the 7th, the Lords at a conference, informed the Commons of a pardon to the Archbishop from the King, dated the 12 April 1643, but it was over-ruled and rejected. The same day, the Archbishop seeing there was no remedy, petitioned the Lords, that the manner of his execution might be changed to beheading.

He desired also, that some of his Chaplains might be permitted to be with him before, and at, his death. The Lords very readily granted his two requests, but the Commons refused both, and sent him two Ministers whom he did not ask for, with one of those he desired.

The next day he presented a second petition to be beheaded, setting forth, that he was a divine, Bishop, Privy-counsellor, and Peer; whereupon the Commons were at length prevailed with. When he was upon the scaffold, he made a pretty long speech, wherein, among other things, he insinuated, that he suffered for not forsaking the temple of God, to follow the bleatings of Jeroboam's calves, alluding to the schism of the Presbyterians.

He said:—

He had ransacked every corner of his heart, and thanked God, he had not found any sins there deserving death, by the known Laws of the land. The King had been traduced by some for labouring to bring in Popery, but, upon his conscience, he knew him to be as free from such a charge, as any man living, and held him to be as sound a Protestant, according to the religion established by Law, as any person in the Kingdom. He protested, he never endeavoured the subversion of the Laws of the Realm, nor never any change of the Protestant religion, into popish superstition. He had never been an enemy to Parliament, but did indeed dislike the misgovernment of one or two——

After he had prayed, the executioner did his office at one blow. His friends were permitted to take his body and bury it in Alhallows, Barking Church. Such was the end of this famous prelate, who, let his favourers say what they please, was one of the chief authors of the troubles that afflicted England:



**First**, by supporting with all his power the arbitrary principles, which the Court strove for several years to establish:

**Secondly**, by a too rigid observance of trifles in the Divine Service, and by compelling every one to conform thereto. All that can be said in his favour, is, that he believed in his own conscience, this rigidity was necessary[168].

## **The Liturgy is Abolished**

The same day the Lords passed the Bill of Attainder against the Archbishop, they passed likewise an ordinance, that the book of Common-Prayer, should be laid aside, and the directory established, which had been framed by the Assembly of Divines. Hereby the Church of England was rendered, by public authority, completely Presbyterian, to the great satisfaction of the Scots, and many of the principal members of both Houses. This was an ill preparative for the peace which was now negotiating, and of which I have deferred to speak hitherto, that the narration might not be interrupted.

## **The Treaty at Uxbridge**

The King, as hath been often seen, sent message upon message to the two Houses, with overtures of peace; and no doubt, he would have granted it very willingly, had they been as ready to receive it in his sense. But they perfectly knew, what they were to understand by the word Peace, Besides, at the very time the King offered to treat with both Houses, he carefully avoided using any term that might intimate his owning them to be a Parliament.

It was necessary therefore, if they desired to treat with him, either that he should expressly acknowledge them, or that they should treat as private persons without authority. But supposing they could have resolved to do so, what would such a treaty have signified? This was the pretence used by both Houses, during the campaign of the year 1644, not to answer the King's invitations.

Meanwhile, as the King talked very much of his frequent offers, to persuade the people of his sincere desire of peace, and of the refusal of both Houses, they resolved to oblige him to explain more clearly, what he meant by peace, that the people might examine, whether he offered sufficient security. For, as I said, this was the only point in question. The treaty at Oxford, where two propositions only were debated, not having fully cleared this matter, the two Houses thought it would be for their advantage to induce the King, by a second treaty, to declare positively, that he would give no other security than his bare word. They hoped, this would suffice to efface the impressions, his repeated offers might have made on the minds of the people.

During the campaign, it was no proper season for such a negotiation, by reason of the variety of accidents produced by the war. It was not till November the 20th, two days after the King's return to Oxford, that the two Houses sent him the propositions which had been prepared in the summer. They had sent to desire a safe conduct for their commissioners, which the King had granted, but as to private persons, without one word to denote his considering them as the Parliament's commissioners.

Though the two Houses were by no means pleased with such a safe conduct, they accepted it however, and their commissioners repaired to Oxford, where the King arrived the day before[169].

At the first audience, the King asked them, whether they had power to treat: They answered, No; their commission was only to receive his Majesty's answer in writing. The King replied. Then a letter carrier might have done as much as you. In all appearance, he had expected, that the two Houses would treat with him, without his owning them for the Parliament of England, in which

he was much mistaken. He heard the propositions read with great attention and patience, and then receiving them from their hands, told them, he would give them his answer.

## **Private Conferences Between The King and Two Parliament Commissioners**

Montague Bartu, Earl of Lindsey, who was with the King at Oxford, having sent his compliments to Holles and Whitelock, they two, with the consent of the rest of the Commissioners, returned his civility by a visit. They found him indisposed, and in his bed; but he received them however in presence of several Lords who were in his room.

Presently after, the King came in, and had a long conference with them. He told them, he knew that they were both desirous of a peace, and wished, that all the rest of the members were of their opinion; and therefore, says he, out of the confidence I have of you two, I ask your advice, what answer will be best for me to give at this time to your propositions, which may probably, further such a peace, as all good men desire? Whitelock answered:—

The best and most satisfactory answer, I humbly believe, would be your Majesty's presence with your Parliament, and which I hope might be without danger to you.

The King perceiving they did not care to speak their minds before so much company, said:—

I desire you two to go into the next room, confer a little together, and set down in writing, what you apprehend may be fit for me to return in answer to your message.

Whereupon they withdrew into another room, and by Holles's entreaty, Whitelock wrote down what was their sense in this matter, and what might be fit for the substance of the King's answer. But this he did not in his usual hand, and without any name to it. The paper thus written being left upon the table, the King went in, and took it up immediately. No person was present, neither did the King admit any others to hear the discourse which passed between him and them.

It cannot be denied, it was very extraordinary for these commissioners to confer in private with the King, unknown to their colleagues, to whom they imparted nothing of what had passed between the King and them. Accordingly, shortly after, the Lord Savile; now made Earl of Sussex, who was in the Earl of Lindsey's room when the King came in, and who returned afterwards to the Parliament, accused them publicly, of having held private conferences with the King. But as he was not able to prove what he advanced, the thing remained there.

What I have been saying remained a secret, till Whitelock published it in his memorials, and even there we do not find the contents of the paper written with his own hand[170].

But however, it is not impossible to vindicate these two commissioners, who having, doubtless, some knowledge of the plot that was now contriving, and of which I shall speak hereafter, wished, that a peace might be concluded before the plot was executed. In all appearance, they advised the King, in order to promote a peace, to grant the Parliament certain articles, otherwise they foresaw peace would be impossible; but the King thought not fit to follow their advice[171].

## **The King Gives His Answer**

The next day the King sent his answer sealed up to the commissioners; but they refused to receive it, unless they had a copy of it. The King denied it some time[172]; at last gave them a copy. The substance of it was only to demand a safe conduct for the Duke of Lenox and the Earl of Southampton, to carry his answer to the propositions. As this Paper was not directed to any person, nor the Parliament so much as named in it, the commissioners made some scruple to

receive it. They were prevailed with however, on the supposition, that the two Houses would be at liberty to make what use of it they pleased.

## **The Two Houses Demand to be Owned as The True Parliament**

This paper being read at a conference of both Houses, the exceptions against the form and want of directions were highly debated; but at last, it was carried, to lay aside all objections, and ordered that the Earl of Essex should write to Prince Rupert to this effect:—

**That** if his Majesty will send to the Parliament of England assembled at Westminster, and to the commissioners of the Kingdom of Scotland, they would with all readiness grant a safe conduct for the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton.

The King was extremely loath to do this; but the affair being debated in his Council, none opposed it but himself. Nevertheless he could not be prevailed with, till after he was furnished with this expedient, make a protestation against it in private, which should be recorded. After that, Prince Rupert's answer being worded as both Houses desired, the safe-conduct was sent to Oxford.

## **The King Owns to it With Difficulty**

The two Lords sent from the King being come to London, delivered the King's answer to both Houses[173]; dated the 13th of December, containing only, That whereas he found it very difficult to return a positive answer before a full debate, to their propositions, if the two Houses would appoint commissioners, he would nominate the like number to treat with them at any place that should be agreed on.

As the King thought a common letter carrier might have done the office of the commissioners, who brought the propositions, so it might be asked, where was the necessity of sending, two of the principal men of his Court and Council, to carry this answer to both Houses. But, in all appearance, the King's aim was to get information, by means of these two Lords and his friends in London, of some things which he was not fully acquainted with[174].

However this be, not to dwell too long upon preliminaries, the particulars whereof are not absolutely necessary, it suffices to say, that the following the articles were agreed on:—

**That** the commissioners of both parties should meet at Uxbridge:

**That** the conferences should begin the 30th of January 1644-5, and should last twenty days:

**That** the propositions, as well on the King's as the Parliament's side, should be reduced to these three heads, **religion**, the **militia**, and **Ireland**:

**That** religion should be treated upon, three days together, then the militia three days more, and after that, Ireland, as many; which done, the affairs of religion should be resumed for three days, then the business of the militia, and lastly, Ireland for the same time.

The King's commissioners were, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Kingston, the Earl of Chichester, and eleven others, among whom was Sir Edward Hyde Chancellor of the Exchequer, afterwards Earl of Clarendon[175]. Those for the Parliament were twelve in number, the chief whereof were the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Denbigh[176], and for Scotland the principal were, the Earl of Lowdon, Lord-Chancellor of Scotland, and the Marquis of Argyle[177],

I intend not to relate the particulars of this Negotiation, which was transacted by papers and answers in writing, but shall content myself with mentioning the principal matters.

The King's propositions were in substance the same with those he had given at Oxford, without any alteration as to the sense. The Parliament's were not much different from the Oxford ones, but more large and full, and therefore I think it proper to insert them.

## **The Propositions of The Parliament, and Scotch Commissioners**

**I. THAT** all oaths, declarations and proclamations, against both or either of the Houses of the Parliament of England, and the late convention of estates in Scotland, be declared null, and suppressed.

**II. That** his Majesty may be pleased to swear and sign the late solemn **League and Covenant**, and that an act of Parliament be passed, for enjoining the taking thereof by all the subjects of the three Kingdoms.

**III. That** the bill be passed for the utter abolishing and taking away of all Archbishops, Bishops, and the rest of the hierarchy, out of the Churches of England and Ireland, and Dominion of Wales, with such alterations concerning the estates of Prelates, as shall agree with the articles of the late treaty, of the date at Edinburgh, the 29th of November 1643, and joint declaration of both Kingdoms.

**IV. That** the ordinance concerning the calling and sitting of the assembly of Divines, be confirmed by act of Parliament.

**V. That** reformation of religion, according to the Covenant, be settled by act of Parliament, in such manner as both Houses shall agree upon, after consultation had with the assembly of Divines; and forasmuch as both Kingdoms are mutually obliged by the said Covenant, to endeavour the nearest conjunction and uniformity in matters of religion, that such unity and uniformity in religion, according to the Covenant, as after consultation had with the Divines of both Kingdoms, now assembled, shall be jointly agreed upon by both Houses of the Parliament of England, and by the Church and Kingdom of Scotland, be confirmed by acts of Parliament of both Kingdoms respectively.

**VI. That** for the more effectual disabling Jesuits, Priests, Papists, and Popish recusants, from disturbing the States, and eluding the laws, and for the better discovering and speedy conviction of recusants, an oath be established by act of Parliament, to be administered to them; and refusing the said oath, being tendered in such manner as shall be appointed by the said act, to be sufficient conviction in law of recusancy.

**VII. An Act** of Parliament for education of the children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Religion.

**VIII. An Act** for the true levying of the penalties against them.

**IX. That** an act be passed in Parliament, whereby the practices of Papists against the State may be prevented, and the Laws against them duly executed, and a stricter course taken to prevent the saying or hearing of mass in the Court, or any other part of the Kingdom.

**X. The** like for the Kingdom of Scotland, concerning the four last preceding propositions.

**XI. That** the King do give his royal assent,

- 1. To** an act for the due observation of the Lord's day.
- 2. And** to the bill for the suppression of innovations in the worship of God.
- 3. And** to the bill against the enjoying of pluralities and non-residency.
- 4. And** to the following acts, for the reforming and regulating of both Universities, of the Colleges of Westminster, Winchester, and Eaton.
- 5. For** the suppression of interludes and stage plays.
- 6. For** the taking the accounts of the Kingdom.
- 7. For** relief of sick and maimed soldiers, and of poor widows and children of soldiers.
- 8. For** raising of monies, for the payment and satisfying of the public debts and damages of the Kingdom.
- 9. For** taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries, &c.
- 10.** For the taking away all tenures by homage, and all fines, licenses, seizures, and pardons for alienation:

**And** that his Majesty will please to accept, in recompense hereof, one hundred thousand pounds per annum;

**And** give assurance of his consenting in the Parliament of Scotland, to an Act ratifying the acts of Convention of the estates of Scotland, called by the Council and Conservator of Peace, and the Commissioners for the common burthens, and assembled the 22nd day of June 1643, and several times continued since.

- 1. That** the persons who shall expect no pardon, be only these following, Rupert, and Maurice, Count Palatines of the Rhine, James Earl of Derby, John Earl of Bristol, William Earl of Newcastle, Francis Lord Cottington, John Lord Pawlet, George Lord Digby, Edward Lord Littleton, William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Wren Bishop of Ely, Sir Robert Heath, Knight, and all such others, as being processed by the Estates for treason, shall be condemned before the act of oblivion be passed.
- 2. All** Papists and Popish Recusants, who have been, are, or shall be actually in arms, or voluntarily assisting against the Parliaments or Estates of either Kingdom.
- 3. All** persons who have had any hand in the plotting, designing, or assisting the rebellion in Ireland.
- 4. That** the members of either House of Parliament, who have deferred the Parliament, and concurred in the votes at Oxford, may be removed from his Majesty's counsels, and be restrained from coming within the verge of the court, and that they may not, without the consent of both

Kingdoms, bear any office, or have any employment concerning the State or Commonwealth.

**5. That** by act of Parliament, all Judges and Officers towards the Law, Common or Civil; and likewise all Bishops, Clergymen, and other ecclesiastical persons, who have deserted the Parliament, shall not be capable of any preferment or employment.

**N, B.** Then follow several articles regulating the confiscation of the goods, and the fines of such delinquents as were not actually excepted in the Pardon.

**XII. That** an act be passed, whereby the debts of the Kingdom, and the persons of delinquents, and the value of their Estates may be known; and appointing in what manner the confiscations abovementioned may be levied.

**XIII. That** an act be passed in the Parliament of both Kingdoms respectively, for confirmation of the treaties passed betwixt the two Kingdoms.

**XIV. That** an act of Parliament be passed, to make void the cessation of Ireland, and to settle the prosecution of the war in that Kingdom.

**XV. That** an act be passed in the Parliament of both Kingdoms respectively, for establishing the joint declaration of both Kingdoms, bearing date the 30th of January 1643.

**XVI. That** by act of Parliament, the subjects of the Kingdom of England may be appointed to be armed, trained, and disciplined in such manner as both Houses shall think fit; the like for the Kingdom of Scotland.

**XVII. That** an act of Parliament be passed, for the settling the Admiralty and forces at sea, and for the raising of such moneys for maintenance of the said forces, and of the navy, as both Houses of Parliament shall think fit; the like for the Kingdom of Scotland.

**XVIII. And** an Act for the settling of all forces both by sea and land, in commissioners, to be nominated by both Houses of Parliament.

**N. B.** Here follow the powers which those Commissioners were to have.

**That** the commissioners of both Kingdoms may meet as a joint Committee,

1. To preserve the peace betwixt the Kingdoms.
2. To prevent the violation of the articles of peace.
3. To raise and join the forces of both Kingdoms, to resist all foreign invasions.
4. To order the war of Ireland.

**XIX. That** his Majesty give his assent to what the two Kingdoms shall agree upon, in prosecution of the articles of the large treaty, which are not yet finished.

**XX. That** all Peers, made since the day that Edward Lord Littleton, then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, deserted the Parliament, and that the said Great Seal was

conveyed away, being the 21<sup>st</sup> day of May 1642, and who shall hereafter be made, shall not sit or vote in the Parliament of England, without consent of both Houses.

**XXI. That** the deputy, or chief Governor, or other Governors of Ireland, as also the great officers of the Crown of England, be nominated by both Houses of Parliament.

**XXII. That** the education of his Majesty's children be in the Protestant religion, and that their tutors and governors be chosen by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms. And that if they be male, they be married to such only as are of the Protestant religion if they be females, they may not be married but with the advice and consent of both Parliaments.

**XXIII That** his Majesty will give his royal assent to such ways and means as the Parliaments of both Kingdoms shall think fitting, for the uniting the Protestant Princes, and for the entire restitution of Charles Lodwick Prince Elector Palatine, to his Electoral Dignity and Dominions, provided that this extend not to Prince Rupert, or Prince Maurice, or the children of either of them.

**XXIV. That** by act of Parliament the concluding of peace or war with foreign Princes and States, be with advice and consent of both Parliaments.

**XXV. That** an act of oblivion be passed in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms respectively, relative to the qualifications in the Propositions aforesaid.

**XXVI. That** the members of both Houses of Parliament, or others, who have, during this Parliament, been put out of any place or office, for adhering to the Parliament, may either be restored thereunto, or otherwise have recompense for the same.

**XXVII That** the armies may be disbanded, at such time and in such manner, as shall be agreed upon by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms.

**XXVIII. That** an act be passed, for the granting and confirming of the charters, customs, &c. of the City of London. notwithstanding any non-user, mis-user, or abuser.

**That** the militia of the City of London, and of the parishes without, may be in the ordering and government of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council.

**That** the Tower of London may be in the government of the City of London, and the chief officer and governor thereof from time to time be nominated and re-moveable by the Common Council.

**That** the Citizens or forces of London shall not be drawn out of the City into any other parts of the Kingdom, without their own consent, and that the drawing of their forces into other parts of the Kingdom in these distracted times, may not be drawn into examples for the future.

**And** for prevention of inconveniences, which may happen by the long intermission of Common Councils, it is defined, that there be an act, that all By-Laws and Ordinances already made, or hereafter to be made, by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, touching the calling, continuing, and regulating of the same, shall be as effectual in law, as if the same were particularly enabled by the authority of Parliament.

**And** that the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council may add to, or repeal the said ordinances from time to time as they shall see cause.

**That** such other propositions as shall be made for the City for their farther safety, welfare, and government, and shall be approved of by both Houses of Parliament, may be granted and confirmed by act of Parliament.

If, after the reading of these propositions, it should be sought what authority the two Houses intended to leave the King, supposing he had accepted them, it would be difficult to discover it. They pretended, as it evidently appears, to leave him only an empty title, and invest themselves with the sovereignty, and that, not by artifice, but openly and publicly. Their principle was, that the King; having rendered himself unworthy, by the breach of his oaths, and of the trust reposed in him by the people, to hold the reins of the Government, the supreme authority was to return to its original fountain, that is, to the people represented by the two Houses.

Accordingly they did not pretend that the justice or injustice of these propositions should be debated in the treaty of Uxbridge; for it would have been ridiculous to assign but twenty days for such an examination; but they gave them as conditions from which they would not depart, and which the King was to embrace or reject.

For this reason, the King's Commissioners endeavoured in vain to enter into a discussion of the propositions. All they gained by that was, that the Parliament's Commissioners offered to demonstrate by word of mouth, in private conferences, that the proportions were very just. After that, pretending to have urged satisfactory arguments, they coldly demanded their assent, though the King's Commissioners were far from being convinced by the reasons alleged to them.

This method of proceeding baffled the King's Commissioners, who had prepared many arguments, objections, and difficulties against the propositions, and determined to find fault with every expression. For, after all, the King was no more desirous of a peace than the two Houses, as will presently appear, and indeed it was almost impossible, considering the contrariety between the principles on which the two parties founded their respective rights. To say all in one word, the Parliament's Commissioners departed not from one tittle of what was contained in the propositions.

In the first place, as to religion, the need both Houses stood in of Scotland, and the Covenant made between the two nations, allowed them not to question the justice of that Covenant, which had been now sworn to in both Kingdoms. Accordingly it may be affirmed, their Commissioners defended this article very ill. For, to prove the necessity of the alterations made in religion, and in the discipline of the Church, the confirmation whereof they demanded, the best argument they alleged was the Covenant itself.

It is true, in some conferences their Ministers were ordered to speak, and endeavour to shew that Episcopacy was not *Jure Divino*. But this did not prove the absolute necessity of destroying it in England. All their reasonings were built upon the pretended mischief it had occasioned. But when the King's Commissioners proposed to suffer Episcopacy to remain, and to reform the abuses thereof, the reasons alleged by those of the Parliament not to agree to it were extremely weak[178].

For the Militia, an article which included the ordering of the forces of the Kingdom, the custody of places, the nomination to great posts, the Parliament could not depart from it, without owning, they were making war very wrongfully, since they pretended to do it, but in order to obtain such securities as they believed they had right to demand. If by a treaty, they should have accepted the King's word as sufficient security, every one would have perceived, they might have



avoided the war, by accepting that security which the King had always offered before the breach.

It must however be confessed, this article might very justly have been deemed a proper subject for a treaty. But the Parliament seems to have firmly adhered to this article of the militia, only to lay invincible obstacles to a peace. For it may be affirmed, that neither party desired it, unless greater advantages could be procured by a treaty than by arms.

As for Ireland, the two Houses thought they had upon this article so great an advantage, that they were glad to expose the King to give ill reasons in his defence. It is therefore certain, it was not properly with design to make peace that the two Houses sent their Commissioners to Uxbridge.

Their sole aim was, to let their party see, they were determined to support the alterations they had made in religion, and the establishment of Presbyterianism: To shew the public, the King, when he so frequently offered peace, offered only a peace very destructive and dangerous to the nation: Lastly, to confirm the people in their suspicions, that the King did not proceed as he ought in the affairs of Ireland.

The King, on his part, was no more inclined to seek expedients for a peace than the two Houses. If he sent his Commissioners to Uxbridge, it was, full, because having so often expressed his earnest desire to treat, he could not decently recede, when he was, as I may say, taken at his word.

Secondly, he knew, it had been moved in the Parliament to pursue the war more vigorously than ever, and that in order to do it with greater success, such alterations in the army were contriving, as could not but be disadvantageous to him. He hoped therefore, by means of the treaty of Uxbridge to retard the execution of that project, as well as the Parliament's preparations.

Thirdly, he did not question, but the unreasonable demands of both Houses would produce a good effect for him in the minds of the people, because they would clearly see, that the Parliament's aim was to destroy entirely the worship of the Church of England, practised ever since the reformation; to assume to themselves the sovereignty under colour of curbing the power of the Crown; and, in a word, to change the constitution of the government in Church and State.

But though he had consented to treat upon the Parliament's propositions, he was however resolved never to consent to the abolition of Episcopacy, or diminution of the Regal Authority, nor to deprive himself of the aid he expected to receive from Ireland, by a peace with the rebels, unless he was first sure of peace in England.

What has been advanced concerning the little inclination of both parties to peace, wants no proof with respect to the Parliament. Their propositions, the proceedings of their Commissioners, and the short space they assigned for the treaty, are clear evidences of it. As for the King, there are still more convincing proofs.

First, there is not the least likelihood, that in his situation, if he had really and sincerely resolved to labour for peace, he would have been willing, I won't say to accept, but even to listen to propositions, which tended to leave him only the empty title of King, and to deprive him wholly of the exercise of the royal power.

Had he been prisoner in the hands of the Parliament, harder terms could scarce have been proposed to him. And indeed, when that misfortune befell him afterwards, the Parliament made very little additions to these terms proposed to him at Uxbridge, when he was yet able to defend himself.

Secondly, these intentions I ascribe to the King, with regard to peace, are proved by several papers found in his cabinet at the battle of Naseby, fought a few months after, and which the Parliament ordered to be printed and published.

I shall give here some extracts of them, because they relate to the treaty of Uxbridge, of which I am now speaking. I own, it is not impossible, these papers may have been curtailed or forged by the publishers. But a bare possibility, without other proofs, would I not be sufficient to take away all credit from these papers, the originals whereof the Parliament boasted to have in their hands. Besides, the impartial reader can find nothing there contrary to the genius and character of Charles, or to the state of his affairs.

## Directions For My Uxbridge Commissioners

### Firstly Concerning Religion

**I**N this, the government of the Church (as I suppose) will be the chief question, wherein two things are to be considered, conscience and policy.

**For the first,** I must declare unto you, that I cannot yield to the change of the Government by Bishops, not only as I fully concur with the general opinion of Christians in all ages, as being the best, but likewise I hold myself particularly bound, by the oath I took at my Coronation, not to alter the government of this Church, from what I found it. And as for the Church's patrimony, I cannot suffer any diminution or alienation of it, it being, without peradventure, sacrilege, and likewise contrary to my Coronation oath. But whatsoever shall be offered for rectifying of abuses, if any have crept in, or yet for the ease of tender consciences, (so that it endamage not the foundation) I am content to hear, and will be ready to give a gracious answer thereunto.

**For the second;** as the King's duty is to protect the Church, so it is the Church's to assist the King in the maintenance of his just authority; wherefore my predecessors have been always careful, (especially since the Reformation) to keep the dependency of the Clergy entirely upon the Crown, without which it will scarcely sit fast upon the King's head; therefore you must do nothing to change or lessen this necessary dependency.

**Next concerning the Militia.** After conscience, this it is certainly the fittest subject for a King's quarrel; for without it the kingly power is but a shadow, and therefore upon no means to be quitted, but to be maintained according to the antient known Laws of the land: Yet because (to attain to this so much wished peace by all good men), it is in a manner necessary, that sufficient and real security be given for the performance of what shall be agreed upon, I permit you, either by leaving strong towns, or other military force to the rebels possession (until articles be performed) to give such assurance for performance of conditions, as you shall judge necessary for to conclude a peace, provided always, that you take (at least) as great care, by sufficient security, that conditions be performed to me, and to make sure, that the peace once settled, all things shall return into their antient channels.

**As for Ireland,** I confess they have very specious popular arguments to press this point, the gaining of no article more conducing to their ends than this; and I have as much reason, in both honour and policy, to take care how to answer this as any. All the world knows the eminent, inevitable, necessity, which caused me to make the Irish cessation; and there remain yet as strong reason for the concluding of that peace, wherefore you must consent to nothing to hinder me therein, until a clear way

be shewn me how my Protestant subjects there, may, probably (at least) defend themselves, and that I shall have no more need to defend my conscience and Crown from the injuries of this rebellion.

## **Memorials for Secretary Nicholas, Concerning The Treaty at Uxbridge**

**Oxford, Feb. 1644**

**I** **FOR** Religion and Church-government, I will not go one jot farther than what is offered by you already.

**II. And so for the militia**, more than what ye have allowed by me; but even in that you must observe, that I must have free nomination of the full half; as if the total number of Scots, and all, be thirty, I will name fifteen. Yet if they (I mean the English rebels) will be so base as to admit often Scots, to twenty English, I am contented to name five Scots, and ten English; and so proportionally to any number that shall be agreed upon.

**III. As for gaining of particular persons**, besides security, I give you power to promise them rewards for performed services, not sparing to engage for places, so they be not of great trust, or be taken away from honest men in possession, but as much profit as you will. With this last you are only to acquaint Richmond, Southampton, Culpepper and Hyde.

## **The Queen to The King**

**Paris, Jan. 6. December 27, 1644-5**

**I** **UNDERSTAND** that the Commissioners are arrived at London; I have nothing to say, but that you have a care of your honour, and that if you have a peace, it may be such as may hold; and if it fall out otherwise, that you do not abandon those who have served you, for fear they do forsake you in your need;

Also, I do not see how you can be in safety without a regiment of guards; for myself, I think I cannot be, seeing the malice which they have against me, and my religion, of which I hope you will have a care of both; but, in my opinion, religion should be the last thing upon which you should treat: For if you do agree upon strictness against the Catholics, it would discourage them to serve you; and if afterwards there should be no peace, you could never expect succours either from Ireland, or any other Catholic Prince, for they would believe you would abandon them, after you have saved yourself.

## **His Majesty's Letter to The Queen**

**Oxford, Dec. 1644.**

**Dear Heart,**

**N** **OW** (as a certain truth) that all, even my party, are strangely impatient for peace, which obliged me so much the more, at all occasions to shew my real intentions to peace: And likewise, I am put in very good hope, (some hold

it a certainty) that if I should come to a fair treaty, the ring leading rebels could not hinder me from a good peace:

**First**, because their own party are most weary of the war, and likewise for the great distractions which at this time most assuredly are amongst themselves, as Presbyterians against independents in religion, and general against general in point of command. Upon these grounds a treaty being most desirable, (not without hope of good success) the most probable means to procure it was to be used, which might stand with honour and safety.

**Amongst the rest**, (for I will omit all those which are unquestionably concealable) the sound of my return to London, was thought to have so much force of popular rhetoric in it, that upon it a treaty would be had, or if refused, it would bring much prejudice to them, and be advantageous to me; yet, lest foolish or malicious people should interpret this, as to proceed from fear or folly, I have joined conditions with the proposition (with out which this sound will signify nothing) which thou wilt find to be most of the chief ingredients of an honourable and safe peace.

**Then observe**, if a treaty at London with Commissioners for both sides, may be had without it, it is not to be used, nor in case they will treat with no body but myself; so that the conditions save any aspersion of dishonour, and the treating at London, the malignity which our factious spirits here may infuse into this treaty upon this subject. This I hope will secure thee from the trouble, which otherwise may be caused by false malicious rumours; and though I judge myself secure in thy thoughts, from suspecting me guilty of any baseness, yet I held this account necessary, to the end thou may make others know, as well as thyself, this certain truth, that no danger of death or misery (which I think much worse) shall make me do any thing unworthy of thy love.

I conclude, by conjuring thee as thou lovest me, that no appearance of peace, nor hopeful conditions of mine, make thee neglect to hasten succour for him, who is eternally thine.

## To The Queen

**Jan. 1<sup>st</sup> 1644**

**I** SHALL now tell thee, That the rebels are engaged into an equal treaty, and that the distractions of London were never so great, or so likely to bring good effect as now. Lastly, that the assistance was never more needful, never so likely as now to do good to him, who is eternally thine.

## To The Queen Oxford, Jan. 2. 1644

**Dear Heart,**

**A**S for my calling those at London a Parliament, I shall refer thee to Digby for particular satisfaction; this is in general: If there had been but two (besides myself) of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, That the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a Parliament. Upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherwise, and accordingly it is registered in the Council books, with the Council's unanimous approbation.

**To the Queen  
Oxford, Jan. 22, 1644**

**Dear Heart,**

I Believe thou wilt approve of my choice of traitors; and for my propositions, they differ nothing in substance (very little in words) from those which were last.

Now upon the whole matter, I desire thee to shew the Queen and Ministers there, the improbability that this present treaty should produce a peace, considering the great strange difference (if not contrariety) of grounds that are betwixt the rebels propositions and mine, and that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, until they be out of hope to prevail by force, which a little assistance by thy means will soon make them so; for I am confident, if ever I could put them to a defensive (which a reasonable sum of money would do) they would be easily brought to reason.

**The Queen to The King  
Paris, Jan. 17-27, 1644,**

**My dear Heart,**

**T**OM ELLIOT, two days since, hath brought me much joy and sorrow; the first to know the good estate in which you are, the other, the fear I have that you go to London. I cannot conceive where the wit was of those who gave you this counsel; unless it be to hazard your person to save theirs: But thanks be to God, to day I received one of yours by the Ambassador of Portugal, dated in January, which comforted me much to see that the treaty shall be at Uxbridge.

For the honour of God, trust not yourself in the hands of these people; and if you ever go to London, before the Parliament be ended, or without a good army, you are lost. I underhand that the propositions for the peace must begin by disbanding the army; if you consent to this, you shall be lost, they having the whole power of the militia, they have done and will do whatsoever you will. I received yesterday letters from the Duke of Lorraine who sends word, if his service be agreeable to you, he will bring you ten thousand men. Dr. Goffe, whom I have sent into Holland, shall treat with him in his passage upon this business, and I hope very speedily to send good news of this, as also of the money; assure yourself, I will be wanting in nothing you shall desire and that I will hazard my life, that is, to die by famine, rather than not to send to you. Send me word always by whom you receive my letters; for I write both by the Ambassador of Portugal, and the resident of France: Above all, have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the Bishops, as the poor Catholics. Adieu—

**The King to the Queen  
Jan. 30**

**THE** treaty begins this day. I desire thee to be confident, that I shall never make a peace by abandoning my friends, nor such a one as will not stand with my honour and safety.

**To The Queen**

**Oxford, Feb. 15/25, 1644**

**Dear Heart,**

**A**S for our treaty, there is every day less hopes than other, that it would produce a peace, but I will absolutely promise thee, that if we have one, it shall be such as shall invite thy return; for I vow, that without thy company I can neither have peace nor comfort within myself. The limited days for treating are now almost expired, without the least agreement upon any one article; wherefore I have sent for enlargement of days, that the whole treaty may be laid open to the world; and I assure thee, that thou needest not doubt the issue of this treaty, for my commissioners are so well chosen, (though I say it) that they will neither be threatened nor disputed from the grounds I have given them, which, upon my word, is according to the little note thou so well remembrest, and in this not only their obedience, but their judgments concur.

In short, there is little or no appearance, but that this summer will be the hottest for war of any that hath been yet; and be confident, that in making peace, I shall ever shew my constancy in adhering to Bishops, and all our friends, and not forget to put a short period to this perpetual Parliament. But as thou lovest me, let none persuade thee to slacken thine assistance for him, who is eternally thine.

**C. R. To the Queen**  
**Oxford, Feb. 19, 1644**

**Dear Heart,**

I Cannot yet send thee any certain word concerning the issue of our treaty, only the unreasonable stubbornness of the rebels gives daily less and less hopes of any accommodation this way; wherefore I hope no rumours shall hinder thee from hastening, all thou may, all possible assistance to me, and particularly that of the Duke of Lorrain, concerning which I received yesterday good news from Dr. Goff, that the Prince of Orange will furnish shipping for his transportation, and that the rest of his negotiations goes hopefully on—

As for trusting the rebels, either by going to London or disbanding my army before a peace, do no ways fear my hazarding so cheaply or foolishly; for I esteem the full trust thou hast in me at a far dearer rate, and pretend to have a little more wit.—

**To The Queen**  
**Oxford, March 5, 1644**

**Dear Heart,**

**N**OW is come to pass what I foresaw, the fruitless end (as to a present peace) of this treaty but I am still confident, that I shall find very good effects of it: For besides that my commissioners have offered, to say no more, full measured reason, and the rebels have stuck rigidly to their demands, which I dare say had been too much, though they had taken me prisoner, so that assuredly the breach would light foully upon them:

We have likewise at this time discovered, and shall make it evidently appear to the world, that the English rebels (whether basely or ignorantly will be no very great difference) have, as much as in them lies, transmitted the command of Ireland from the Crown of England to the Scots, which, besides the reflection it will have upon these rebels, will clearly shew, that reformation of the Church is not the chief, much less the only end of the Scotch rebellion.

But it being preemption, and no piety, so to trust to a good cause, as not to use all lawful means to maintain it; I have thought of one means more to furnish thee with for my assistance, than hitherto thou haft had; it is, that I give thee power to promise in my name (to whom thou thinkest most fit) that I will take away all the Penal Laws against the Roman Catholics in England, as soon as God shall make me able to do it, so as by their means, or in their favours, I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it. But if thou ask what I call that assistance, I answer, that when thou knowest what may be done for it, it will be easily seen if it deserve to be so esteemed. I need not tell thee what secrecy this business requires; yet this I will say, that this is the greatest point of confidence I can express to thee, for it is no thanks to me to trust thee in any thing else but in this, which is the only thing of difference in opinion betwixt us:

And yet I know thou wilt make as good a bargain for me, even in this, I trusting thee (though it concerns religion) as if thou wert a Protestant, the visible good of my affairs so much depending on it—.

## **To The Queen**

### **Oxford, March 13. O. S.**

**Dear Heart,**

**W**HAT I told thee the last week concerning a good parting with our Lords and Commons here, was on Monday last handsomely performed: And now if I do any thing unhandsome or disadvantageous to myself or friends in order to a treaty, it will be merely my own fault; for I confess, when I wrote last, I was in fear to have been pressed to make some mean overtures to renew the treaty, (knowing there were great labouring to that purpose) but now I promise thee, if it be renewed, (which I believe will not without some eminent good success on my side) it shall be to my honour and advantage, I being now as well freed from the place of base and mutinous motions, (that is to say, our mongrel Parliament here) as of the chief causers, from whom I may justly expect to be bidden by thee, for having suffered thee to be vexed by them; being already there, Percy on his way, and Sussex within few days taking his journey to thee—.

I shall make no other remark on these letters, than that they evidently shew, the peace which the King seemed to desire so earnestly, was an empty sound which had nothing real, but as taken in his private sense of the word. I have shewn on the other side, that the two Houses were not more inclined to peace.

Wherefore I hope my readers will not take it ill, that I forbear to enter into a long detail of the conferences at Uxbridge, where both parties sought rather to amuse the public than expedients to conclude. I shall therefore content myself with briefly relating, how far the condescension of the two parties reached towards making that peace they seemed to wish for so ardently.

## **The Offers of The King Commissioners on Religion**

Upon the article of religion, the King's Commissioners, after many disputes, consented at last to the following particulars:—

- 1. That** freedom be left to all persons, of what opinions soever, in matters of ceremony, and that all the penalties of the laws and customs which enjoin these ceremonies be suspended (1).

**Remark 1.** Since the penal Laws were not to be abolished, but only suspended, it followed that the Presbyterians could rely on that freedom no longer than it was out of the King's power to deprive them of it.

**2. That** the Bishop shall exercise no act of jurisdiction or Ordination, without the consent and counsel of the Presbyter, who shall be chosen (by the Clergy of each Diocese), out of the learnedst and gravest ministers of that Diocese (2).

**Remark 2.** It was not declared who they were that would chuse the Presbyter. If it was the Bishop, this concession amounted to little or nothing[179].

**3. That** the Bishop keep his constant residence in his Diocese, except when he shall be required by his Majesty to attend him on any occasion, and that (if he be not hindered by the infirmities of old age or sickness) he preach every Sunday in some Church within his Diocese (3).

**Remark 3.** This was no more than the Bishop's duty, and it was not for the King's honour to let this be considered as a condescension to promote the peace.

**4. That** the Ordination of Ministers shall be always in a public and solemn manner, and very strict rules observed, concerning the sufficiency and other qualifications of those men, who shall be received into Holy Orders; and the Bishop shall not receive any into Holy Orders, without the approbation and consent of the Presbyters, or the major part of them.

**5. That** competent maintenance and provision be established by act of Parliament, to such vicarages as belong to Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, out of the impropriations, and according to the value of those impropriations, of the several Parishes(4).

**Remark 4.** One of the principal things urged against the Church of England by the Presbyterians, was, that the Churches were ill served, because the Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, committed the cure of those which belonged to them, to inefficient preachers for cheapness sake. This abuse, doubtless, ought to have been reformed, without making it one of the conditions of the Peace.

**6. That** for the time to come, no man shall be capable of two parsonages or vicarages with cure of souls.

**7. That** towards the settling of the public peace, one hundred thousand pounds shall be raised by act of Parliament, out of the estates of Bishop, Deans, and Chapters, in such manner as shall be thought fit by the King and two the Houses of Parliament, without the alienation of any of the said Lands (5).

**Remark 5.** By the treaty between the Parliament and Scotland, the lands of the Bishops, Deans, and Chapters were assigned for the payment of the Scotch troops. The King seemed by this concession to agree, that one hundred thousand pounds should be raised upon those lands. But in supposing likewise the necessity of the King's consent for the applying that sum, the Scots could not be sure he would agree that it should be assigned to them.

**8. That** the jurisdiction in causes testamentary, decimal, matrimonial, be settled in such manner as shall seem most convenient by the King and the two Houses of Parliament (6).

**Remark 6.** This concession signified nothing, for since the King meant not to give up his negative vote in Parliament, to say, that after the peace this article should be settled by the King



and the two Houses, was as much as to say, there should be no alteration in it but what the King pleased.

**9. That** one or more acts of Parliament be passed, for regulating of visitations, and against immoderate fees in Ecclesiastical Courts, and the abuses by frivolous excommunications, and all other abuses in the exercise of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in such manner as shall be agreed upon by his Majesty, and both Houses of Parliament (7).

**Remark 7.** This pretended concession is like the former, for after the peace should be made, it would be still in the King's breast to give or withhold his assent to the reformation of the abuses; whereas the point was to settle what ought to have been reformed.

When these concessions are compared with the Parliament's demand, that Episcopacy should be abolished; it is no wonder, the Parliament's commissioners were not satisfied with them. Accordingly, without losing time in disputing upon these articles, they rejected them as insufficient, and offered not to qualify their demand in the least.

As to the Militia, the King's commissioners, after long disputing, and alleging various arguments to shew the injustice of depriving the King of one of the most effectual Prerogatives of the Crown, and the inconveniences which would infallibly spring from thence, were willing to grant:—

**That** all the forces of the Kingdom, both by sea and land, should be put into the hands of twenty commissioners, ten to be named by the King, and ten by the two Houses, and that the same thing should be done in Scotland. But they would not consent, the commissioners for Scotland should be joined with those for England, so as to form one committee, or that the first should in any manner meddle with the affairs of England. Upon these conditions, they offered, that the King should be content that this commission should continue for three years.

But still the power of these commissioners was first to be settled, wherein there were very great difficulties.

The Parliament's commissioners would not agree, that the King should name ten of the persons that were to be included with the Militia. Their reason was, that the point being to give the People security, they would have none, if half the commissioners were nominated by the King: Nay, rather it would be a means to re-kindle the war, there being no likelihood that these commissioners, thus equally divided, would ever agree, since they would be of directly opposite principles.

Moreover, proceeding upon the foundation of the union between England and Scotland, and upon the dangers being common to both Kingdoms, they persisted to demand, that the commissioners of both Kingdoms should act in common.

Upon these two conditions they agreed, that the commission should continue but seven years, after having long contended for an unlimited time. Thus the negotiation upon this, succeeded no better than upon the foregoing article[180].

## About Ireland

As to Ireland, the Commissioners agreed upon nothing, The Parliament's would have the cessation to be void, and for the future, neither peace nor truce to be made without the consent of both Houses. The King's, knowing his Majesty's mind, that he would not only maintain the

cessation, but even designed to make peace with the Irish, were far from consenting to the Parliament's demand.

So, the whole dispute turned upon this point, whether the King had power to conclude a cessation, without the privity of the two Houses, some affirming, others denying it. On each side, the same arguments were frequently repeated, with mutual reproaches for several proceedings; and almost all the facts alleged by one side, were denied by the other, so that neither of the parties made any concession.

After a negotiation of eighteen days upon the three articles I have been speaking of, the King's Commissioners desired, his Majesty's propositions, particularly those concerning the cessation of arms, and the King's return to the Parliament, might be considered. The other Commissioners answered, that when the two Houses should see the treaty likely to succeed, they would consent to prolong it.

The two remaining days were spent by the King's commissioners, in trying to obtain a prolongation of the treaty, but they could not prevail. It must be remembered, that the King's aim was to gain time for two principal reasons.

**First**, as he was persuaded, that as long as the people had any hopes of peace, they would not easily be induced to find the Parliament the necessary supplies for the continuation of the war, and so the preparations of the two Houses would be retarded.

**The second** was, that he rightly judged, the Parliament would not seriously think of executing their project concerning the army, whilst there should be any expedition of peace. The two Houses perceiving the King's intention, avoided the snare, and the conferences broke off upon the expiration of the twenty days[181].

The House of Commons, or rather, a new party which had been formed in the House, waited only for this rupture, to execute a project which I have just mentioned, but of which it will be necessary to speak here more largely, since the execution of this project serves for foundation to all the events which afterwards happened.

Before the Parliament was assisted by Scotland, the war had not been much to their advantage. The successes of the two first campaigns were so far from answering their expectations, that very probably, without the assistance of the Scots, they would have been forced to make such a peace as the King desired.

If in the third, the King had lost all the North, he had made himself amends, by gaining almost all the western counties, and, after the second battle of Newbury, he was still at Oxford, in condition to withstand his enemies. The Scotch army, which, having subdued all the North, was advancing towards the middle of the Kingdom, was therefore what made the balance incline to the Parliament's side, and what, probably, was to give them the superiority in the fourth campaign, for which both sides were preparing.

**AD 1644-5]** This aid came very seasonably, to establish the affairs of the Presbyterians, who were then all powerful in the Parliament, and disposed of everything as they pleased. They were the men who had most conduced to engage the Kingdom in a war, and called in the Scots, because they could not hope to execute their designs, unless the Parliament's arms were victorious.

But before I proceed, it will be absolutely necessary to make known these Presbyterians, who till then seemed to make but one and the same party, though in reality they consisted of two, very different from each other, both in principles and interests. After all my pains, I have not been able to discover precisely, the first rise of the independent sect or faction. Thus much is certain, their principles were very proper to put the Kingdom in a flame, as they did effectually.

With regard to the State, they abhorred Monarchy, and approved only a republican Government. As to religion, their principles were contrary to those of all the rest of the world. They not only were averse to episcopacy, and the ecclesiastical hierarchy; but would not so much as endure ordinary Ministers in the Church. They maintained, that every man might pray in public, exhort his brethren, interpret the scriptures, according to the talents God had endowed him with; whereas very often Ministers were ordained without proper endowments, whilst those of many laymen remained useless for want of external ordination.

So with them, every one prayed, preached, admonished, interpreted the Holy Scriptures, without any other call than what he himself drew from his zeal, and supposed gifts, and without any other authority than the approbation of his auditors[182].

I cannot exactly tell, whether this sect or faction was entirely formed at the beginning of the Parliament, or whether it sprung up during the sessions. But there is, I think, a distinction to be made upon this subject. I conjecture, that the sect was already formed, with respect to civil Government, and arose from the principles of arbitrary power, which James I. and Charles I. laboured to establish, but that with regard to religion, it was formed during this Parliament.

I build my conjecture upon this. When the long Parliament began, there were but two known parties in the English Church, namely, the Episcopalians, or Church of England men, and the Presbyterians. The name of independent was entirely unknown, and those, afterwards called independents, were certainly united with the Presbyterians, and made a very considerable part of them. But they were different from the other Presbyterians, as they proposed for their end to change the Monarchy into a Commonwealth, which cannot be imputed to the Presbyterians in general.

It is very true, the Presbyterians were for humbling the regal power, and leaving the King only the shadow of Sovereignty; but they preserved a sort of attachment to the name of King, and at least an external respect for royalty. If we examine the propositions they presented to the King at several times, we shall find them all built upon this foundation. They were in that like the Scots, who cannot justly be accused of intending to abolish Monarchy, though they proposed to reduce it within very narrow bounds.

The Independents, after having lent their utmost assistance to diminish the regal power, in hopes thereby to attain their end, the destruction of the Monarchy; perceived at last, they should not be able, without great difficulty, to accomplish their design. The reason was, because neither the English, nor Scotch, Presbyterians, had any inclination to establish a Commonwealth, and because their whole clergy, who had a great influence in that party, were of the same principles.

They judged therefore, it would be very advantageous to them, to destroy the clergy's authority, by intimating them to be unnecessary, and their vocation established upon no good foundation. Then it was that the independent sect began to be formed with regard to religion; for there are no signs of it, till about the end of the year 1644. I own this to be only conjecture, which may be rejected if anything more plausible occurs.

It is no wonder therefore, that from the beginning of this Parliament, the Independents had earnestly contributed to put it out of the King's power to preserve his authority but by a war, and to ruin the Church of England. It is rather to be considered, that this was the natural conference of their principles, and a very proper means to lead them to their end.

The humbling of the King, and the destruction of the Church of England, were two points that were necessarily to be gained, before the establishment of a Commonwealth was endeavoured. It was not therefore proper, they should separate from the Presbyterians, as long as these last concurred with them in their design to gain these two principal points. For that reason, they readily consented to call in the Scots, and made no scruple to approve of the covenant, and

whatever else was required by the Scots. The business then was to be able to resist the King, who had acquired some superiority, by the happy success of his arms. This was the common interest of the Presbyterians and independents, who would have been equally ruined, if the King's party had prevailed.

## **The Independents Begin to Undermine The Power of The Presbyterians**

Meanwhile, the Scotch army, in strengthening alike the Presbyterians and independents against the King, confirmed withal to the first, the superiority they had for some time enjoyed. As long as this superiority lasted, it was almost impossible for the independents to attain their ends. They judged it therefore absolutely necessary, to undermine the great power of the Presbyterians, not openly, for fear of being oppressed before they had well laid their measures, but secretly, and by artifice.

To that purpose, the leaders of this party, as Vane, Cromwell, Tate, Hasterig, and some others, began to make themselves very popular, and to express a great zeal for the public, in order to gain the goodwill of the people. They had their emissaries every where, who diligently aggravated the faults committed since the beginning of the war, as well in the administration of the Government, as in the military actions, and insinuated, they were entirely to be ascribed to the private views of the members of Parliament, who possessing all the places and offices, were very unmindful to put an end to the troubles.

That some of the generals had designedly missed opportunities of fighting with advantage, and that, in a word, the greatest part dreaded nothing so much as a decision, either by arms or a good peace.

## **Cromwell Accuses The Earl of Manchester Before Parliament**

In support of these rumours which were spread abroad; Cromwell came to the Parliament at the end of the campaign, and publicly accused the Earl of Manchester, of not having done his duty at the battle of Newbury, and the affair of Dennington Castle; insinuating, he was afraid of putting a too speedy end to the war[183].

The Earl answered by a memorial, which he presented to the Lords, and Cromwell thought not fit to prosecute his accusation, which was properly a preparative only to begin the execution of a greater project.

This public proceeding of Cromwell raised a suspicion, that he was one of the principal authors of the rumours which tended to render the people jealous of the Parliament, There was even a conference held at the Earl of Essex's, where it was considered, whether he should be arrested. But as the proofs appeared not efficiently clear, it was resolved to wait till he should have laid himself more open. Probably, some of those that were present at this conference informed him of it, which made him hasten the execution of the project formed by himself and his friends[184].

This project was to exclude all the Members of Parliament from enjoying any office or command military or civil. It is certain, that from the beginning of the war, the Parliament in the distribution of posts, had not forgot their own members, or rather to say the truth, all the principal posts were possessed by the members of one or other House. Hence sprung two great inconveniences.

**The first**, that as, since the breach with the King, the two Houses had ruled with an absolute sway, the members who had posts in the army, had so great influence there, that no man durst oppose their sentiments, or take notice of their faults or misdemeanours, which by that means were always unpunished.

This had at length bred at the end of the last Campaign those great dissensions between the generals, which proved so prejudicial to the common cause. The second inconvenience was, that it was undeniably the particular interest of the Members of Parliament to prolong the war; since the end of the troubles, whether it happened by a decisive battle, or a treaty, would strip them of their employs.

This project was therefore founded upon reasons very plausible, and apt to make impression on the people. But withal, it was of great advantage to the independents, in that the power of the Presbyterian party would be considerably lessened, and they had so well laid their measures, that they were most sure, the vacant posts would be filled with men of their party. This was the more feasible, as hitherto the independents not having yet pulled off the mask, it was not easy to discover who were so, since they were still confounded with the Presbyterians.

To execute this grand project, the leaders of the independents resolved to move two things in the Parliament. The first, to put the army under a new model, that is, to form new regiments of horse and foot out of the present troops, so that there would be still the same officers and soldiers, but new bodies other ways composed than before.

**The second**, that the Parliament should pass an ordinance excluding the members of either House from enjoying or executing any office or command civil or military. The first was founded upon the necessity of putting an end to all factions and cabals, which might be formed in the several bodies of the army; the second, upon the necessity of demonstrating to the people, that the Parliament was not influenced by private views, but preferred the public good to the interest of their own members.

But the Presbyterian members thereby lost at once all their posts and credit in the army. This was the true reason of the proceedings of the independents, which however they carefully concealed. The other reasons were so plausible, that they did not question they would be very agreeable to the people, who were already disposed to approve them. And therefore it was thought, several members would not venture to contradict them, for fear of raising a suspicion of their acting from motives of interest.

## Cromwell's Speech to The House of Commons

On the 9th of December 1644, these motions were made in the House of Commons, at the time when the treaty of Uxbridge was preparing. The managers of the affair[185], moved to take into consideration the state of the Kingdom, the reasons why the war lasted so long, and the consequences of the treaty of Uxbridge, in case it was unsuccessful. This motion being approved of, the House voted themselves into a grand committee, to debate upon these points. A general silence being kept for some time, Oliver Cromwell stood up at last, and spoke briefly to this effect:—

**That** it was now a time to speak, or forever to hold the tongue: The important occasion being no less than to save a nation out of a bleeding, nay, almost dying condition, which the long continuance of the war had already brought it into; so that, without a more speedy, vigorous, and effectual prosecution of the war, calling off all lingering proceedings like soldiers of fortune beyond sea, to spin out a war, we shall make the Kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a Parliament.

**For** what do the enemy say? Nay, what do many say that were friends at the beginning of the Parliament? Even this, That the members of both Houses have got great places and commands, and the sword into their hands, and what by interest in Parliament, what by power in the army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur, and not permit the war speedily to end, lest their own power should determine with it.

**This I speak** here to our own faces, is but what others do utter abroad behind our backs. I am far from reflecting on any; I know the worth of those commanders, Members of both Houses, who are yet in power; but if I may speak my conscience without reflection upon any, I do conceive, if the army be not put into another method, and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear the war no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace.

**But this I would recommend** to your prudence, not to insist upon any complaint or oversight of any commander in chief upon any occasion whatsoever; for as I must acknowledge myself guilty of oversights, so I know they can rarely be avoided in military affairs; therefore waving a strict inquiry into the causes of these things, let us apply ourselves to the remedy which is most necessary. And I hope, we have such true English hearts and zealous affections towards the general weal of our mother country, as no members of either House will scruple to deny themselves, and their own private interests, for the public good; nor account it to be a dishonour done to them, whatever the Parliament shall resolve upon in this weighty matter.

### **Motion to Exclude all Members From Posts**

Cromwell was seconded by others who spoke, like him, in a general manner, without making any particular proposition. At last Zouch Tate and Sir Henry Vane moved expressly to have all members of Parliament excluded from commands and offices.

### **Another for New Modelling The Army**

This motion was long debated, and at length approved by a majority of voices, and a committee was appointed to prepare an ordinance to that purpose. Two days after, this ordinance was brought into the House, and it was resolved, that the 18th of the same month should be set apart for a fast, to implore a blessing on this affair, as well as on the intended new model of the army, which had been also voted, though I could not find the day.

The 4th of December this ordinance was again taken into consideration, and canvassed (in a grand Committee) very seriously on both sides[186]. The 18th the fast was kept, and the 19th the ordinance passed the House of Commons. It was called the self-denying ordinance, because the House in passing it, renounced their own advantages.

### **Another Self Denying Ordinance Passes The Commons**

The affair however was not finished till the Lords had approved of the ordinance, to which they were by no means inclined. On the contrary, at a conference with the Commons, they urged several reasons against it. Whereupon, the 13th of January, the whole House of Commons went up to the Peers with a message to press them to pass the self-denying ordinance. Nevertheless they rejected it that same day[187].

### **The Commons Form a New Model**

Notwithstanding this, the Commons proceeded in forming a new model of the army, which they voted should consist, in the whole, of one and twenty thousand men, namely, six thousand horse, one thousand dragoons, and fourteen thousand foot: That the horse shall be divided into ten regiments; the dragoons into ten single companies; and the foot into ten regiments of at least twelve hundred men each.

### **They Make Sir Thomas Fairfax General**

After that, they appointed Sir Thomas Fairfax to be general, son to the Lord Fairfax who commanded in the north. This done, they passed an ordinance, for raising money for the maintenance of the army which was to serve under the command of the new general, and on the 28th of January sent it up to the Lords for their concurrence[188].

### **The Lords Consent to it**

The Lords scrupled to consent to several articles concerning the nomination of the principal officers. But as there were but few Peers, they were told, they would do themselves unspeakable prejudice if they pretended to oppose the resolutions of the Commons, and in short, that their concurrence was not necessary. In all appearance, this made the Lords pass the ordinance the 15th of February, without any amendments[189].

### **Fairfax Gives a New List of The New Colonels**

The 19th of the same month Sir Thomas Fairfax, being conducted to the House by four members, was complimented by the Speaker. After that, he delivered a list of the colonels he had appointed, by virtue of a clause in his commission, among whom there was not a single Member of Parliament[190].

There was also upon this occasion some difference between the two Houses. But after several conferences, the Lords approved of the list the 18<sup>th</sup> of March.

### **The Commons at Last Get Self Denying Ordinance Passed**

Thus the new Model was completed, and though the self denying ordinance had been thrown out by the Lords, the Commons had now obtained, by empowering the general to nominate the officers of the army, the exclusion of the members of Parliament from all military posts. This made them hope, it would not be impossible to cause their ordinance to pass. And indeed, (they resumed the debate of it March 24), and, on the 31st, it was sent up to the Lords for their consent, though they had already refused it.

### **Essex, Denbigh and Manchester Surrender Their Commissions**

Then, the Earls of Essex, Denbigh, and Manchester, perceiving it would be in vain to strive against the stream, and that their House was not in condition to withstand the Commons, surrendered their commissions, and received the thanks of both Houses[191]. The next day, the 3rd of April, the Lords passed the self denying ordinance; and thus ended this affair, which had been depending four months[192].

### **Remark on The Proceedings of The Commons**

When it is considered, with what earnestness the Commons proceeded in the self-denying ordinance, one is apt at first to believe, either that the number of the independents was very superior in the House, or that the members were very disinterested. But neither of these was the case.

The Presbyterians ever preserved a superiority of number, which became still greater by the members excluded from their posts, who not being employed in the army or elsewhere, increased their party in the Parliament. As to the disinterestedness of the members, it is not to be imagined, that men who had till now expressed such a greediness, as to monopolize, as I may say, and engross to themselves all the places of trust and profit, should thus suddenly change from black to white, and sincerely desire to relinquish them. But the case was, they were

attacked on their weak side, and so could vindicate themselves only by shewing a disinterestedness, which might at least make it doubtful, whether it was through selfishness that they had engrossed to themselves all the offices and posts.

The independents, before they discovered their design, had taken care to prepossess the people with such plausible reasons, that the Parliament was in danger of being entirely deserted, if they undertook to justify their conduct, and maintain their partiality.

This certainly was what caused the ordinance to pass, though it was manifestly designed to ruin the Presbyterian party. For though their superiority of number in the Parliament did not cease, the independents knew, that by having the army on their side, it would be in their power to obey the Parliament no farther than they pleased. Accordingly to this they bent all their endeavours, as soon as things were regulated as they had projected.

## **Cromwell's Power Over The General**

The new General was reckoned a zealous Presbyterian, and by that the Parliament had been allured to chuse him. But Cromwell had such an influence over him, that he made him do whatever he pleased. He had artfully persuaded him, that his sole view was the welfare of religion, and the good of his country, and thereby prepared him to receive his counsels, and place an entire confidence in him.

## **Cromwell's Dissimulation**

For though the independent party began to shew themselves very openly, they did not yet pretend to form a separate party from that of the Presbyterians, and it was more than a year before they appeared at last entirely unmasked. Cromwell especially, more than any other of this party, put on the appearance of a rigid Presbyterian, and seemed to intend only the firm establishment of Presbyterianism. This was necessary to preserve the confidence of the new General, and make him act according to his views, without discovering the end to which he meant to conduct him. But it was not yet time to make known his designs.

There were then but two things absolutely necessary for the advantage of his party.

**The first**, in new modelling the army, to order it so, that the officers, whom the independents thought they could confide in, might keep their commissions, and those whom they considered as their enemies, might be cashiered. For as three armies were to be reduced into one, many officers would of course be dismissed.

**The second** thing was to prosecute the war more vigorously than hitherto, and endeavour more strenuously to disable the King to maintain it. It is evident the designs of the independents could not be executed but by the King's destruction. This was necessarily to be supposed, and consequently, all risks were to be run to put a speedy conclusion to the war, as nothing could be more prejudicial to them than its continuation.

## **The General Forms a New Army**

As soon as Sir Tomas Fairfax had received his commission from the Parliament, he came to Windsor, his head quarters, and from thence sent commissioners where ever there were troops, to form the new regiments, and disband the supernumerary officers.

No doubt, these commissioners, who were mostly general officers, had private instructions concerning the officers, they were either to continue or break, and Cromwell had framed in great measure these instructions, though he did not appear to be concerned. The Parliament undertook this reform in a very dangerous season[193].



It was in Aprils when the King was preparing to take the field. If unhappily, they had met with resistance in the troops, as many were apprehensive, and if this change had occasioned revolts, which might easily have happened by the in legations of the disbanded officers, they would have been without an army, at the beginning of a campaign, and consequently unable to withstand the King's forces. But they heard with pleasure, that every thing was effected with great tranquillity, and their orders every where perfectly obeyed.

## **He Detaches Cromwell Towards Oxford**

The General remained at Windsor all April, not being able sooner to finish what was to be done, to prepare the army for action. During this time, he received a letter from the committee of both Kingdoms[194], informing him, that the King had sent to Prince Rupert, to come and join him with two thousand horse.

Wherefore, he was ordered to dispatch a party of horse towards Oxford to hinder this junction. And as the self-denying ordinance was not to take place till after forty days, namely, on the 13th of May, the charge of this service was by the committee particularly recommended to Lieutenant General Cromwell

## **Exploits of Cromwell**

Cromwell departing from Windsor the 24th of April, met, near Islip-Bridge[195], with a brigade of the King's horse, consisting of the Queen's, and three other regiments, and utterly routed them[196]. Then he marched to Sir Thomas Coggins at Blechington, where Colonel Windebank, Secretary Windebank's son, kept a garrison for the King, and summoned the Colonel with a sharp message, who immediately surrendered.

## **The King Orders Colonel Windebank to be Shot**

The King was so incensed at his cowardice, that he caused him to be condemned by a council of war, and afterwards shot to death. Cromwell gained some other advantages in those parts, but was repulsed in an assault upon Farrington.

## **The King's Party Besiege Taunton**

After the Earl of Essex's disaster in Cornwall, the Parliament was very weak in the western counties. They had in Dorsetshire only Poole, Lyme and Weymouth; in Devonshire, Plymouth alone, and that besieged; and in Somersetshire, only Taunton, closely invested by Sir Richard Grenvil and in great distress. The Parliament, fearing to lose this important place, sent express orders to the General to march with his whole army, and raise the siege, not considering that the midland counties would be left defenceless, just as the King was going to take the field. Meanwhile, Fairfax, in obedience to the orders, began his march the 30th of April and on the 7th of May was beyond Salisbury.

## **The General Ordered to Relieve Taunton**

The Committee of both Kingdoms having intelligence, that the King was on the 7th of May to head his army, perceived their error in sending all their forces into the West, and leaving the middle of the Kingdom defenceless. Wherefore they dispatched with all speed an order to the General, which reached him at Blandford, to return, and send only a party to relieve Taunton. The General immediately obeyed, and detaching Colonel Welden with about five thousand foot, and eighteen hundred horse to Taunton, returned back to Newbury, where he stayed some days to refresh his troops.

## **The Siege of Taunton**

At the approach of the party sent to Taunton, Sir Richard Greenvil raised the siege of that place, where relief, could not come more seasonably, so much was it pressed. But shortly after, General Goring came into Somersetshire with: three thousand horse, given him by the King, when he heard Fairfax was marching to the west. Then, Greenvil joining him, they went together, and laid siege again to Taunton, where the party that relieved the town were shut up.

## **He Takes Leicester by Storm**

**AD 1645]** During these motions of the Parliament's forces, the King, on the 7th of May, took the field, and marched, with about eight thousand men, towards Chester, to relieve the place, besieged by Sir William Brereton[197]. But he heard by the way, the siege was raised; and having nothing more to do there, marched to Leicester, which he took by storm the 30th of May.

## **Fairfax Besieges Oxford**

Meantime, the Parliament perceiving the King was marching towards Chester, sent orders to General Fairfax to besiege Oxford. Accordingly Fairfax approached the city, and began the siege. But within a few days, the Parliament having intelligence of the taking of Leicester, were apprehensive, the King's design was to enter the associated eastern counties, and therefore ordered their General to raise the siege of Oxford, and follow the King.

## **He Raises The Siege and Approaches The King**

Fairfax therefore marched away on the 7th of June. As, very likely, a battle would quickly ensue, he writ to desire the Parliament to dispense with Cromwell's absence from the House, and to order him to march to the army, and command the horse, which was readily granted. Thus, Cromwell had been one of the most forward to pass the ordinance for the exclusion of the members of Parliament from all offices and posts, civil and military, was the only person that kept his seat in Parliament, and his command in the army. This would be a very honourable distinction for him, were there not room to suspect, it was owing to his own intrigues[198].

## **Cromwell's Absence Dispensed With by Order of The House**

Meanwhile, the King was very uneasy. He was informed of the siege of Oxford, but did not yet know it was raised, and that the enemy was marching directly towards him. This made him resolve to move towards Oxford, in order to relieve a city of so great importance to him. To that end, he encamped at Harborough, from whence he sent an express to General Goring, to order him to come and join him with all possible speed.

Here it was he received intelligence, that Fairfax was drawn off from Oxford, and had been repulsed with great loss, in an assault upon Borstal House[199]. His troops, as was usual with them, were so elated at this news, that they imagined the enemies to be in the utmost consternation, which ought to be improved by immediately giving them battle. The King himself was prepossessed with this notion, which made him contemn his enemies, and unfortunately induced him to advance to Daventry in Northamptonshire, in a belief it would always be in his power to fight when he pleased, and that his enemies would never dare to attack him.

## **Goring's Letter to The King Intercepted**

Otherwise, he might have retired to Leicester, and there quietly expected the three thousand men, Colonel Gerrard was to bring him from Wales, and Goring's three thousand horse; from

the west. As to Goring, an accident happened, which very much conduced to hasten a battle. Fairfax had sent a man to Oxford who pretending to serve the King, had managed so artfully, that Secretary Nicholas had entrusted him with a packet to General Goring, who was before Taunton.

This man having discharged his commission, Goring thought he could not employ, to carry a letter to the King, a more trusty messenger than the person sent to him by Secretary Nicholas. He gave him therefore a letter for the King, wherein he told his Majesty, that he hoped to be master of Taunton in a short time, conjuring him not to engage, but to stand upon the defensive, for he did not question, in twelve or fourteen days to join him with the forces under his command. The King knew nothing of this letter which was brought to Fairfax. But it convinced the Parliament-Generals of the absolute necessity of fighting, before this aid should come to the King.

### **The King Resolves to Fight**

Pursuant to this resolution, Fairfax continued to advance towards the King, who being better informed of the number and designs of his enemies, resolved to retire to Leicester. To that purpose, he began to march towards Harborough, where his van arrived, whilst the rest of the army was yet above two miles behind.

That same night, he heard, the enemies were within six miles of Harborough, and indeed General Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, had now fallen upon some of the King's quarters, and taken several prisoners. Whereupon it was resolved at a council of war, held in the night, to march back and meet the enemy, considering the impossibility of going to Leicester, without exposing the rear to certain destruction.

So, the King returning in the morning, the 14th of June, met the Parliamentarians, who upon news of his march, had drawn up near Naseby. Here was fought the fatal battle that decided the quarrel between the King and the Parliament.

### **The Battle of Naseby June 14**

Prince Rupert commanded the right wing of the King's army, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left. Sir Jacob Ashley[200] led the main body of the foot, and the King was at the head of the reserve of horse[201]. On the Parliament's side, the right wing of horse was commanded by Cromwell, the left by Ireton. General Fairfax, and Major General Skippon, were both at the head of the main body, the first on the right, and the other on the left[202].

### **Prince Rupert Charges Ireton's Left Wing**

Prince Rupert began with charging the left wing commanded by Ireton, and after a long conflict, wherein he met with great resistance, broke that body of horse, put them to flight, and chased them almost to Naseby town[203]. In his return, he lost some time in trying to become master of the Parliament's artillery. He even summoned the train, but, they being well defended with fire locks, and a rear guard, and he without foot, he could not execute his design.

At the same time, Cromwell was engaged in a very obstinate fight with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, but at length the King's horse took to flight, and were pursued about a quarter of a mile. After that, Cromwell leaving a party of horse to oppose the King's, in case they should rally, returned with speed to the field of battle, where his assistance was very much wanted by his friends.

The Parliament's foot were engaged with the King's, and began to be pressed in such a manner, that they were in great disorder. Cromwell, who was returned victorious, changed the face of the

battle, by charging the King's infantry in flank, who could not stand so vigorous an attack. Fairfax and Skippon, took advantage of this assistance to rally their troops, who had been roughly used at the beginning of the battle[204], and at last, the King's foot were so routed, that there was no possibility of rallying them.

In the meantime, the Prince not being yet returned from the chase, the King was, with his reserve of horse, unable to charge Cromwell, who was stronger than himself, and was also rejoined by the party he had left behind. As soon as Prince Rupert was returned with his victorious horse, and had joined the reserve, the King used his utmost endeavours to persuade them to charge once more the enemy's horse, not questioning, that if he could put them to rout, he should afterwards easily vanquish the foot.

But he could not prevail with them to make a second charge[205]. This is not very strange, since it could not be done without manifest danger. Fairfax, Skippon, and Cromwell, without losing time in pursuing the King's dispersed infantry, had speedily rallied their troops. They faced the King's horse, and prepared to receive, or to charge them. So, to renew the fight, the King must, with one single wing of horse, and his small body of reserve, have fallen upon the enemies army, which wanted only the wing that was routed.

This the Cavaliers clearly perceived, and was what hindered them from obeying the King's orders. At the same time, an accident happened, which induced them to take to flight, or furnished them with a pretence. Robert Dalziel Earl of Carnewarthe, seeing the King, notwithstanding the unwillingness of his own troops, bent upon charging the enemies, rode up to him and said, Sir, will you go upon your death in an instant? And withal, laying hold of the King's bridle, turned his horse to the right.

## **The King is Entirely Routed**

The King's cavalry seeing his Majesty's horse turned, without knowing the cause, took occasion to disband, and rode upon the spur without looking behind them. So, the King was also forced to retire, and leave his enemies masters of the field[206].

## **The King's Papers Taken**

All his infantry were so dispersed, that the enemies took as many prisoners as they pleased. He lost his whole train of artillery, all his bag and baggage, with his cabinet, wherein were his most secret papers and letters, which the Parliament were so cruel, as to print and publish, particularly his letters concerning the treaty of Uxbridge of which the reader has before seen some extracts.

After this, he was never more able to bring a considerable army into the field. It is said, there were not slain on the King's side above six hundred men, but amongst them were more than one hundred and fifty officers and besides, the enemy took above five thousand prisoners.

## **The King Retires into Wales**

The King, and Prince Rupert, that same day retreated by Leicester to Ashby de la Zouch, from whence, after a few hours refreshment, they continued their march with their horse in very great disorder to Hereford, where they parted. Prince Rupert hasted to Bristol, to prepare the city for a siege, there being great likelihood, it would quickly be attacked. The King retired into Wales, and made some stay at Ragland castle, not despairing of being able to form another army in those parts. The reason is unknown, why he was bent, contrary to all appearance, upon raising a new army in Wales, and the neighbouring counties, instead of inarching into the west with his horse, where he had a strong body of troops, under the command of Goring and Greenvil with which he might have long continued the war.

Meanwhile, Fairfax advanced towards Leicester, which surrendered by capitulation, four days after the battle of Naseby. Then, he marched with all speed to the west, where it was very necessary to lead the army, as well to relieve Taunton and the party there shut up, as to reduce to the obedience of the Parliament the western counties, which were all for the King.

## **Taunton is Relieved and Goring Defeated**

At the approach of the army, Goring raised the siege of Taunton[207], and in few days was defeated by Fairfax at Langport, who killed many of his men, took twelve hundred horses, and fourteen hundred prisoners[208]. This victory was followed with the taking of Bridgwater, Bath and Sherburn, after which, Fairfax laid siege to Bristol.

## **Fairfax Besieges Bristol**

It was universally expected, Prince Rupert would, according to custom, perform wonders in the defence of this city, which was strongly garrisoned[209] and well stored with provisions and ammunition. Nay, the Prince himself had sent the King word, he hoped to hold out at least four months. And yet, the Parliament army approaching the lines drawn about the place, and repulsing several sallies, the Prince, upon the first summons, agreed to capitulate.

## **The King Dismisses Prince Rupert**

Fairfax came near the lines the 23rd of August, and the capitulation was signed the 10th of September, before the besiegers had approached the walls, When the King heard, Prince Rupert had surrendered Bristol in this manner, he was so enraged at it, that he ordered him by a letter to depart the Kingdom, and revoked all his commissions. The Prince published a Manifesto in vindication of his conduct. But he did not sufficiently demonstrate the necessity of surrendering so quickly a place of such importance[210].

## **Fairfax's Progress in West**

Immediately after the taking of Bristol, Fairfax marched again to the west, as well to relieve Plymouth which was still invested[211], as to subdue all those counties to the Parliament. But to prevent the mischiefs incurred by the Earl of Essex the last year, for want of an open communication with London, he ordered Cromwell, with a party of horse, to take such places as might hinder this communication. He also detached Colonel Rainsborough to besiege Berkley Castle, the only garrison, the King had between Gloucester and Bristol. He went himself to Bath the 17th of September, where he remained till his orders were executed.

Cromwell with his party appeared before the Castle of the Devizes in Wiltshire, situate in the road of traffic between London and the western counties. The Governor, Sir Charles Lloyd, made a show of defending himself, but however capitulated on the morrow. The same day Cromwell detached Colonel Pickering, who became master of Laycock House, where was a garrison of the King's, kept by Colonel Bovile. After that, Pickering rejoined the army, as did Colonel Rainsborough, Berkley Castle having been surrendered, by the Governor Sir Charles Lucas, upon articles, September the 26th, the General called a council of war, where it was resolved that the army should march farther westward.

But as the Prince of Wales, the King's eldest son, was in those parts with Goring's, Greenvil's, and some other troops, which all together made a considerable body, the General was apprehensive of meeting many difficulties in this expedition, and therefore thought it incumbent upon him to secure the communication with London. To that purpose, he detached Cromwell once more with orders to endeavour to take the Castle of Winchester, and then Basing house, which had been twice besieged in vain.

Cromwell, with his wonted activity, marching directly to Winchester, took the city and castle upon articles. A complaint being made by some of the garrison that they were plundered at their marching out, he caused first inquiry to be made after the offenders, of whom six were found and condemned to die. After lots cast for their lives, he, whose lot it was, was executed; and the other five were sent to Sir Thomas Glemham Governor of Oxford to be punished as he pleased. But the Governor sent them back with an acknowledgment of Cromwell's justice and civility.

From Winchester, Cromwell advanced to Basing, the house of the Marquis of Winchester, which he having fortified, kept garrison there for the King<sup>[212]</sup>. As he refused to surrender, he was so suddenly and briskly assaulted, that the place was carried by storm, and himself taken prisoner and sent to London. After that, Cromwell took Langford House, near Salisbury, which surrendered upon articles.

In the meantime, Fairfax pursuing his march into the west, came before Tiverton. It was resolved at a council of war to storm the town: but whilst they were consulting how to order the attack, a round shot happened to break the chain of the draw-bridge, which falling down, the soldiers, without waiting for orders, possessed themselves of the town.

After that, the army marched towards Exeter, the capital of Devonshire. But as this place was strong and well garrisoned, and the season not proper for so important a siege, it was resolved to block it up till it could be invested in form.

## **The Prince of Wales Assembles an Army in The West**

Whilst the General was employed in ordering the blockade, which held till December, and in building necessary forts on the east side of the Ex, the Prince of Wales had time to assemble all the King's forces in those parts, with the militia of Cornwall and form an army of eight thousand men. Fairfax hearing, the enemies were preparing to march against him, resolved to prevent them, by advancing towards them.

## **The Prince Retires into Cornwall**

He made such speed that he surprised a brigade of their horse, commanded by the Lord Wentworth, and took between three and four hundred horses. This obliged the King's Generals to proceed with more caution, raise the blockade of Plymouth to strengthen their army, and pass the Tamar, in order to retire into Cornwall. The Prince's retreat into Cornwall gave Fairfax opportunity to attack Dartmouth, a seaport of great consequence, which he took by storm, the season not allowing him to besiege it in form. After all these advantages, Fairfax returned to Exeter, and finished the blockade of that city. Shortly after, he left the command of it to Sir Hardress Waller, and went himself to meet the Lord Hopton, who was marching to the relief of Exeter, at the head of seven or eight thousand men.

## **Lord Hopton Defeated at Torrington**

General Goring being withdrawn into France, the Prince of Wales had given the command of his army to the Lord Hopton. Fairfax approaching the enemies, heard, the Lord Hopton was intrenched in Torrington, to oblige him either to attack him thus advantageously posted, or to keep the field in a very rainy season, in a country where there were few villages to shelter his army from the weather. Fairfax having weighed the inconveniences of leaving the enemies thus intrenched, resolved to attack them.

To that end, he advanced within a mile of Torrington, and possessed himself of some posts, with design to engage on the morrow. But in the night Hopton's troops attempting to dislodge the Parliamentarians, and these all receiving assistance from the army, the battle began insensibly,

and held almost the whole night. In short, after a long conflict in the dark, the Lord Hopton's entrenchments were forced, and himself obliged to retire with his horse, and only four or five hundred of the four thousand foot, he had before the battle.

Thus all his infantry were slain or taken, or so dispersed that it was not possible for those that escaped to rejoin their general, who was retired into Cornwall[213]

### **He Follows Him to Cornwall**

After this fresh victory, Fairfax judged, his main business was utterly to destroy the enemies horse that escaped from Torrington, consisting of three thousand, and to hinder them from joining the King. Instead therefore of returning to Exeter, he resolved to march into Cornwall with his whole army.

He set out the 23rd of February, and seizing the passes of the river Tamar, left there strong guards, as also in all places where he thought the enemies might try to pass, in case they intended, as was very likely, to join the King. The Lord Hopton finding, Fairfax was advancing towards him, and not being able to fight him, quitted Bodmin, where he had posted himself, and retired farther westward.

### **The Prince of Wales Retires to Scilly**

Meanwhile, Fairfax still advanced, taking all possible care to guard all the passes by which the enemy might escape him. The approach of the Parliament army caused the Prince of Wales to resolve to secure his person by retiring into Scilly where he safely arrived[214].

Meanwhile, the Lord Hopton was extremely embarrassed, and the more, as the people of the county who before were devoted to the King, began to alter their minds, and even voluntarily offered themselves to General Fairfax, to block up the passes and hinder the King's forces from escaping. At last, the Parliament army approaching Truro, where Hopton had his headquarters, Fairfax sent and offered him honourable terms if he would capitulate.

### **Lord Hopton Capitulates**

Whilst he waited for an answer, he still advanced towards the enemies, and beating up one of their quarters, took three hundred horses. In short, not to descend to unnecessary particulars, I shall content myself with briefly saying, that the Lord Hopton seeing himself surrounded on all sides, and despairing to escape agreed to capitulate.

### **Exeter Surrenders to Fairfax**

By the treaty, signed the 14th of March, it was agreed, that all the forces under the command of the Lord Hopton, should, within six days, be disbanded with, leave to go beyond sea, or to their homes. That all the horses and arms should be delivered to General Fairfax, and upon performance thereof, each trooper should receive twenty shillings, or his horse.

That passes should be given to such as desired to go beyond sea, upon their promising not to bear arms any more against the Parliament of England[215]. There were several other articles, which it is needless to specify, as they concerned only the manner how the treaty was to be executed[216]. The Lords Hopton and Culpepper retired to Scilly before the treaty was signed.

Thus the King's army in the West was entirely dispersed. After this, Fairfax returns before Exeter, which was surrendered upon articles the 9th of April 1646. With the taking of this city,

Fairfax ended his western expedition, which could not be more glorious to him, or more advantageous to the Parliament, since the King had neither towns nor forces left in the country.

It is time now to see what passed in the rest of the Kingdom, whilst the Parliament-army was employed in reducing the western counties.

## **What The Scotch Army did in England**

The Scotch army having taken Newcastle in October 1644, divided themselves into two bodies, one whereof besieged Carlisle, which surrendered upon articles in June 1645.

The other part of the army durst not engage in a siege, because the Marquis of Montrose, who served the King in Scotland, having had great success there, it was to be feared, the King would think of sending him reinforcements.

## **They Besiege Hereford**

Wherefore the Scots always kept in a readiness to oppose it. This became still more necessary after the battle of Naseby, there being great likelihood of the King's resolving to join the Earl of Montrose with his cavalry. Besides, the Scots by keeping thus in the middle of the Kingdom, prevented the King from making new levies in those parts. At last, after the taking of Carlisle, the two bodies being re-joined, they besieged Hereford about the end of July.

But after having in vain carried on the siege above a month, they raised it in the beginning of September. The Earl of Leven their General published, on this occasion, a sort of apology, wherein, among other things, he said, that for six or seven months past, they had received but one month's pay.

That they had been promised to be supplied with all things necessary for a siege; in which they had been extremely disappointed, since they had received but three pieces of cannon, with fifty ball to each; that they had but few horse and being informed the King was marching towards them with three thousand horse, it was impossible to continue the siege. Lastly, that General Lesley was obliged to go into Scotland with his whole party of horse and dragoons, to oppose Montrose.

## **They Sit Down Before Newark**

After the siege of Hereford was raised, the Scotch retired into Yorkshire, complaining pretty openly of being entirely neglected. Whereupon, the Parliament assigned them thirty thousand pounds, provided they appeared before Newark, upon the first of November, and ordered that the eastern association should pay them fourteen hundred pounds a week. The Scots agreeing to these terms, the siege of Newark was begun about the end of October 1645, and lasted till May 1646.

## **Ponfret and Scarborough Surrender**

In July, Ponfret Castle was surrendered to the Parliament, and four days after, that of Scarborough capitulated, also, having maintained a long siege, under Sir Hugh Cholmley, in which Sir John Meldrum was killed.

## **The King Leaves Wales**

I left the King in Wales after the battle of Naseby, where he was employed in seeking means to raise a new army. As to the disposing of his person, it was hardly possible for him to come to



any resolution, before he knew what his enemies intended to do after their victory. But when he saw General Fairfax, with his army, engaged in the western counties, he departed from his retreat with his cavalry, consisting of three thousand horse.

## **He Takes Huntington**

As the Parliament had but very, few forces in the midland parts, the King came without danger to Lichfield, and from thence, entering the associated eastern counties, took Huntington, where he met with a great booty, after which he came to Oxford[217]. From thence he departed in three days, taking with him what forces could be spared, and marched to Cambden.

## **The King Marches to The Relief of Chester**

The Parliament, thinking the King's design was to relieve either Bristol or Hereford, which were both besieged at the same time, gave orders to Major-General Pointz and Colonel Rossiter to assemble what forces they could, and diligently attend the King's motions.

Accordingly they drew together about two thousand horse, and posted themselves between the King and Oxford. But at the same time, the Scots having raised the siege of Hereford of their own accord, the King marched thither, where he continued till the 20th of September. Here he received the news of the surrender of Bristol.

About the same time Colonel Jones, with Adjutant General Louthian, who served the Parliament, besieging Beeston Castle, drew off thence on a sudden, a party of thirteen hundred men, and went to surprise Chester, in which they partly succeeded. But as they had not sufficient forces to become masters of the rest of the City, they were content to keep what they had got, expecting Sir William Brereton, who was to bring them a supply.

## **The King is Routed**

As the King then expected a body of troops from Ireland, which could land but at Chester, this city was of so great consequence to him, that he immediately marched to dislodge the enemies from that part, they had in their power. He was no sooner on his march, but Poyntz closely followed him, and overtook him, on Routon Heath, within two miles of Chester, which obliged him to turn against his pursuers.

The fight at first was pretty obstinate, but as the King had five thousand, and Poyntz only two thousand, men, Poyntz was briskly repulsed, and put into great disorder. Meanwhile, just as the King thought himself entirely victorious, Jones and Louthian came from Chester with eight hundred men, and falling upon the King's rear, forced them to turn against them.

## **The King Retires into Wales**

This gave Poyntz time to rally his men, and then charge the King's army, who finding themselves at once attacked before and behind, were at last utterly routed, with loss of six hundred men, and a thousand prisoners. Bernard Stewart, Earl of Lichfield, and some other officers of quality were killed. It was with great difficulty that the King, with the remains of his army got into, Denbigh Castle in Wales, where he continued some time; after which, with a party of about three thousand men, he came to Newark in Nottinghamshire.

## **The King Comes to Oxford**

He stayed in that town, till fearing to be besieged by the Scots, who were approaching, he went away by night, and safely arrived at Oxford the 6th of November, there being no other remedy left than to make a peace with the Parliament.

But this peace was not easy to be made. The King would have willingly granted, in the present situation of his a straits, something of what he had before refused, but did not care to yield all. The Parliament, on their side, were willing to make peace, like conquerors, and by aggravating the terms instead of rendering them more tolerable.

## **The King's Friends in London Put Him in Hope of a Peace**

Meanwhile, notwithstanding the difficulties which were naturally to occur in the condition of a peace, the King's friends at London made him hope, that the dissensions between the Presbyterians and Independents might turn to his advantage.

It was intimated to him, that the Presbyterians were enraged to see the Independent party daily increase in number and strength, and that it was not doubted, but if he could obtain leave to come and treat in person with the two Houses, the Presbyterian Members would find means to conclude a peace, in order to be freed from the yoke of the Independents: That the City of London was almost wholly Presbyterian; that the King had there also many friends, and if the Parliament expressed an inclination to peace, which was very likely, it would not be in the power of the Independents to prevent the conclusion.

This was all very well but they should have first explained what was to be understood by the word peace. Very probably, the Parliament, or Presbyterian party, which still prevailed, would have very gladly consented to a peace, if the King had been willing to grant two points, which were considered by them as absolutely necessary, namely, the abolition of Episcopacy, and sufficient security for the performance of his promises.

For in these two points consisted the Parliament's scheme for a peace. Business was not the King's scheme. He ever meant that such a peace should be made as he desired, and which I have often explained. It is true, that in his present circumstances he was willing, with regard to the security, to grant something more than what he had yet offered: but nothing could prevail with him to consent to the abolition of Episcopacy.

## **The King Tries in Vain to Bring Parliament to a Peace**

So, by ever preserving the ambiguity in the term peace, he imagined, if he could obtain liberty to come and treat at London with the two Houses, it would not be impracticable, with the help of his friends, to force the Parliament to make peace with him, in his sense of the word, though nothing was further from the intention of both Houses. In this belief, the 5th of December, he demanded of the two Houses a safe conduct for the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Southampton, John Ashburnham, and Jeffery Palmer Esquires, who were to bring propositions for a peace.

The 15th of the same month he renewed his demand, complaining of his having received no answer.

The 26th he sent them a third message, wherein he said:—

**That** conceiving the former treaties had hitherto proved ineffectual, chiefly for want of power in those persons that treated, as likewise, because those from whom their power was derived, could not give so clear a judgment as was requisite, if therefore he might have the engagement of the two Houses at Westminster, the commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland, the Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council, and Militia of London; of the chief commanders in Sir Thomas Fairfax's army, as also of those in the Scots army, for his free and safe coming to an abode in London or Westminster for the space of forty days, he would come and have a personal treaty with the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, and the commissioners of the Parliament

of Scotland, upon all matters which might conduce to the restoring of peace and happiness to his Kingdoms.

**He declared beforehand**, that he was willing to commit the great trust of the militia, for such time, and with such powers, as were expressed in the paper delivered by his commissioners at Uxbridge, to thirty persons he named. But if this did not satisfy the Parliament, then he offered to name the one half, and leave the other to the election of the two Houses.

Before the two Houses received this last message, they had sent the following answer to the two first:—

**That** finding that former treaties had been made use of for other ends, under the pretence of peace, and had proved dilatory and unsuccessful, they could not give way to a safe conduct, according to his Majesty's desire. But both Houses of the Parliament of England, having under their considerations, propositions and bills for the settling of a safe and well-grounded peace, which were speedily to be communicated to the commissioners of the Kingdom of Scotland did resolve, after mutual agreement of both Kingdoms, to present them with all speed to his Majesty.

The King replied, the 29th of December. He complained, that a safe conduct was denied for the persons he intended to send. He insisted upon his demand of a personal treaty, and desired an answer to his message of the 26th. He said, he should never have thought of coming to London, if it was not his sincere intention to make peace.

The 15th of January 1645-6, he sent another message to both Houses, wherein he complained of not having an answer, he said:—

**That** what he earnestly desired was peace, and the means, his personal presence at Westminster; where the government of the Church being settled as it was in the times of Queen Elizabeth, and King James, and full liberty for the ease of their consciences, who would not communicate in that service established by law, and likewise for the free and public use of the directory, to such as should desire to use the same; and all forces being agreed to be disbanded, his Majesty would then forthwith join with his two Houses of Parliament, in settling some way, for the payment of the public debts to his Scotch subjects, the city of London, and others.

**And** having proposed a fair way for the settling of the militia, he would endeavour, upon debate with his two Houses, so to dispose of it, as likewise of the business of Ireland, as might give them and both Kingdoms satisfaction. Not doubting also, but to give good contentment to his two Houses of Parliament in the choice of the Lord Admiral, the officers of State, and others.

The 13th of January 1645-6, two days before the date of the last message, both Houses had returned an answer to that of the 29th of December.

**That** there had been a great deal of innocent blood of his subjects shed in the war, by his Majesty's commands and commissions.

**That** there had been Irish rebels brought over into both Kingdoms, and endeavours to bring over more, as also forces from foreign parts.

**That** his Majesty was in arms in those parts, and the Prince at the head of an army in the west; there were also forces in Scotland against that Parliament and Kingdom,

by his commission; and the war in Ireland was fomented and prolonged by his Majesty.

**That** until satisfaction and security was first given to both Kingdoms, his Majesty's coming to the Parliament could not be convenient, nor by them assented unto.

**That** they could not apprehend it a means conducing to peace, that his Majesty should come to his Parliament for a few days, with any thoughts of leaving it, especially with intentions of returning to hostility against it.

**That** his Majesty desired the engagement not only of his Parliament?, but of the Lord-Mayor of London, which was against the privileges and honour of the Parliaments, those being joined with them, who were subject, and subordinate to their authority.

**That** the only way for the obtaining an happy and well-grounded peace, was, for his Majesty to give his assent to those propositions that should be sent to him.

**That** there was not so much as any mention of Scotland.

The King, in a reply to this answer, greatly complained of the aspersions cast upon him by both Houses, and reproached them in his turn. He insisted upon an answer to his message of the 15th of December, saying:—

**No rational man** could think their last paper, to be any answer to his former demands.

But the 24th of the same month, he sent a farther reply to every particular article of that answer. The substance whereof was:—

**1. That** a great deal of innocent blood had been spilt.

**That** is the very reason why he presseth that there should be no more (1).

**Remark 1** The meaning of this objection of both Houses was, that there having been a great deal of blood spilt in the war, it was reasonable the authors thereof should be punished, and that the King continuing to protect them, it was necessary to prosecute the war till he should be obliged to deliver them to justice. So, the King's general reply upon this article answered not the objection.

**2. That** he had caused some Irish to repair to his assistance. He answered, that those whom they called Irish, were indeed (for the most part) such English Protestants as had been formerly sent into Ireland by the two Houses, and unable to stay there any longer, by the neglect of those that sent them thither, who should have better provided for them (2).

**Remark 2.** The objection did not relate to the English forces, the King had sent for from Ireland. The two Houses were far from giving these soldiers the name of Irish. But they meant the Irish Papists entertained by the King in his army, and particularly ten thousand men which the Earl of Glamorgan was to bring over. The King feigned not to understand the two Houses, and made an evasive answer to this objection.

**3. That** the Prince as at the head of an army. The King answered, it was no great wonder, since there was yet no peace.

**4. That** he defined to come to his Parliament hut for a few days. He answered by protesting, that he sought that treaty to avoid future hostility, and procure a lasting peace ( 3 )

**Remark 3.** The Parliament did not question it: But they thought the King would come to London only to compel, by means of his friends, both Houses to make such a peace as he desired. So, this general answer was not capable of giving them satisfaction.

**5. That** the engagements which his Majesty had desired for his security, were a breach of privilege, The King answered, that whosoever should call to mind the particular occasions that enforced him to leave the city of London and Westminster, would judge his demand very reasonable and necessary for his safety. But he no way conceived how the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, of London, were either subject or subordinate to the authority of the two Houses.

**6. That** he had made no mention of Scotland. He answered, it was included in his former, and had been particularly mentioned in his latter, message of the 15th.

**Lastly,** He desired a positive answer to his former messages.

The 29th of January, the King sent another message to both Houses, wherein he expressly disavowed the Earl of Glamorgan, concerning the treaty with the Irish rebels. And said:—

**That** that Earl having made offer unto him to raise forces in the Kingdom of Ireland, and to conduct them into England for his Majesty's service, he had granted him a commission to that purpose, and to that purpose only: But that he had no commission at all to treat of any thing else, without the privity and directions of the Lord-Lieutenant. And this clearly appeared by the Lord-Lieutenant's proceedings with the said Earl, who had orders to call him to an account (4).

**Remark 4.** The disguise used by the King on this occasion will manifestly appear in what will be laid presently concerning this treaty.

The King added:—

**That** if the two Houses would admit of his repair to London for a personal treaty, speedy notice should be given him thereof, and a safe conduct with a blank sent for a messenger to be immediately dispatched into Ireland, to stop the conclusion of the peace, the Lord-Lieutenant being empowered to treat and conclude it.

**That** he would leave the management of the business of Ireland wholly to the two Houses, and make no peace there but with their consent, in case his endeavours in the treaty should be blessed with success.

**That** if his personal repair to London should be admitted, and a peace thereon ensue, he would then leave the nomination of the persons to be intrusted with the militia, wholly to his two Houses, with such power and limitations as were expressed in the paper delivered by his Majesty's commissioners at Uxbridge the 6th of February 1644-5.

**That** if the peace succeeded, he would be content, that *pro hac vice*, the two Houses should nominate the Admiral, Officers of State, and Judges, to hold their places during life, or *Quamdiu se bene gesserint*, to be accountable to none but the King and the two Houses of Parliament.

**That** as for matter of religion, he intended, that all Protestants should have the free exercise of their religion according to their own way.

**That** upon the conclusion of peace there should be a general act of oblivion and free-pardon.

**And** this to extend to Scotland.

The King had never made such advances before, and yet all his endeavours to obtain a safe conduct were fruitless. The two Houses were so persuaded of his ability in the choice of his expressions, which were commonly ambiguous, and capable of a different sense from what appeared at first sight, that they could not resolve to treat with him upon his own propositions.

Besides, they did not doubt, but the overture of a personal treaty was designed for a snare to force them to such a peace as he desired. They sent therefore to his several messages no other answer than what has been seen. So, this sort of negotiation, of which the King expected a happy event, only left things just as they were.

Both Houses, as we have seen, reproached the King, that he was now endeavouring to bring Irish troops into England; the King did not disown it, but denied the giving of the Earl of Glamorgan power to treat with the rebels upon any other article.

This was literally true, but the King took care not to discover the whole extent, of this article, and yet both Houses were perfectly informed of it, as will hereafter appear. To understand fully the objection and answer, it will be necessary to relate what passed in Ireland upon this subject. This is not one of the least curious points of the reign of Charles I, though the Lord Clarendon has thought fit to pass it over in silence.

The cessation made by the King with the Irish rebels, had not entirely suspended hostilities in that Island. Murrough O Bryen, Lord Inchiuin, who commanded in Munster for the Parliament, and Major-General Monroe, who was at the head of the Scots in Ulster, had refused to accept of the cessation[218].

On the other hand, the English forces drawn by the King out of Ireland, had been entirely ruined and dispersed in England. Thus the King had reaped no advantage by the cessation, the motives whereof he had concealed with all possible care. He had pretended, he was indispensably obliged to conclude it, in order to save the English from the utter destruction they were threatened with, by the superiority of the rebels, and the Parliament's neglect to send supplies into Ireland. But when these English troops were seen to come into England, it was easy to perceive the true reason of the cessation.

The King not having reaped from this artifice all the advantage he expected, desisted not from the design of making use of the assistance of the Irish to continue the war against the Parliament. On the contrary, he formed the project of a peace with the rebels, in order to employ, not only the rest of the English troops still in Ireland, but also a good body of Irish, whom he intended to send for into England. He ordered therefore the Marquis of Ormond, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to negotiate this peace, wherein however difficulties seemingly insurmountable occurred.

To make peace with the Irish, they were necessarily to be satisfied in point of religion. But this the King could not do without running counter to all his protestations concerning his great zeal for the Protestant religion, and without confirming in some measure, the suspicions of those who believed he was concerned in the Irish rebellion.

In a word, he could not take this step, without relinquishing the interest of the Irish Protestants, and giving the Catholics such advantages, as would render them very superior to the Protes-

tants.. The interests of England were also to be abandoned, and the dominion she had always enjoyed over Ireland, since the conquest of that Kingdom, was in great measure to be forfeited.

Nay, he was in danger by such a proceeding to lose many friends in England. Those who were sincerely attached to him, and persuaded, that he acted upon motives of justice and religion, must have opened their eyes, when they saw him manifestly betray the interest of England, and the Protestant religion, if he had concluded with the Irish such a peace as they demanded.

These were great difficulties which could be surmounted but by one of these ways; either by persuading the Irish to rely on his general promises, that he would content them at a better juncture, and when it was more in his power or else, colouring with some specious pretence, the favours he should be obliged to grant them for a peace. As to the first way, the King forgot nothing that he believed apt to induce the Irish to trust to his promises, and herein the Marquis of Ormond was long employed without any effect.

The Irish were immoveable, and would not be contented with bare words. The second way was still more impracticable: For what colour could be put upon an entire relinquishing of the interests of religion and England?

Meanwhile, as the King hoped, that with the succours from Ireland, he should be able to give law to the Parliament, said then, be obliged to use no farther ceremony; he resolved not to deprive himself of such an advantage, but to grant the Irish whatever they demanded. However, to avoid the prejudice such a proceeding might create him in England, he chose to conclude a private peace with the Irish, without solemnity, or the intervention of the Lord-Lieutenant, and to bind himself to have it effectually executed, till it should be in his power to ratify it solemnly, with which the Irish were content.

To this purpose, whilst the Marquis of Ormond was seemingly labouring with great earnestness to make a peace with the rebels, by trying to persuade them to desist from part of their demands, Edward Somerset Earl of Glamorgan authorized by the King, was treating secretly, and more effectually with them. He granted them, on the King's behalf, all their demands, on condition they would furnish him with ten thousand men, who should pass into England, under the command of the same Earl of Glamorgan. But as this Lord's bare promise was not a sufficient security for the Irish, the King sent him full powers, the tenor whereof was as follows:—

## Charles R.

**C**HARLES by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.. To our trusty, and right well-beloved cousin, Edward Earl of Glamorgan, greeting. We, reposing great and especial trust and confidence in your approved wisdom, and fidelity, do by these (as firmly as under our Great-Seal, to all intents and purposes) authorize, and give you power, to treat and conclude, with the confederate Roman Catholics in our Kingdom of Ireland, if upon necessity any are to be condescended unto, wherein our Lieutenant cannot so well be seen in, as not fit for us at the present publicly to own:

**Therefore** we charge you to proceed according to this warrant, with all possible secrecy; and for whatsoever you shall engage yourself, upon such valuable considerations, as you in your judgment shall deem fit, we promise, on the word of a King, and a Christian, to ratify and perform the same that shall be granted by you, and under your hand and seal; the said confederate Catholics, having by their supplies, testified their zeal to our service. And this shall be, in each particular to you, a sufficient warrant.

**Given at our Court at Oxford,  
Under our Signet, and Royal Signature,  
The 20th day of March, in the twentieth year of our reign 1644.**

The date of this warrant is remarkable, for it was at a time when the King's affairs did not seem absolutely to require his employing the Irish Catholics. In the foregoing campaign, he had gained a signal advantage over the Earl of Essex, with all the western counties. He had fought a battle at Newbury, which had not procured his enemies any real advantage, and on the contrary, had shewn in the affair of Dennington, that he believed to have no reason to fear them.

It was just after the treaty of Uxbridge, where he did not think himself under a necessity of making any concessions. In a word, it was at a time when the Parliament, by reason of the ill success of their arms, were labouring to new-model their army. It cannot therefore be said, that the King was driven by despair, to make use of the assistance of the Irish. It is rather very easy to perceive, it was solely to increase the superiority he then had over the Parliament.

By virtue of this warrant, the Earl of Glamorgan concluded a treaty with the popish Bishops, concerning the Clergy livings. This was a preliminary treaty, upon which the Bishops made the following Instrument:—

**Whereas** in these articles touching the Clergy-livings, the right honourable the Earl of Glamorgan, is obliged in his Majesty's behalf, to secure the concessions in these articles by act of Parliament:

**We** holding that manner of securing those grants, as to the Clergy livings, to prove more difficult and prejudicial to his Majesty, than by doing thereof, and securing those concessions otherwise, as to the said livings, the said Earl undertaking and promising, in the behalf of his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, as hereby he doth undertake to settle the said concessions, and secure them to the Clergy, and their respective successors, in another secure way, other than by Parliament, at present, till a fit opportunity be offered for securing the same, do agree, and condescend thereunto:

**And** this instrument by his Lordship signed, was before the perfecting thereof intended to that purpose, as to the said livings, to which purpose we mutually signed this endorsement:

**And** it is further intended, that the Catholic Clergy shall not be interrupted by Parliament, or otherwise, as to the said livings, contrary to the meaning of these articles.

**GLAMORGAN.**

The Earl of Glamorgan added also the following protestation or oath:-

**I Edward Earl of Glamorgan** do protest, and swear, faithfully to acquaint the King's most excellent Majesty with the proceedings this Kingdom, in order to his service, and to the endearment of this nation, and punctual performance of what I have (as authorized by his Majesty) obliged myself to see performed, and in default, not to permit the army intrusted to my charge to adventure itself, or any considerable part thereof, until conditions from his Majesty, and by his Majesty be performed.

**Sept. 3, 1645.  
GLAMORGAN**



The Substance of the Treaty between the Earl of Glamorgan, and the Confederate Irish Catholics:—

**IT** was said in the beginning of the treaty, that much time had been spent in meetings and debates betwixt James Marquis of Ormond Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the Commissioners of the Catholic Council of Kilkenny, for the treating and concluding of a peace; and thereupon many difficulties arising, the Earl of Glamorgan was entrusted and authorized by his Majesty, to grant and assure to the said confederate Catholics, further grace and favours, which the said Lord-Lieutenant had not as yet, in that latitude as they expected, granted unto them; In pursuance therefore of his Majesty's authority, under his signature royal and signet, bearing date at Oxon the 12th day of March, in the 20th year of his Majesty's Reign:—

**It is accorded** and agreed between the said Earl of Glamorgan, for and on the behalf of his Majesty, and Richard Lord Viscount Monntgarret President of the supreme Council at Kilkenny, Donnough Lord Viscount Muskerry, &c. Commissioners appointed by the Confederate Roman Catholics:—

**I. That** all the professors of the Roman Catholic Religion in Ireland shall enjoy the free and public use and exercise of their Religion.

**II. That** they shall hold and enjoy all the Churches by them enjoyed within that Kingdom, or by them possessed at any time since the 23rd of October 1641, and all other Churches in the said Kingdom, other than such as are now actually enjoyed by his Majesty's Protestant subjects.

**III. That** all the Roman Catholics shall be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Protestant Clergy, and that the Roman Catholic Clergy shall not be punished or molested, for the exercise of their jurisdiction over their respective Catholic flocks.

**IV. That** the following act shall be passed in the next Parliament to be holden in Ireland. (Here is inserted the form of an act for securing all the King's concessions to the Catholics!)

**V. That** the Marquis of Ormond, or any others, shall not disturb the professors of the Roman Catholic religion in the possession of the articles above specified.

**VI. The** Earl of Glamorgan engages his Majesty's word for the performance of these articles.

**VII. The** public faith of the Kingdom shall be engaged unto the said Earl by the Commissioners of the Confederate Catholics, for sending ten thousand men by order of the General Assembly at Kilkenny, armed the one half with Musquets, and the other half with Pikes, to serve his Majesty in England, Wales, or Scotland, under the command of the Earl of Glamorgan.

**Signed the 25th of August 1645.**

Moreover, the Irish Commissioners engaged their word and the faith of the supreme Council of Kilkenny, that two thirds of the Clergy's revenues should be employed for the space of three years, towards the maintenance of the ten thousand men, the other third being reserved for the Clergy's subsistence.

This Treaty, though made very secretly, was however discovered by an extraordinary accident. The Archbishop of Tuam, President of Connaught, going into Ulster about some affairs, met with a body of Irish troops marching to besiege Sligo, and joined with them, whether for security's sake or some other design[219].

When they came near Sligo, the Garrison made a sally, charged the troops that were come to besiege them, utterly routed them, and killed the Archbishop of Tuam. In his pockets it was that authentic copies, attested and signed by several Bishops, were found, of the forementioned treaty, and of the King's warrant to the Earl of Glamorgan, which were sent to the Parliament.

The Marquis of Ormond, the Lord Digby then in Ireland, and some others having soon heard that the secret was discovered, found no better expedient to clear the King, than to arrest the Earl of Glamorgan, for having, in a presumptuous manner, worthy of severe punishment exceeded his orders, and concluded a treaty with the Irish. This is what the King also insinuated in his message to both Houses of the 19th of January 1645-6.

Rushworth has inserted in his Collections two intercepted letters of the Earl of Glamorgan, one to his Countess dated in January, acquainting her that his imprisonment did not give him much uneasiness. In the other of the 26th of February, directed to the King, he told him, that he was at Waterford providing shipping to transport six thousand foot immediately, and that four thousand more were to follow them by May[220]. These troops came not however into England, probably by reason of the change in the King's affairs, which were in a melancholy situation after the battle of Naseby.

All his towns were taken one after another. The Scots were now before Newark, and General Fairfax having reduced all the west to the obedience of the Parliament, was preparing to besiege the King in Oxford.

## **The Court of France Sends Montreuil to London**

Whilst the King was in this sad state, the Court of France sent Montreuil into England, on pretence of procuring a peace between the King and the Parliament: But their real intention was, that Montreuil should endeavour a private agreement between the King and the Scots[221].

This could not be done without the King's entirely forsaking the Bishops, and consenting to the establishment of the Presbyterian Government in the Church of England. The Court of France and the Queen of England hoped, this project would succeed the more easily, as it was agreeable to good policy, and the King's interests. The King would thereby have gained not only the Scots, who had a strong army in England, but also the City of London, and the majority of the Members of Parliament, who, for the most part, insisted upon the other points in dispute, only to obtain this the more easily.

This was properly the sole means of balancing or surmounting the great power of the independents, who were in a manner masters of the army. If the King had taken this course, it is very evident, it would have turned greatly to his advantage: whereas, at the time it was proposed to him, he was entirely without remedy. But his zeal for episcopacy would not suffer him to accept of such an overture, and he told Montreuil, he would never consent to it.

About the same time the Queen sent Sir William Davenant to persuade the King to join with the Presbyterians, as the only means to free himself from his sad condition. The moment Davenant offered to speak to him, he commanded him to hold his tongue, and never more appear in his presence.

## **Negotiation of Montreuil's Between The King and The Scotch Army**

Meanwhile, Montreuil at his arrival in England being possessed with the notion, that the King would not refuse the course, which was to be proposed to him, had made some overtures to the Scotch Commissioners residing in London, and found them inclinable to treat with the King: but after he had spoke and writ to his Majesty several times, he found him immoveable.

The Scots, on their part, being no less inflexible, constantly refused to promise the King any assistance, unless he consented to the abolition of episcopacy[222].

Whilst this affair was delayed by this difficulty, and Montreuil gone to the Scotch army before Newark, to try to find some medium favourable to the King, Fairfax was advancing with his army, so that the King was in danger of being enclosed in Oxford. The King's principal concern then was to deliver himself from this imminent danger.

Though he had till that time demurred upon going to the Scotch army, on account of the forementioned difficulty, he saw however no other remedy when the danger approached. The Scotch Officers had made him some general promises, founded probably upon their hopes of his consenting at last to their demands.

### **The King Goes to The Scotch Army**

He sent them word of his intention to come to their army, and they promised to receive him and provide for his safety. He had not time, doubtless, to make a more particular treaty. At least, it is not known to this day upon what terms the King put himself into the hands of the Scots, and on what conditions they received him. However this be, the King having no time to lose, that he might not be invested in Oxford, departed privately and came to the Scotch army, the 5th of May 1646[223].

The King had, on the 13th of April, imparted by letter to the Marquis of Ormond his design to throw himself into the arms of the Scots, in these words:—

Having lately received very good security that we and all that do or shall adhere to us, shall be safe in our persons, honours and consciences in the Scottish army; and that they shall really and effectually join with us, and with such as will come in to us, and so all employ their armies and forces to assist us to the procuring of a happy and well grounded peace.—If it shall please God that we come safe thither, we are resolved to use our best endeavour, with their assistance, and with the conjunction of the forces under the Marquis of Montross, and such of our well affected subjects of England as shall arise for us to procure, if it, may be, an honourable and speedy peace.

The Marquis of Ormond sent a copy of this letter to General Monroe, who commanded the Scotch troops in Ireland, and Monroe communicated the same to the Commissioners of the Parliament in Ulster, by whom copies of the letter, as printed at Dublin, were sent over to both Houses, and it was read in the House of Commons on Saturday June the 9th. Whereupon, on the Monday following, the Scotch Commissioners delivered a declaration to the House of Peers, positively denying, that their army had made any treaty with the King to assist him.

Thus we see on one side, the King affirming he had received very good security that the Scots would declare for him; and on the other, the Commissioners of Scotland denying that their army had made any treaty with the King to assist him.

In all probability the Scotch Commissioners and the general officers of their army had given Montreuil hopes, they would declare for the King, but on condition he would renounce episcopacy; without which condition, it is not easy to conceive, that the Commissioners or officers should have made such a promise, which was not in their power; since they could not Engage contrary to the express tenor of the Covenant, and without positive orders from those who governed Scotland.

Wherefore it could only be hopes, and these conditional, that the King preposterously took for assurances, and which Montreuil, perhaps, confounded as well as he. It is true, the Earl of Clarendon cites a paper signed by Montreuil, wherein he says:—

I do promise in the name of the King and Queen (my Master and Mistress) and by virtue of the powers I have from their Majesties, That if the King of Great-Britain shall put himself into the Scottish army, he shall be there received as their natural Sovereign, and shall be with them in all freedom of his conscience and honour.

And that the Scots shall employ their armies and forces to assist his Majesty in the recovery of his just Rights, &c.

But it must be observed, there is not in this paper a single word to shew that Montreuil was empowered to make this promise, either by the Commissioners, or the General Officers, or the Parliament of Scotland: Nay, it does not so much as appear that he was accepted for mediator in this affair; that besides, he could not engage the authority of the King of France and the Queen Regent to make such a promise, unless he was furnished with a treaty, which however has never appeared.

The Lord Clarendon intimates that Montreuil had the word of the principal Officers of the Scotch army, but that afterwards finding them grown cold, he writ to the King to dissuade him from venturing his person among them. Indeed it is hard to conceive, that Montreuil should sign such a promise without being authorized. But on the other hand, is it likely that, if he had been authorized by a treaty, or other warrant, would he not have mentioned it in his Paper?

But what seems still more impossible, is, that the Scots should promise without condition, as this engagement intimates, contrary to the tenor of the Covenant between the two nations, since the King would not so much as hear of the abolition of episcopacy.

There must therefore have been some mistake in the negotiation carried on by Montreuil's mediation, and the King's, the mediator must have taken for positive assurances, promises which were conditional only, as appears in the King's letter to the Marquis of Ormond, and the solemn denial of the Scots.

However this be, Montreuil was recalled and disgraced, and, as there is reason to believe it, was for engaging the word and honour of the King his master and the Queen Regent upon so trifling a foundation. The Lord Clarendon, probably, to hinder the King from being blamed for putting himself into the hands of the Scots too hastily, and without good security, says, this envoy's disgrace was an artifice of Cardinal Mazarin, who had a mind to conceal the insincerity of the Court of France. I own I cannot comprehend the meaning of these words. But if it be true, that Montreuil was not authorized to promise what he did, as it does not appear that he was, I don't see any occasion to seek for other cause of his disgrace.

## **The King Orders Newark to be Surrendered to The Scots**

The King being come to the Scotch army[224], which had been before Newark ever since November, the Generals represented to him, that it would be proper, for the safety of his person,

for the army to march northward, near the borders of Scotland. But as this could not be done before the taking of Newark, he desired him to order the town to surrender.

## **Who Carry Him to Newcastle**

The King persuaded by this reason, gave orders to the Lord Bellasis the Governor to surrender Newark, which was done accordingly; and immediately after the army began to march, and came with the King to Newcastle.

## **The King's Message to Both Houses**

May the 18th, the King sent a message to both Houses, recommending to them the speedy settling of religion, and, the taking to that end the advice of the Divines of both Kingdoms assembled at Westminster.

Concerning the Militia, he agreed that the two Houses should name all the Commissioners for that trust for the space of seven years, and after the expiration of that term, a regulation should be made by the King and both Houses.

He offered the like for the Kingdom of Scotland.

Concerning the wars in Ireland he said in general, he would do whatever was possible for him to give full satisfaction therein.

In a postscript, he offered to disband his forces at Oxford, and consent that the fortifications of that city should be demolished, provided honourable terms were granted to the garrison, which done, he would give the like order to the rest of his garrisons.

## **The King Writes to The City of London**

The next day, the King writ to the city of London, to acquaint them, that he was ready to comply with the Parliament in every thing.

June the 10th, he pressed the two Houses by another message, to send their propositions for peace, that he might give them all just satisfaction; and desired again the liberty to come to London and treat in person with them[225].

The 25th of the same month, the Scotch commissioners presented a memorial to the Parliament, whereby they consented, that the propositions for peace, which had been communicated to them, should be sent to the King, with protestation however, that they were not all agreeable to their sentiments. They desired also, that money might be sent to their troops both in England and Ireland, their accounts stated, and all armies speedily disbanded.

## **The Scots Deny Having Made a Treaty With The King**

Meanwhile, the Scotch army at Newcastle, understanding, it was reported at London, that they had made a treaty with the King to assist him against the Parliament, published a declaration, protesting, it was always their intention to maintain the Covenant between the two Kingdoms, and that they abhorred all public and private ways tending to violate the same, or to create a misunderstanding between the two nations.

At the same time, they presented a petition to the King, beseeching him to take a speedy course for settling of religion in England, according to the example of the be reformed Churches, and

for establishing the privileges and liberties of his Kingdoms; expressing their great grief for his not having yet authorized and signed the Covenant[226].

They also prayed him to comply with the counsels of his Parliament. The King returned to this petition a general answer, without entering into particulars.

The General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland writ, likewise to the Parliament of England, the city of London, the Assembly of Divines, to desire them to promote the work of Reformation, according to the tenor of the covenant,

### **Vote That The Scot's Army is no Longer Necessary**

July the 6th, the House of Commons voted, that England had no further need of the Scotch army, and that the commissioners of Scotland should be desired to withdraw their forces.

Some days after, the two Houses sent[227] propositions for peace to the King at Newcastle, which were little different from those debated at Uxbridge. Wherefore I do not think it necessary to repeat them. I shall content myself with relating the thirteenth article, being an addition to the former claims of both Houses with respect to the Militia:—

### **The Propositions of The Two Houses**

**That** during the space of twenty years, the two Houses of Parliament alone, shall have power to arm, train, and discipline, the militia; and that neither the King, or his successors, shall, during the said space of twenty years, exercise any power over them.

**The** like for the Kingdom of Scotland, if the Estates of the Parliament there shall think fit.

**That** moneys be raised for the maintenance of the said forces for land service, and of the navy, as the Lords and Commons shall, during the said space of twenty years, think fit; and that the said forces be employed, ordered, and disposed, as the two Houses shall appoint, and not otherwise:

**That** they shall have power,

1. To suppress all forces raised without their authority and consent.
2. To suppress all foreign forces, who shall invade any of the English dominions.
3. To conjoin the forces of England with those of Scotland.

**That** after the expiration of the said twenty years, no person, under any pretence whatsoever, shall any way dispose of the English forces, without the consent of both Houses.

**That** after the said twenty years, if any bills are passed by the Lords and Commons, for the safety of the Kingdom, and the royal assent is not given to them within such time as the House of Peers shall judge convenient; that such bills shall nevertheless be as valid to all intents and purposes, as if the royal assent had been given thereunto.

The Parliament's commissioners presented these propositions to the King the 24th of July, and as they declared to him, they were limited not to stay above ten days at Newcastle, the King gave them his answer the first of August,

**That** the propositions tendered to him did import so great alterations in Government, both in the Church and Kingdom, that it was very difficult for him to turn a particular and positive answer to them, before a full debate, wherein those propositions, and the necessary explanation, true sense and reasons thereof, were rightly weighed and understood; which he found the commissioners were not authorized to admit, nor able to give him.

**That** he desired to come to London with freedom, honour and safety, where he might have those doubts cleared, and those difficulties explained to him.

**That** he assured them, That as he could never contend to what was absolutely destructive to that just power, which, by the Laws of God and the Land, he was born unto, so he would treat, fully grant and give his assent to all such bills, as should be really for the good and peace of his people, not having regard to his own particular.

### **The Scots Press The King to Accept The Propositions**

Before the King delivered his answer to the Parliament's commissioners, the Earl of Loudon, Lord-Chancellor of Scotland, made a speech to him, to persuade him to accept the propositions. His reasons were the stronger and more pressing, as drawn from the necessity the King was in.

But his Majesty was not pleased to take his advice, This answer being read in the Parliament the 12th of August was the cause of great joy to those who wished not for peace[228].

### **The Scotch Offer to Return Home**

The same day, the Scotch commissioners presented a memorial to the Lords, offering to send their army into Scotland, upon reasonable satisfaction for their pains, charges, and sufferings. They also said, since his Majesty had not agreed to the proportions presented to him, it was necessary to consult with them what was to be done, as well concerning the King's person, as the peace and safety of the two Kingdoms. Both Houses returned them thanks, and appointed a committee to examine their accounts.

### **Dispute About Arrears Owed to The Scots**

Some days after, they delivered in an account of arrears, amounting to two millions. The Parliament disputed several articles, and deducted such turns as the Scots had received. The Scots allowed the justice of some of these deductions, but could not agree to others[229].

### **It is Agreed to Allow Them Four Hundred Thousand Pounds**

At last, after many debates, the Scots offered to accept of a sum in gross, for a full discharge of their arrears. Whereupon they were asked, what sum they demanded, and at first they insisted upon five hundred thousand pounds.

The House of Commons offered two hundred, and afterwards three hundred, thousand pounds. At length, the Scots abating one hundred thousand pounds of their demand, it was agreed to allow them four hundred thousand, one half to be paid upon their removal out of the Kingdom, and the other at certain times.

## **Remark on it Being Said That The Scot Sold The King**

This is the fatal bargain, whereby it is pretended, the Scots sold the King to the Parliament of England, because indeed they delivered him up some months after. But it must be observed, that this is only a suspicion a bare conjecture, and if it be true, that the Scots, when they agreed upon this sum of four hundred thousand pounds, obliged themselves to give up the King to the Parliament, which I will neither affirm, or deny, at least, they acted with so much address, that there appeared no express proof of it.

No treaty, no paper, concerning this affair ever came to the knowledge of the public. This sum was promised them for arrears due to their army, from the 18th of January 1643-4, to the 18th of September 1646, If it could be proved, that in all that time the Scotch army had been regularly paid, according to the treaty between the two nations, and that no arrears were due to them, this, doubtless, would be a confirmation of the aforementioned suspicion.

But this proof is very difficult. For if on one side, the Scots, to mount the debt to five hundred thousand pounds, inserted in their accounts several unjust articles, which ought to have been abated, the English on their side, acted with no less injustice, in pretending to make unfair deductions.

This appears by the particulars of the accounts brought in by both parties, which are to be seen in Rushworth's Collections. Nay, it seems, if the English had been desirous to conceal the secret motive of this bargain, they should not have disputed the debt, since nothing would have been more proper to remove the suspicion of their giving this sum to the Scots, to engage them to deliver up the King, than to show it was really due to them for arrears.

## **Another Remark**

Another, and no less important remark may be made upon this subject. The thing that has rendered odious this pretended sale of the King's person, is the tragical death of that Prince, of which it was the occasion. But it must be considered, it was so only by accident. Nothing was at that time farther from the thoughts, both of the Parliament and the Scots, than putting the King to death.

The Independents, mortal enemies of the King, Scots, and Presbyterians, were the men who twice took away the King from the Parliament, by means of the army, and cut off his head, at the very time the Parliament and Scots were heartily labouring to restore him, as will hereafter appear.

If therefore this pretended sale, supposing it real, was the occasion of the King's death, it may be affirmed, it was the innocent occasion, and its effects ought not to be imputed to the Parliament, such as it was at that time, since it is certain, neither both Houses, nor the Scots, did then carry their views so far, nor could possibly foresee what afterwards happened. But, as I said before, it can by no means be proved, that the Scots did indeed sell the King to the English.

We shall see presently, the reasons why the Scots would not take charge of the King's person.

In the beginning of September, the Duke of Hamilton, who had been released out of Michael's Mount in Cornwall, upon the Parliament's taking that place, came to Newcastle with some other Scotch commissioners, and earnestly pressed the King to accept the propositions for peace. If the Scots had bargained, by a secret treaty, to give up the King to the Parliament, this proceeding seems to have been prejudicial to them, since the King's compliance would have voided their bargain with the English, and deprived them of the promised sum.



## The King Answer

The King answered the Duke, and the other commissioners:—

**That** he only desired to be heard, but could not obtain his desire.

**That** he did not give a denial to the propositions, but only desired to be rightly informed of what was demanded, and that his reasons might be heard.

In another answer given them in writing the next day, he said:—

**He** should be content to restrain Episcopal government to some few dioceses, as Oxford, Winchester Bristol, Bath and Wells, and Exeter; leaving all the rest of England fully to the Presbyterian Government, with the strictest clauses they should think upon against Papists and independents.

**In** a postscript, he required them, to give a particular account of this offer to the General-assembly in Scotland; assuring them, that he would punctually make good his last letter to them. And hoped that they, as Church-men, would not press him to comply with what was against his conscience, till he should have leisure to be better informed.

This answer was a plain intimation, that when the King said, he desired to be heard, it was only a pretence to have liberty to come to London, to cause, if possible, the proportions to be altered. We see also by this answer, that he considered the affair of Church-government, as the principal, and most difficult point. In a word, his offer shows he was very hard pressed, since he agreed, that Presbyterian Government should be established throughout the whole Kingdom, a few Dioceses excepted.

Some time after, he sent a letter to the Duke of Hamilton (who was now retired, finding the King immoveable) telling him, that the two Houses thought of getting him into their hands, by saying, they did not intend to make him a prisoner, but only to give him an honourable guard; but for his part, he would not be left in England, when the Scotch army retired, without a visible force upon his person.

Probably therefore, when he demanded leave to come to London to treat in person with both Houses, he meant, that he should remain at perfect liberty[230]. Perhaps he intended to escape into France, or elsewhere. But how could he imagine, he should be left at perfect liberty, on the bare presumption, that a negotiation with him would be successful?

## Conferences About The Manner of How to Dispose of The King

At last, on the 18th of September, it was voted, that the King's person should be disposed of as both Houses of Parliament should think fit. But as he was not properly in their power, they appointed a committee to confer with the commissioners of Scotland upon that head.

In one of these conferences, the Lord Loudon, Chancellor of Scotland, endeavoured to show, that one of the two Kingdoms had no more right than the other, to dispose of the King's person, because he was equally King of both, and that, besides, they were united in the same interest by their Covenant. The English commissioners answered:—

**That** the King being in England, it belonged to the English to dispose of his person, and though he had retired to the Scotch army, this army being only auxiliaries, and in the pay of England, it was the same as if he had retired to the Parliament's army, whereof the Scotch forces were a part.

**1646 AD]** In another conference, the same Lord strenuously continued to prove, the principle advanced by him in the former, namely:—

**That** the disposing of his Majesty's person did belong to both Kingdoms, and therefore, that he ought not to be disposed of by any one of the Kingdoms, but by joint advice of both. He explained the word dispose, which was liable to be misunderstood;

**And** said, he meant thereby, either that his Majesty should be put under restraint, or be at freedom with honour and safety. As for the way of restraint, he said, he looked upon it as a remedy more dangerous than the disease, and as a means to draw the war of foreign Kings upon the Nation (especially the Prince being in other Kingdoms) rather than to quiet the troubles at home.

**And** therefore he concluded, that he would lay aside the way of restraint, and speak of the way which might be with freedom, honour, and safety; and that could be no other, but that his Majesty should go into Scotland, or come to his Parliament, or some of his Houses about London.

**His** going into Scotland, he observed, was full of dangers and inconvenience to both Kingdoms: For the Irish, banded with a crew of malignants, possessed the mountains and High-lands, which were the strongholds, and never conquered parts of that Kingdom.

**That** they had not laid down their arms, but kept in a body together; and they were so near Ireland, as the forces of the rebels there might in two or three hours space come over and join with them; and Scotland not being able to keep and entertain armies long, the King being there, might raise such forces in that Kingdom, as might make way quickly into England.

**And** therefore his Majesty's going into Scotland being of most dangerous consequence to both Kingdoms, he offered to their Lordships consideration, his Majesty's coming to London, or some of his houses thereabouts.

The principal reason on which he grounded his opinion, was the same as the King himself had alleged:—

**That** he had not refused his assent to the propositions, but only desired to have his doubts cleared, and difficulties explained.

But in this reasoning there was a material defect which, must have been visible to all. And that is, the Chancellor supposed, the King should not be put under restraint, but left at full liberty in Scotland, at London, or some one of his houses; which certainly was very far from the thoughts of the person that spoke, of the Scots, and of the Parliament of England.

In building therefore upon so wrong a foundation, the Lord Loudon could not expect that his reasoning should be considered as of much weight, if he had not been to deal with men whose interest it was to feign, they thought it very solid. Nothing seems more apt to confirm the suspicion of the Scots being engaged to deliver the King to the Parliament, than this artifice of the Lord Loudon to that end.

For though he supposed, the King would be in one of his houses with honour and safety, he knew the contrary, and that the Parliament would always be master of his person. Consequently it was the same thing as delivering him to the Parliament, the condition that he should be there with honour and safety, being only dazzling terms, to which the Parliament might always give

what sense they pleased. But it must be considered, this is not a real proof, but a mere conjecture, which even seems to be destroyed by what happened shortly after.

The commissioners of Scotland having caused an account of what passed at these conferences to be printed, with the speeches to prove that England had no more right than Scotland to dispose of the King's person, the Commons were so offended at it, that they ordered all the copies to be seized, and the printer committed. They made likewise a long answer to the account of the Scots., and sent it to the Scotch commissioners, who refused to receive it, because it came only from one of the two Houses; but the Commons ordered it to be printed and published.

If it be true that the Scots had engaged to deliver the King to the Parliament for the sum of four hundred thousand pounds, nothing was more preposterous than this dispute, which was mixed with great business, unless it is supposed, the Parliament and Scotch commissioners had agreed together to act this sort of farce.

This dispute, real or feigned, hindered not the Scotch army from preparing to return home. But as they were to be paid two hundred thousand pounds, before they began their march, they might yet have stayed several weeks in England, had not the City of London engaged to advance that sum.

It was however upon two conditions; the first, that the lenders should have 8 percent, interest for their money; and that the payment of the Principal should be secured out of the receipts of the grand excise, and the sale of Bishops-lands[231]. For this reason both Houses made haste to sequester these Lands, and appoint a committee to expose them to sale[232].

## **Debates in Scotland About The King's Person**

The 16th of December, the Parliament of Scotland took into consideration what was to be done with the King's person. After great debates, it was at length resolved, that the commissioners residing at London should demand of both Houses, from the Parliament of Scotland, that the King might return to London with honour and safety.

## **Resolution of The Parliament Thereupon**

**That** they should declare to them, that the Parliament of Scotland was resolved to support Monarchy in the person of the King and his just title to the Crown of England.

This resolution seems directly contrary to the engagement to give up the King to the Parliament. But the next day the Commissioners of the General Assembly presented to the Parliament a paper, entitled, A solemn and seasonable warning to all estates and degrees of persons throughout the Land, wherein, they represented the heinous crime of forsaking the Covenant, and endeavouring a breach with England.

## **The General Assembly are Against**

They maintained, that such projects were infused into some by the devil, and that they who attempted to sow division between the two nations, and violate the Covenant, which was their chief strength, could not but be enemies to the State. Then, as to the disposal of the King's person, they said, that so long as his Majesty did not approve in his heart, and seal with his hand, the League and Covenant, he could not be received in Scotland without exposing the Kingdom to fresh troubles. That, on the other hand, to dispose of the King's person without the consent of the Parliament of England, was openly breaking the Covenant, and incurring the guilt of perjury.

That it was very true, they were engaged by the Covenant to defend the King's person, but it was no less true, that the end of the union between the two Nations, was to settle religion in both Kingdoms, according to the tenor of the Covenant, and that these two engagements could not be separated.

That for these reasons they desired, that fresh endeavours might be used to prevail with his Majesty to give satisfaction to both Kingdoms, that he might return to his Parliament of England as a reconciled Prince to satisfied subjects, in order to establish a happy peace.

### **Parliament Alters its Resolution**

This Paper being read in the Parliament, the matter was again taken into consideration, and at last after of great debate it was resolved:—

**That** his Majesty should be desired to grant the whole proportions; and in case of refusal, the certifications given to his Majesty should be put in execution, namely, to secure the Kingdom without him and it was declared:

**That** the Kingdom of Scotland cannot lawfully engage themselves for his Majesty: He not taking the Covenant, satisfying as to religion, &c. Nor would they admit him to come into Scotland, unless he gave a satisfactory answer to the whole propositions lately presented to him in the name of both Kingdoms[233].

### **The King's Message to Both Houses for a Personal Treaty**

The King having notice of this resolution, from the Earl of Lanerick, sent a message to both Houses at Westminster, to desire again to come to London, or any of his houses thereabouts, upon the public faith and security of his Parliament and the Scotch Commissioners, that he should be there with honour, freedom and safety, in order to have his doubts cleared and difficulties explained.

Assuring them, that he would most willingly condescend to them in whatsoever should be really for their good and happiness. Praying them to consider, it was their King who desired to be heard, which if refused to a subject by a King, lie would be thought a tyrant for it.

Upon this message the Lords voted, that the King might come to Newmarket, there to remain with such, attendants about him, as both Houses should appoint: But the Commons voted, that Holmby House in Northamptonshire would be the fittest place for his Majesty, to which the Lords consented. Then it was resolved, that his coming to Holmby should be with respect to the safety and preservation of his Majesty's person and in defence of the true religion, according to the Covenant[234].

### **Declaration of The Scotch Parliament**

The 5th of January 1646-7, a Committee of both Houses was appointed to go down and receive the King from the Scots[235]. For though both Houses had declared, he should be at Holmby with honour and safety, they meant not to leave the manner to his choice, and whatever expressions they might use, it was to be in effect a real imprisonment. Some days after, the two Houses received from the Parliament of Scotland, the following declaration:—

**THAT** the King's Majesty came to their quarters before Newark, and professed he came there with a full and absolute intention to give all just satisfaction to the joint desires of both Kingdoms, and with no thought either to continue this unnatural war any longer, or to make division betwixt the Kingdoms; but to comply with his

Parliaments, and those instructed by them, in every thing for settling of truth and peace; and that he would apply himself totally to the counsels and advices of his Parliament:

**Which** he did not only profess verbally to the Committee of Estates with the Scottish army; but also in his several letters and declarations under his hand, to the Committee of Estates of Scotland, and to the two Houses of Parliament of England respectively.

**In** confidence whereof, and of the reality of his intentions and resolutions, which he declared did proceed from no other ground, than the deep sense of the bleeding condition of his Kingdoms; the Committees of the Kingdom of Scotland, and general officers of the Scottish army, declared to himself, and to the Kingdom of England, their receiving his royal person to be on these terms (which is truth, notwithstanding what may be suggested or alleged to the contrary, by any within or without the Kingdoms) and represented to him, that the only way to his own happiness and peace of his Kingdoms, under God was, to make good his propositions of peace, (which after serious and mature deliberation were agreed upon) tendered to him in the name of both his Kingdoms for his royal assent thereunto; but also the chief Judicatories of this Kingdom, both civil and ecclesiastical, made their humble and earnest addresses to his Majesty, by supplications, letters, and commissioners for that end; and did freely represent all the prejudices and inconvenience of the delay or refusal of his assent, and in particular, that this Kingdom would be necessitated to join with the Kingdom of England, conform to the League and Covenant, in providing for the security of both Kingdoms, and settling the Government of both, as might conduce most to the good of both.

**And** the Parliament of Scotland being now to retire their army out of England, have again, for their further exoneration, sent commissioners, to represent their renewed desires to his Majesty, with the danger that may ensue by his delay or refusal to grant the same; and that till then, there was no danger to the cause, to his Majesty, to this Kingdom, and to the union betwixt both the Kingdoms, by his coming to Scotland; and that therefore there would be a joint course taken by both the Kingdoms concerning the disposal of his person.

**And** considering, that his Majesty by his answer to the propositions of peace in August last, and also by his late message sent to the two Houses, and by his warrant communicated to the Estates of this Kingdom, hath expressed his desires to be near to his two Houses of Parliament:

**And** seeing also the Parliament of England have communicated to the Scottish Commissioners at Newcastle, and by them to this Kingdom, their resolution, that Holmby House in the County of Northampton, is the place which the Houses think fit for the King to come unto, there to remain with such attendance about him as both Houses of Parliament shall appoint, with respect had to the safety and preservation of his royal person, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the Kingdoms according to the Covenant.

**Therefore,** and in regard of his Majesty's not giving a satisfactory answer to the propositions as yet, and out of their earnest desire to keep a right understanding betwixt the Kingdoms, to prevent troubles within the same, to satisfy the desire of his Majesty, of the two Houses of the Parliament of England, and of this Kingdom, for his residence in some of his Houses near the Parliament of England:

**The Estates** of the Parliament of the Kingdom of Scotland, do declare their concurrence, for the King's Majesty's going to Holmby House, or some other of his Majesty's houses in or about London, as shall be thought fit, there to remain until he give satisfaction to both his Kingdoms in the propositions of peace, and that in the interim there be no harm, prejudice, injury, nor violence done to his royal person:

**That** there be no change of Government other than hath been these three years past; And that his posterity in no ways be prejudiced in their lawful succession to the Crown and Government of these Kingdoms.

## **The King is Delivered to The Committee and Conducted to Holmby**

January the 23rd the Parliament's Commissioners came to Newcastle, and on the 30th of the same month the King was delivered to them. That very day the Scotch army began to march towards Scotland, and the King arrived at Holmby the 16th of February.

Hitherto the Presbyterians and Independents had acted as in concert, because it was equally advantageous to them, or rather necessary, the King should be disabled from hurting both. When the King was reduced to his present condition, in the hands of a Parliament consisting of two parties which had equally plotted his ruin, these two parties, who had till then seemed united, began to be openly divided, each plainly perceiving, this was the critical time to make the advantages gained in common upon the King, to turn to their own benefit.

## **Presbyterians and Independents Begin to Separate**

The Presbyterians were superior in the Parliament and in London: but the Independents were, as I may say, masters of the army, and by that their party was grown very considerable. The Presbyterians grand affair was therefore to disband the army, under colour of its being unnecessary, since the war was ended; and the Independents grand affair was, to hinder this disbanding, which could not but be fatal to their party.

It is certain, the Parliament, being almost wholly Presbyterian, seriously thought of discarding the Independents, and particularly the Generals and officers of that party. As they were obliged to send an army into Ireland, their project was to take for that service such soldiers out of the foot, horse and dragoons, as should be willing to go thither, form them into companies, and give them officers, they could confide in.

After that, their intent was to disband the rest of the forces, keeping only as many as should be necessary for the garrisons. Had this project succeeded, the Independent party would have been irrecoverably ruined. But the Parliament had to deal with men who were too wise to give them time to take all their measures.

## **Cromwell's Dissimulation**

Oliver Cromwell, a person of uncommon valour, great parts, and profound dissimulation, was then as the head of the Independents, though he affected all to pass for a rigid Presbyterian. He was present at the sermons of the Presbyterians with a seemingly extraordinary devotion. He made use of certain Scripture expressions after the manner of the Presbyterians, and spoke not a word which might betray him to be Independent, either as to religion or policy. In short, he had found means to persuade General Fairfax, that his sole aim was to promote the glory of God, and the welfare of religion and the Kingdom. He had in the army a great number of officers who acted by his directions, so that when he did all, he seemed to do nothing.

Among these officers were his son-in-law Ireton, Rainsborough, Fleetwood, Lambert, Harrison, and several others, who took care to strengthen the Independent party, by means of many subaltern officers, who endeavoured to make proselytes among the soldiers, and were so many emissaries in every regiment.

Cromwell was a member of Parliament[236], and withal Lieutenant General of the army, notwithstanding the self-denying ordinance, for which he had been exempted. After the war was over, he constantly attended the House, and thereby might be informed of the project against the army, or rather against the Independent party in general.

### **Cromwell Inspires The Army With Discontent at Their Going to be Dismissed**

He seemed to approve of the measures designed by the Commons, namely, of forming an army for Inland[237], and disbanding the rest of the forces. But at the same time, by means of his emissaries, he raised in the army a spirit of discontent and mutiny. This was the more easy, as the officers and soldiers perceived, they were going to be discarded, and as most were little able to return their old professions, after four or five years spent in war.

There were in the army many officers, who before the wars had been only tradesmen, and saw with regret they were going to be reduced to quit their employments which gave them authority, and resume their former trades, to be mixed as before, with the meaner sort of people. These men, as well as those gained by the Independents, were ready for any undertaking, not to be obliged to alter a course of life they had now led for some years. Cromwell therefore, and the officers of his party, improving this disposition, diligently inspired the army with discontent against the two Houses, wherein they succeeded but too well[238].

### **The Project of a Petition from The Army**

The first spark of this flame appeared in March 1647, at the time when the Parliament was seriously thinking of executing the fore-mentioned project. The Commons had notice, that some officers of the army had prepared a petition to be presented to the General, and communicated to the House.

In this petition was described, the unhappy condition, most of the officers and soldiers would be in, when the army should be disbanded. The articles desired, were:—

**Indemnity for actions as soldiers.**

**Satisfaction for arrears.**

**No pressing for horse or foot.**

**Relief of widows and maimed soldiers.**

**Pay till disbanded.**

This petition flew from regiment to regiment, and there were officers very diligent to procure subscriptions. Whereupon, the Commons sent an order to the General, to make strict inquiry after the authors of this petition, and put a stop to the conferences held in the army, to sow discord and division. The General answered:—

**That** in obedience to the order of the House, he had assembled the officers, and questioned them about the petition:

**That** they had expressed a very deep sense of their unhappiness, in being misunderstood in their clear intentions, which, as they had protested, were no other than, by way of petition, to represent to him, their General, those inconveniences, which would necessarily befall most of the army after disbanding; but withal had assured him, they would wholly acquiesce in whatsoever he should judge reasonable to offer, or the House to grant on their behalf.

The General added:—

**That** the House might be better informed, he had sent Lieutenant-General Hammond, Colonel Hammond, Colonel Lilburn, Lieutenant-Colonel Pride, and Lieutenant-Colonel Grimes, who, he hoped, would give a full and candid account of the whole matter.

### **Declaration of The Commons Published at The Head of Several Regiments**

Accordingly, these officers were examined before the House; after which, the Speaker, in dismissing them, told them what sense the Houses had of the petition, and desired their care for suppressing the same, or any other of the like nature for the future[239].

The same day, the House ordered the General to publish a declaration, at the head of every regiment, importing, that the petition tended to put the army into a mutiny, and obstruct the relief of Ireland, and that the promoters thereof should be proceeded against as enemies to the State, and disturbers of the public peace [240].

### **The The Army's Discontent**

The Commons could not do anything more agreeable to those, who had formed the project of sowing division between the army and the Parliament. This declaration gave occasion to the officers and soldiers to complain openly:—

**That** they who had fought for the liberty of the subject of England, were denied the liberty of the subject to petition, though it were to their general, and merely in things relating to them as soldiers, meddling neither with Church nor State affairs, and withal, submitting it to the general's judgment for approbation or correction as he saw cause.

Meanwhile, the two Houses intending to execute their resolution, of sending forces into Ireland in the manner to they had projected, appointed a Committee for that purpose. and gave them power to form the regiments of this army, and commission such officers as they should think fit. At the same time, they resolved to encourage those that voluntarily offered to serve in Ireland, and ordered the commissioners speedily to execute their charge.

### **The Commissioners Find The Army Disinclined to Obey its Orders**

The commissioners[241] repairing to Saffron Walden the General's head quarters, gave notice to the officers to assemble the next day. Then the Earl of Warwick, head of the committee, made a speech, exhorting them to accent to the terms offered by the two Houses. When he had done speaking, Colonel Lambert answered in the name of all the officers, and desired to know, what satisfaction should be given them concerning four articles, namely, arrears, indemnity, maintenance in Ireland, and conduct Sir John Clotworthy replied:—



**That** the Parliament had taken care of all, except the point of indemnity, for which tin ordinance would be ready in a few days.

The officers demanded, what Generals were to command them in Ireland? It was answered, Skippon, and Mossey, were named for General, and Lieutenant-General; but for other commanders, the Parliament had not yet come to any resolution. Then the officers cried out with one voice, that if the command was given to Fairfax, Cromwell and Skippon, they were ready to march.

The commissioners seeing, the officers insisted upon a thing not agreeable to the intentions of the Parliament, desired such as would list in the service of Ireland, to come to their lodgings in the town, where they would give them farther satisfaction; but there came very few. At the same time, the rest prepared a declaration, which was presented to the commissioners, on wherein they said:—

## **The Declaration of The Officers**

**They** had reason to complain, that they had received no positive answer to their desires:

**That** however, those who in their own persons did not engage for Ireland, would be ready to promote the service:

**That** if the same conduct under which the army had been so prosperous in England, was continued, it would conduce much to their personal engagement in the service of Ireland:

**That** this was the general sense of the officers of the army.

The Generals who hitherto seemed very desirous to serve the Parliament, ordered the officers who had a mind to serve in Ireland, to draw out as many of their men as would engage in that service. But the number was very small, and the Parliament was informed, there were officers who took great pains to dissuade the soldiers from this service, and cherish the discontent of the army[242].

At last, their boldness was such, that some of the principal officers scrupled not to appear at the head of the mutineers, in a declaration presented to both Houses. They said:—

**That** the misrepresentations of their harmless intentions to the House, having occasioned hard thoughts, and expressions of the House's displeasure against them, they humbly craved leave to offer some reasons to clear their proceedings in those passages, which they found most obvious to exceptions in their petition, thereby they hoped to make it evident? that the means they used, and the method they took, was, as they conceived, most orderly and inoffensive; proceeded not in the least from distemper, and aiming in no measure to put conditions on the Parliament; and that from hence might be discovered, the corruptions of those men's hearts, who have been the evil instruments of occasioning the late declaration against them. And,

**1. For** the liberty of petitioning, they hoped, the honourable House of Commons would never deny it unto them, there being not any thing more essential to freedom; and particularly, since they had justified and commended it in their declaration of the 2nd of November 1642, in these words:

**It is the liberty** and privilege of the people, to petition unto us for the ease and redress of their grievances and oppressions, and we are bound in duty to receive their petitions.

**2. They** presented not their petition to the House, but with the approbation, and by the mediation, of their General, and consequently, that it could not be represented as seditious.

**3. The report** of their forcing subscriptions was not true. For the petition had taken its first rise from amongst the soldiers, and the officers had engaged but in the second place to regulate the soldiers proceedings, and remove, as near as they could, all occasion of distaste.

**4. They** were forced to desire an act indemnity for such actions as they had committed during the exigency of the war, not warrantable by law, since they were liable to be indicted for them in time of peace.

**5. As** to their desiring the Royal assent, they never intended thereby to lessen the Parliament's authority; but only used it as a provident caution for their future safety. And they observed, that the Parliament itself had, by offering propositions, judged, the desiring the King's assent convenient.

**6. As** to the desire of their arrears, necessity enforced them thereto:

**That** their wages had been hardly earned, and the desire of them could nor argue them guilty of the least discontent, or intention of mutiny.

**7. For** what concerned the relief of Ireland, they thought it hard, that those who had voluntarily served in the wars, and left their parents, trades, and livelihoods, and, without any compulsion, engaged of their own accords, should, after all their free and unwearied labours, be forced and compelled to go out of the Kingdom.

This declaration was signed by Thomas Hammond, Lieutenant-General of the ordnance, seven Colonels, seven Lieutenant-Colonels, six Majors, and one hundred and thirty Officers, Captains, and Subalterns.

## **Vote to Disband The Army**

The same day this declaration was presented to the House, the Commons voted, that the army should be disbanded, and the soldiers have six weeks pay when dismissed.

## **Petition of Some Regiment of Horse**

Some days after, Major-General Skippon, who was to command in Ireland, and (being returned from Barnstable) had taken his seat in the House, notwithstanding the self denying ordinance, which was no longer regarded, reported, that a letter was presented to him the day before by some troopers, in the behalf of eight regiments of horse, and produced the same, which was immediately ordered to be read.

These regiments complained of the many late scandals, and false suggestions, against the army, and their proceedings, and alleged the reasons why they could not engage in the service of Ireland, under the conduct of the intended Generals. The troopers, (Sexby, Allen, and Sheppard) who brought the letter, were called in and examined, concerning the meaning of some expressions in the petition; to which they replied:—

**That** the letter being a joint act of those several regiments, they could not give a punctual answer, being only agents; but if they might have the queries in writing, they would carry them to the regiments, and return their answers.

## **Votes in Favour of The Army**

Though the declaration of the officers was in itself very reasonable, it looked however more like an insolent accusation against the Parliament, than an humble apology. This, convinced the Commons, that the evil was greater than was at first imagined, wherefore they passed several votes to give some satisfaction to the army, and to hinder the increase of their discontent.

## **New Commissioners**

At the same time, Skippon, Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood were ordered to go and acquaint the army with what the House intended to do for the troops, and that a considerable sum was preparing for their pay, before they were disbanded. Hitherto the Commons seem not to have perceived the true aim of the army's complaints, but hoped to appease them by some condescension.

## **The Answer of The Generals**

The Generals sent by the Parliament being come to the army, and calling the officers together, read to them the votes passed in their favour; after which, Skippon made a speech, to engage them to serve under him in Ireland. The officers answered, as this affair concerned the soldiers, as well as the officers, it was necessary to inform them of it, in order to know their refutation.

Meanwhile, the Parliament ardently desiring to disband the army, after that which was to serve in Ireland was formed, ordered, that before they were disbanded, a fortnight's pay should be added to the six weeks, formerly voted, and that six weeks pay more should be given to those who would engage for the service of Ireland.

## **The Soldiers Desire to Consult Among Themselves**

The troopers and soldiers being informed of what the Generals, sent by the Parliament, had reported to the officers, answered, that as the whole army was concerned, they desired to discuss the affair in a Committee, chosen by themselves, out of every company and troop, who should report the desires of each regiment to a Committee of General Officers; to be by them contracted into a method, and if general, communicated to both Houses, as the sense of the army. It is easy to perceive in this answer, a secret direction of some of the leading malcontents, who intended by this means to be masters of the soldiers resolutions, and compose in the army, a sort of Parliament, in opposition to the two Houses.

## **It is Granted They Set a Council of Agitators**

This demand, of which, perhaps, the consequences were not by many foreseen, being granted, the soldiers chose two out of every company, who were called Adjutators, or Agitators, to debate upon the matters which were to be brought to the council of officers, called, the Council of War, consisting of Generals, Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors, and Captains. Among the Agitators where were few or none above the degree of an Ensign.

These two Councils were afterwards continued, to the great prejudice of the Parliament, and great, advantage of the heads of the Independent party, who easily found means to admit only such as were devoted to them, or not of sufficient ability to discover their designs.

## **The Parliament Persist in Their Design to Disband The Army**

Meanwhile, the two Houses persisted in their resolution to disband the army, excepting those who would engage to serve in Ireland:—

**To effect** this the more easily, it was ordered, that their arrears should be speedily audited, and good security given them, for so much as should not be paid off upon disbanding:

**That** none that had voluntarily served in the wars, should be pressed for any service beyond sea:

**That** an ordinance should be drawn for providing for widows, maimed soldiers, and orphans.

## **The Army Openly Complain**

After that, the two Houses settled the manner of disbanding the army, namely, that the regiments should be disbanded at different times and places, and that the money to pay them what was promised, should be sent to the several rendezvous. But the army openly complained of the intention to pay them but two months arrears upon disbanding, when there was no less than fifty six weeks due to them.

## **The Reasons The Votes were Thought Unsatisfactory**

Shortly after, the Generals called a council of war at Bury at which were present above two hundred officers, and communicated to them the votes of both Houses, advising them to a compliance with the order of Parliament. But the officers answered, They did not think these votes satisfactory to the soldiers:—

1. Because eight weeks pay was not a considerable part of what was due to them.
2. Because no visible security was given for the arrears.
3. Because nothing was done for their vindication, and they being declared enemies, and sent home, might hereafter be proceeded against as enemies, unless the declarations were recalled.

## **The Soldiers Threaten**

At the same Council a petition was produced and read, which had been that morning presented to the General, in the name of the private soldiers of the army, complaining:—

**That** it was intended to disband them without redressing their grievances, and in a strange, unheard of manner, one regiment apart from another, which posture could not but render them suspicious to the Kingdom.

**And** therefore they desired the General would be pleased to appoint a rendezvous for the army, and use his utmost endeavours, that they might not be disbanded before their grievances were heard, and fully redressed, which if not done, they should be necessitated, though unwillingly, to do things that might be prevented, by granting their just desires.

The council of war having examined this petition, believed or feigned to believe, it was absolutely necessary to take notice of it, for fear, if they saw all their desires rejected, they should have a rendezvous without their officers. It was therefore resolved, that the quarters of the army should be contracted, to prevent disorders, and for the greater readiness to suppress them.

It was manifest, the design of the petition, and the council of war's resolution, was, to break the Parliament's measures. It had been resolved to separate the army, and disband them at different times and places, in order to do it the more easily; and the army, on the contrary, had contracted their quarters, so that they could rendezvous in a very short space, without any possibility of being prevented by the Parliament.

## **The Parliament Recall Their Commissioners**

The General failed not to acquaint the two Houses with the result of what had passed in the council of war, entreating them to proceed with caution, that the army might not be incensed, and a breach made, which could not but be very dangerous. He writ the same day to the Speaker of the House of Commons, that he was extremely uneasy concerning the disposition of the army, and heartily wished some means could be found to appease the distractions, which was not in his power. That he was forced to yield to many things to prevent worse inconveniences.

## **A Project to Divide The Army**

Whereupon, the two Houses recalled the Commissioners, who were now gone to disband the army, and sent for the money which had been lodged in several places for the payment of the soldiers. But three thousand five hundred pounds carrying to London, was stopped by Colonel Rainsborough's men at Woodstock.

It was very evident, the army was unwilling to be disbanded; but the Parliament not being in a condition to command obedience, were forced to stay till a more convenient season, without relinquishing however their design. Their intention was to divide the army, under colour of the necessity of sending forces into Ireland; and, the better to engage the soldiers to leave the army, it was voted, that a month's pay should be given to those that would quit their regiments, and serve in Ireland.

They hoped by this means to form an army equal or superior to that which refused to obey, wherein they were greatly mistaken. Meanwhile, to give some satisfaction to the army, it was ordered by the Commons, that the subordinate officers and soldiers should have all their arrears, deducting for free quarters according to the usual rules of the army.

That the Commission officers should have one month's pay more added to the two months arrears formerly voted. lastly, that the declaration against those that drew up the first petition should be razed out of the Journal of the House[243]. But all this was not capable of contenting the army, who were resolved not to be satisfied. The directors of these proceedings had a mind to continue the army, in order to be able to oppose the Presbyterians, who were superior in the Parliament.

So, the reasons alleged by the army being only pretences, though every thing had been granted, others would have been devised, to prevent their disbanding; and indeed, it will presently appear, that lest all their desires should be granted, they added new demands, which the Parliament could not comply with.

## **The Division Between The Parliament and Army Increases**

It was easy to perceive, that every thing tended to a breach between the Parliament and the army. The Parliament accused the army of mutiny and sedition[244], and the army pretended, that the Parliament, under colour of sending forces into Ireland, thought of forming a new army, to become masters of the Kingdom, when the old one; should be cashiered, or to kindle a fresh war, in case the troops refused to obey. But they were far from being upon an equality.

The army had the sword in their hands, and though some officers and soldiers had quitted their regiments for the service of Ireland, their number was inconsiderable[245], all the rest remained united, and were supported by most of the Generals, who being against the Parliament, privately cherished the discontent of the officers and soldiers.

The Parliament had no forces to compel the army to obedience, and therefore were terribly embarrassed. They durst not drive the army to extremities; and on the other hand, they plainly perceived, that the discord was fomented by the leaders of the Independents, who sought the destruction of the Parliament, for fear the Parliament should destroy them, as indeed both Houses intended.

This therefore was a critical reason, the point being to know who should be master, the Parliament or the Independent party. But these last had the army on their side, and that alone balanced the power and authority of the Parliament. They had so well laid their measures, by means of the Agitators, that the army was become a sort of Republic, where the suffrages of the common soldiers were upon a level with those of the Generals; nay, the soldiers did not think themselves obliged to follow or to ask the advice of their Officers.

Hence sprung confusion, which was suffered to prevail. Every thing was done in the name of the army, a loose term which signified, sometimes the Council of war alone, sometimes the Council of Agitators, now both Councils together, and now, the Agitators of some particular regiments. In this last sense must be understood the enterprise performed, in the name of the army, by the Agitators of some regiments of horse, of carrying away the King by force from Holmby House to Newmarket[246].

### **The King is Carried Away by Force From Holmby**

To execute this design, they chose Cornet Joyce, one of the Agitators of his regiment, who, from a Taylor before the war, was become an officer, and had signalised himself for his bravery. Joyce being put at the head of fifty horse, marched directly to Holmby, and came there in the night, after the King was in bed.

Having secured the avenues, he went up with two or three more to the King's chamber, and caused the door to be opened. The King getting up, asked him what he meant. Joyce answered, he intended to carry him to the army, for they had received certain advice, there was a design to convey him away by force. The King asked him, whether he had the General's orders? He replied, no, but that he was authorized by the army, and as he held a pistol in his hand, sufficiently intimated, it was by that he was chiefly empowered[247].

### **The King Is Conducted to New Market**

The Parliament's Commissioners who were at Holmby to take care of the King, would have opposed this violence: But the King's guard refusing to make any resistance, and the troops that were in the neighbouring villages to relieve the guard every day, would not come. At last, after many disputes, all the King could obtain was to stay till the morning.

That same night he writ a note, which he intrusted with the Earl of Dumfermling, to acquaint the two Houses, he was carried away from Holmby against his will, and that they should not

give any credit to what he might afterwards write whilst under restraint. The next morning he went into the coach, and was conducted by Joyce, who carried him that night to Colonel Montague's, and the next day to Newmarket.

## The Army's Petition to The General

Whilst these things passed, the General having appointed a rendezvous of the army at Newmarket, for the 4th and 5th of June, the several regiments presented a petition to him, complaining of the votes passed in Parliament the 21st and 25th of May, as not being satisfactory, for the following reasons.

**1. That** eight weeks arrear to be paid at disbanding, was but a mean reward for all their labours, and a very slender supply to carry them to their homes, and set them up again in their former callings and conditions.

**2. That** in the orders given for the stating of their accompts, they found no consideration or regard had of their arrears incurred in the former army commanded by the Earl of Essex, which to the most of them were much greater than those under the new model.

**3. That** three shillings a week was to be abated to foot soldiers for quarter, which was more than they should have paid for themselves, if they timely had their pay.

**4. That** there was no provision or allowance made in relation to any quarters discharged by them.

**5. That,** contrary to custom, no trooper was capable of allowance for arrears, unless he delivered in his horse and arms.

**6. That** the visible security for what arrears should not be paid at disbanding, appeared to them insufficient.

**7. That** the ordinance voted, to exempt from pressing, for the service of Ireland, such as had served as volunteers in the army, was defective; because after their discharge, it was very difficult for them to obtain a testimonial of their past services.

**8. That** the ordinance for the maintenance of maimed soldiers, had not yet passed in Parliament.

**9. That** the ordinance for indemnity seemed to make but slender provision for their safety.

**10. That** no reparation had been made to those officers of the army, that had been at several times sent for to attend the Parliament as delinquents, though they had been found innocent.

**11. That** there had been yet nothing declared by the Parliament, to clear them as to their right of petitioning. (There was in this article heavy complaints against the Parliament's arbitrary power).

**12. That** the Declaration made against the army was yet standing in force.

**13. That** nothing had yet been done towards the discovery or censure of those that had wronged the army, and abused the Parliament, so as to procure the proceedings against them, with relation to their petition.

## Engagement Signed by The Army

It is easy to perceive, these complaints were but mere pretences, or at least, if the army had not resolved to be satisfied upon no terms, these differences might possibly, have been adjusted. But this was only a preparative to what they had resolved to do.

The next day, June the 5th, the officers and soldiers subscribed a paper, which they called, a solemn engagement, whereby they consented to disband, when required by the Parliament, but on condition:—

**That** they should first have such satisfaction in relation to their grievances, and such security as to their persons, as should be agreed unto by a Council to consist of those General Officers (who had concurred with the army) with two Commission Officers, and two soldiers to be chosen for each regiment; and declared, that without such satisfactory and such security they would not willingly disband, nor suffer themselves to be disbanded or divided.

This Engagement was seconded with Petitions from the inhabitants of the counties of Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk, entreating the General, not to suffer the army to be disbanded till every thing relating to the Government was settled.

## The General's Letter About Carrying Away The King

**June the 7th**, both Houses received a letter from the General acquainting them, that the soldiers at Holmby had brought the King thence by consent, having thought proper to secure his person, from an apprehension of forces gathering to fall upon them and force him out of their hands.

**That** as soon as he knew it, he sent Colonel Whaley's regiment to guard the King; after which, for prevention of danger, he had sent two regiments more to re-enforce Colonel Whaley.

**That** Whaley had desired the King and the Commissioners, in his name, to return to Holmby, but that his Majesty was not willing to go back.

**That** upon this, he had sent Sir Hardress Waller and Colonel Lambert, to desire the Commissioners to think of returning to Holmby, but that the Commissioners refused to act in disposing the King. He affirmed moreover, that neither himself, nor the officers about him, nor the body of the army were concerned in removing the King, protesting that it was his as well as the army's desire, to study to settle a firm peace.

**That** they had no intention to oppose Presbytery, or set up the independent government, but to leave all to the wisdom of the Parliament, without advancing any particular party or interest.

It was a very strange thing, that the King should be removed from Holmby by fifty troopers, without any orders from the General or the Officers about him, and without the consent of the body of the army; and that the general Officers should suffer him to be in the centre of the quarters of the army, without inquiring after those who gave, or those who executed, such an order.

This shewed, there was some mystery in it, which it was not thought proper to discover to the Parliament, and that Joyce knew he should be protected if called to an account. On the other hand, though the King had sent word to both Houses, that he was unwillingly removed[248], it



appears by the General's letter, that his Majesty consented to it, and was unwilling to return to Holmby, when it was in his power. All this seems very mysterious, and I do not believe the public was ever fully informed of what passed before the removal of the King.

What followed makes it conjectured, that some of the general Officers believed it to be absolutely necessary for their interest to have the King in their power, at a time when they thought there was reason to fear, the Parliament would come to an agreement with him, and that they caused him to be taken away from Holmby by persons without warrant, well knowing, they should be powerful enough to hinder the affair from being strictly examined. It may be, the King himself was privy to it, since he was unwilling to return to Holmby, and appeared, for some time, much more at ease in the hands of the army, than when he was in the Parliament's power.

## Votes of The Commons

The Commons seeing the army master of the King's person, and unwilling to disband, resolved at least to shew the public by their votes, that the imputations laid to their charge by the army were groundless, and that they were not swayed by self interested motives.

So, June the 10th, they confirmed the self denying ordinance, and,

**Declared** to be void all places held by members of Parliament.

They voted,

**That** the lands and estates of all members of the House should be liable to the law for payment of their debts.

They appointed a day to hear information against members, and ordered that no member should hereafter receive any reparation for damages, till the public debts were first satisfied.

## The Army Marches Towards London

Nevertheless the army began to march, and advanced to St. Albans within twenty miles of London. At the same time, the General sent to both Houses the result of the late council of war at Newmarket, and entreated them to think of some way to satisfy the troops.

The approach of the army threw the Parliament and City into great consternation, and an ordinance was passed, to enable the committee of the Militia of London to raise horses. They seemed to intend to put themselves in a posture of defence against the army.

## The Complaints of The Army Against Some of The Commons

Within a few hours after, the City received a letter signed by the General, and all the other general officers, complaining, there were certain members of Parliament who endeavoured to engage the Kingdom in a new war, as having no other way to protect themselves from the punishment they justly deserved. Adding, that they desired no alteration of the Civil Government, nor in the least to hinder the settling of Presbyterianism, neither did they intend any evil to the City, if they appeared not to assist that wicked party, who would embroil them and the Kingdom:—

**That** they were ready to remove at a farther distance, if they were assured, that a speedy settlement of things was in hand.

**That** if, after all, the City should be seduced to take arms against the army, ruin and destruction would ensue.

This letter was communicated to the Parliament, who writ to the General, to desire that the army might not come within twenty-five miles[249] of the City; but it was already advanced to St. Albans. The same day, the Commons ordered, that the sum of ten thousand pounds should be paid to such officers and soldiers as should leave the army and engage in the service of Ireland, with which the army was highly displeased, plainly perceiving, the Parliament's design was to divide them.

The next day, upon a false rumour of the army's near approach to the city, the militia of London ordered all the trained bands to be raised on pain of death. But presently after the order was revoked. However, soldiers were lifted by order of Parliament.

## **The Common Council's Letter to The General**

In this interval, the Common-Council of London sent an answer to the General and Officers, wherein they said:—

**The City intended no evil** to the army, but only to defend the Parliament and themselves against any unlawful violence.

**That** they did not take arms with intent to hinder the obtaining of the army's just demands.

**That** on the contrary, they had presented their addresses to the Parliament for the obtaining thereof; and only requested, they would demand no more than what should be just and reasonable.

The same day, the Parliament sent Commissioners to the army[250], to know what were their desires, the General answered, in letters to both Houses, That the army offered, for a month's pay, not to draw their quarters nearer London, without first giving notice of it to the Parliament's commissioners.

## **The Representation of The Army**

Meanwhile, the army continued to render themselves formidable, as well by their nearness, as by their demands which daily rose higher. At first, they protested, they would not meddle in any thing not immediately relating to themselves, and that their intention was to leave the care of the Government to the wisdom of the two Houses. But when they found, the Parliament gave way, and wanted power or resolution, they advanced one step farther, and by a declaration presented to both Houses, demanded:—

**1. That** the Houses might be purged of such members, as for their delinquency, or for corruptions, or undue elections ought not to sit there.

**2. That** those persons who had appeared against the army, might speedily be disabled from doing the like; and for that purpose, might be made incapable of being the soldiers Judges, when disbanded.

**3. That** some determinate period of time might be set for the continuance of that and future Parliaments, beyond which none should continue; that the members of the House might not have the temptation or advantage of an unlimited power to perpetuate injustice or oppression, but might be in a capacity to taste of subjection as well as rule.

**4. That** Parliaments might not be adjournable or dissolvable, any other ways, than by their own consent.

**5. That** the right and freedom of the people to present petitions to the Parliament might be cleared and vindicated.

**6. That** the large powers given to committees or deputy-Lieutenants, might be taken away, or regulated.

**7. That** the Kingdom might be righted and publicly satisfied in point of accounts, for the sums that had been levied and paid.

**8. That** after public justice was first satisfied by some few examples on delinquents, a general act of oblivion should be passed.

After these demands, the army protested:-

**That** their design was not to overthrow Presbytery, and establish the Independent Government. But they only desired:

**That** there might be some effectual course taken, that such who upon conscientious grounds differed from the established forms, might not for that be debarred from the common rights, liberties, or benefits belonging equally to all, while they lived soberly and inoffensively towards others, and peaceably and faithfully towards the State.

## **The Army Accuses Eleven Members**

It was easy to perceive, the army no longer contented themselves with meddling in their own affairs, but wanted to have a share in the Civil Government. There were in the House of Commons very able men, who knew the designs of the Independents, and would have hassled them, had they been supported with power.

To this end it was, they had projected the forming, out of the old, a new army for Ireland, and to cashier the rest of the forces.

This project tended directly to the ruin of the independent party. Accordingly, Cromwell and his associates used all their endeavours to countermine the artifices of their enemies, by inspiring the army with discontent, and cherishing it in the forementioned manner.

In short, having tried the Parliament, they thought themselves strong enough to strike a bolder stroke, in using always the army's name, which they had moulded to their purposes. To this end, they caused it to be resolved in a council of war, that the army should prefer a charge against the ablest and most powerful members of the Commons, who in a manner governed and directed the House. These were the men the Independent party had most to fear.

This resolution being taken, the army deputed some officers to carry in their name, to the Parliament, a charge against eleven members, namely, Holles, Stapleton, Lewis, Clotworthy, Waller, Maynard, Massey, Glyn, Long, Harley, and Nichols.

## **The Articles of Their Accusation**

The general articles of the charge were:-

**1. That** the persons above-named had, in an arbitrary and violent manner, infringed the rights and liberties of the nation, and endeavoured by indirect and corrupt practices to delay and obstruct justice.

**2. That** the army being, until the middle of March last, in an orderly condition, and ready, either quietly to have disbanded, or else to have engaged in the service of Ireland, those members had endeavoured by false information to beget misunderstandings and jealousies in the Parliament against the army.

**3. That** whereas the Parliament might have had out of the army, an entire force for the reduction of Ireland, those persons had attempted to pull the army in pieces, and to put the Kingdom to the trouble and expense of raising a new force for that service.

**4. That** they had diverted the forces engaged for the service of Ireland, and endeavoured to apply them to carry on desperate designs of their own in England and had also raised new forces under pretence to guard the Parliament, and privately listed officers and soldiers, for embroiling the Kingdom in a new and bloody war.

**5. That** they had invited and encouraged divers reformados, and other officers and soldiers, tumultuously to gather together at Westminster to affright and assault the members of Parliament.

The very next day, the army sent proposals to the Commons, wherein they desired:—

**That** the persons impeached might be forthwith suspended from sitting in the House.

**That** there might be a month's pay immediately sent to the army.

**That** if the officers and soldiers of the army who had engaged for Ireland, or those who had deserted the army and come to London, had since then received more than a month's pay, there might be so much more money sent down to the army.

**That** during the debate and transaction betwixt the Parliament and the army, about raising and listing new forces, the Parliament would not suffer any new forces to be raised within the Kingdom.

**1647 AD]** These demands extremely embarrassed the Parliament. They could not reject them without furnishing the army with a pretence to march to London, where was nothing ready to oppose them, and by granting them, they gave them occasion to make further demands. This embarrassment was the greater, as several counties seconded the army, and pretended, it was absolutely necessary to continue them, to stop the progress of the arbitrary power assumed by the Parliament.

### **Some Counties are for The Army**

We have already seen, that the counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, had in some measure declared for the army. Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire followed this example, and Glamorganshire openly complained, by deputies sent on purpose, that the people were expressed by the Parliament and by the committees settled in the several counties[251].

### **The Parliament Resolves to Satisfy The Army**

Whereupon the two Houses thought proper to appease the impending doom, by giving satisfaction to the army, in order to remove all pretence of complaint; for it was easy to perceive, that was what they wanted.

It was therefore resolved:—

**That** the order for lifting of forces, and the permission given to the committee of the militia of London to augment the trained bands should be void:

**That** the army should have a month's pay, and the General be required to remove it forty miles from London.

Some days after, a month's pay was also granted to the forces in the north, and to let the army see there was no design to disband them, the Parliament passed an ordinance for raising sixty thousand pounds a month for the maintenance of the army, and for the service of Ireland[252].

Lastly, the House of Commons writ to the General, that they were ready to receive from him any particular charge against the eleven accused members.

## **The Army is Not Content**

This condescension might have the Parliament and the army, if peace had been what the army desired. But instead of being obliged to the Parliament for this compliance, they were rather incensed at it, as being sensible, the design of it was only to break their measures, by taking away all pretence of complaint.

They would have been better pleased, that all their demands had been denied, in order to have an excuse to do themselves justice. They were afraid the Parliament, by endeavouring to gain time, would privately take measures, the effects whereof would not appear perhaps till it should be too late to prevent them.

## **Other Demands of The Army**

Wherefore, far from being contented, they presented a remonstrance to the Parliament, whereby they sufficiently discovered their disinclination to an agreement. This Remonstrance contained the following complaints of the officers and soldiers:—

**That** they had yet received no answer or resolution about the eleven accused members. This point they largely insisted upon, and pretended they could not expect they should be called to an account, so long as they continued in such power, both in the House, and in all the committees of the highest trust, as they actually did.

**That** the army was commanded to forty miles distance from London, and his Majesty's person remanded immediately to Richmond House[253], within eight miles of London, to put his Majesty within reach of those men's power.

**That** it was industriously published, that his Majesty was kept a prisoner in the army, and barbarously and uncivilly used, but all suggestions of that sort were most false.

**Lastly**, after many complaints of public and private grievances, they said, that they should be enforced, by the Parliament's affected delays, to take extraordinary courses to put things to a speedy issue, unless by Thursday night next they received assurance and security on the following articles:—

**1. That** the declaration inviting men to desert the army, be recalled and annulled.

**2. That** the army may be presently paid up, equally to those that have deserted it.

**3. That** his Majesty's coming to Richmond may be suspended, and in the meantime, no place may be appointed for his Majesty's residence any nearer to London, than the Parliament will allow the quarters of the army to be.

**4. That** the members charged may be forthwith suspended the House.

**5. That** those that have deserted the army may be instantly discharged, and receive no more of their arrears till the army be first satisfied.

**6. That** both Parliament and City may be freed from those multitudes of reformadoes, and other soldiers, that flock together about London.

**7. That** all listings, or raising of new forces may be effectually suppressed.

**8. That** the perplexed affairs of the Kingdom, and those concerning the army, may be put into some speedy way of settling and composure[254].

### **The Parliament Send Deputies to Treat With The Army**

It was visible, the army sought a pretence to quarrel, and as it was their interest to break very soon, for fear secret measures might be taken against them, so was it the Parliament's business to gain time. To that purpose, they empowered the commissioners in the army to treat with them upon all the points in dispute.

Meanwhile, the Commons voted,

**That** by the law no judgment can be given to suspend the eleven members from sitting in the House, upon the papers presented from the army, before the particulars be produced, and proofs made.

### **The Eleven Members Desire Leave to Absent Themselves**

But an expedient was found to suspend this refusal, namely, that the parties accused should, of their own accord, desire leave to absent themselves from the House, which was granted, and the army remained satisfied[255].

### **The General's Letter to The City**

About the same time, the army drawing a little nearer London, probably, with design to awe the Parliament, the General writ to the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, that they had nothing to fear from the army, who had no ill intention against the city.

And indeed, it was resolved in a council of war, that there should be no farther advance of the army than to Uxbridge.

### **The Parliament Contents The Army**

It is certain, there were many in the City and Parliament that wished to see a breach between the two Houses and the army. Some, doubtless, imagined such a breach would be very advanta-

geous to the King, and that one or other of the two parties would join with him, and be directed by him. Nay, the King flattered himself with these hopes.

The army shewed great regard for him, and some of the officers even hinted to him, they were labouring for his restoration. For this reason the two Houses thought it very necessary to avoid a breach, which could not but produce many ill effects.

Both Houses therefore voted, that they considered the army commanded by General Fairfax, as their army, and would make provision for their maintenance. It was farther ordered, that they should have a month's pay, and no officer or soldier should leave the army without license from the General, that all reformadoes should remove from the city, and the King reside no neater London than the army.

These votes being communicated to the army, they seemed so well pleased with them, that they resolved to remove from London, to shew they intended to use no force upon the Parliament, and the head quarters were appointed at Wickham.

### **Plot at London Against The Army**

Whilst the Parliament was endeavouring to content the army, a plot was forming in London, to compel the two Houses to take other measures, and oppose the army[256].

The Presbyterians were not pleased to see the independents gain so much ground, and censured the Parliament for thus meanly complying with the army. The Magistrates of London came into this plot, as well as the most zealous Presbyterian members of Parliament, who had not been able to hinder the late votes for preventing a breach with the army.

The Authors of this plot had sent private agents into Scotland to desire assistance. Nay, it was whispered in London, that Scotland was going to declare against the army.

### **Petition of The Common Council to Parliament**

The first step taken by the conspirators, was to present to the Parliament, a petition from the Common-council of London, wherein they expressed some suspicion of their conduct. This was, doubtless, in order to have a pretence to complain more openly afterwards, and to begin to lessen the people's pre-possession in favour of the Parliament.

In this petition, the city complained of the arbitrary power exercised by the Parliament's Committees, as well as of the ill-management of the public money, and desired:—

**1. That** present command be given, that no officer of war, or soldier, do enter London, under pretence of receiving their arrears.

**2. That** such officers and soldiers as are already paid, if their usual habitation and employment have been within London, be enjoined forthwith to betake themselves to their calling; and such as have dwellings in the country, be required to depart within two days after publication.

**3. That** all who have been in arms against the Parliament, be enjoined upon pain of imprisonment, within twenty-four hours after publication, to repair to their several habitations.

**4. That** such commanders and soldiers as have come in from the army, and received their monies, may be otherwise disposed of as the Parliament shall think fit.

**5. That** all persons whatsoever that are possessed of any monies or goods belonging to the public, maybe enjoined to bring the same, within one month after publication, into some public treasury.

**6. That** all revenues be managed under such commissions, and by such persons, as, notwithstanding any privilege of Parliament, may be held to such rules as are or shall be prescribed therein.

**7. That** the Parliament would for the present lay aside all businesses of lesser consequence, and improve their time and utmost endeavour, that such laws may be prepared for his Majesty's concurrence, as may settle the government of the Church, secure the people from all unlawful and arbitrary power whatsoever in future, and t<sup>e</sup> restore his Majesty to his just rights and authority, according to the Covenant.

**8. And,** that the people may be the better secured to enjoy the intended effects of such laws as shall be so made with the royal assent, that especial care he taken, that all officers of State, and other ministers of justice, may be persons of honour, of considerable interest, and of known integrity.

**9. That** the Parliament would please to provide for the carrying on of the affairs in Ireland.

**10. That** by just and good means the correspondence with Scotland may be maintained and preserved.

**11. That** the House of Commons would please to give order for a speedy examination of all unlawful elections and returns of the members thereof.

**12. That** some speedy course may betaken for the deciding of all causes formerly determinable in the Court of Admiralty.

**13. That** satisfaction being made by delinquents, an act of oblivion may be passed.

To incense the Londoners against the army, it was rumoured, that they designed to declare for the King[257]. Nay, a pamphlet was dispersed in London, entitled, ***Heads presented by the Army to the King's Majesty***. But the army, disowned it by a public declaration.

## **Differences Between The Parliament's and Army's Commissioners**

The Parliament having empowered their commissioners[258] to treat with the army, they nominated on their part, Cromwell, Ireton, Fleetwood, Rainsborough, Harrison, Sir Hardress Waller, Rich, Lambert, Hammond, and Major Rainsborough, all Independents, and heads of the party in the army.

It appears by Memoirs, inserted in ***Rushworth's Collections***, that the army's commissioners would not begin to treat, before the Parliament should have granted some things they demanded, and really performed them. They complained, that the Parliament seemed indeed by their votes to comply with the army's desires, but delayed to put them in execution. The Parliament's commissioners endeavoured on their side to avoid having these points considered as granted preliminaries, and insisted upon their making part of the negotiation.

## **Different Sentiments in The Parliament**



This shews, the Parliament sought to gain time, and seemed inclined to give the army satisfaction, only because it could not be avoided. The Commons were almost all Presbyterians, and consequently were vexed to see themselves obliged to stoop to the Independents, who were masters of the army. Among the Presbyterian members, there were not a few, who, being very warm, would have gladly hazarded a breach with the army, rather than be forced to receive law from them.

But the rest, being the majority, though no less enemies to the Independents, thought it more advisable to have patience, and try to amuse the army till some aid might be secured, rather than furnish them with a pretence to march to London, and ruin at once the Presbyterian party and Parliament.

Accordingly, these prevailing in both Houses, everything seemed to tend to an agreement, which could not but be fatal to the Presbyterians: however, there was no way to avoid it. for this reason, the Parliament forbid the Reformato officers to come into London for two months, and gave very strict orders against listing of soldiers, which was privately transacting in the city.

Meanwhile, the project of raising forces in London to oppose the army still continued, though with the utmost secrecy, and the agents in Scotland caused much to be expected from the Scots, as being concerned to support the Presbyterian party. But the authors of this project could hardly flatter themselves that the assistance of Scotland could be ready in time, Since the Parliament and army were upon terms of accommodation.

They found therefore, they were either to break off this accommodation, or resolve to see all their hopes vanish, and suffer Presbyterianism to be trampled upon by the Independents. To succeed in the design of preventing a peace between the Parliament and army, they found no better way than to excite the people, to force the Parliament to alter their measures.

They got therefore the apprentices, and London mob, to present petitions, that the Presbyterian Government might be firmly established: The insolence of Secretaries curbed: The army paid off and disbanded; and other things of the like nature destructive of the projected agreement.

On the other hand, the forces in the north, and the horse quartered at Nottingham, published declarations of their adherence to the army commanded by General Fairfax.

About the same time, the Parliament, at the army's request, ordered the four regiments that came from the army, under pretence of engagement for Ireland, but remaining still in the Kingdom, to be disbanded. They permitted likewise the eleven accused members to go beyond sea for six months, insinuating to them by this permission, that they would do well to take this course of their own accord. But, as, probably, they were deeply concerned in the plot formed at London, if not the authors, they thanked the House for this favour, without being in haste to take the benefit of it[259].

Meanwhile, the army hearing, something more than ordinary was contriving in London, and that succours from Scotland were talked of, sent a petition to the Parliament, with these farther demands:—

**That** a declaration be published against the bringing in of any foreign forces:

**That** the army be paid up equal with the deserters thereof, and put into a constant course of pay:

**That** the committee of the Militia of London, that had been changed by ordinance of the 4th of May last, be restored, and the militia of the city speedily returned into

those hands who formerly gave large testimonies of their fidelity to the Parliament and Kingdom.

Whereupon the Parliament declared, that whosoever should bring in foreign forces, without the consent of both Houses, should be deemed traitors. It was voted likewise, that the militia of London, should be restored to the old commissioners, and an ordinance was passed for that purpose. To understand this article, it must be observed, that in the beginning of May last, both Houses perceiving some motions in the army, thought proper to secure the Militia of London, and put it into such hands as they could confide in.

To that end, they passed an ordinance the 4th of May, for chusing a new committee of the Militia of London, by which means none were admitted into this committee, or any office of the Militia, but Presbyterians, entirely devoted to the party. This change it was, that both Houses repealed, at the army's request, and restored the former commissioners.

The Presbyterian party, who had great credit in the city, and possessed all the posts, could not, without extreme regret, behold the Parliament's condescension to the army, that is, to the Independents. They saw that party daily increase, and in condition to give law to the Parliament itself.

For this reason, the rigid, Presbyterians, seconded by the Common Council of London, formed an engagement to assist one another, and oppose the army to the utmost of their power, upon a supposition, that the army intended to subvert what had been hitherto done to settle the peace of the Kingdom. The engagement publicly subscribed in London, was as follows:—

**A solemn Engagement of The Citizens, Commanders, Officers and Soldiers of The Trained Bands, and Auxiliaries, The Young Men, and Apprentices of The Cities of London and Westminster, Sea Commanders, Seamen, and Watermen; Together with Divers Others, the Commanders, Officers, Soldiers, within The Lines of Communication, Parishes Mentioned in The Weekly Bills of Mortality.**

**W**HEREAS we have entered into a solemn League and Covenant, for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the Kingdom, and the peace and safety of the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; all which we do eminently perceive to be endangered, and likely to be destroyed: We do therefore, in pursuance of our said Covenant, oath of allegiance, oath of every freeman in the cities of London and Westminster, and protestation, solemnly engage ourselves, and vow unto God Almighty, that we will, to the utmost of our power, cordially endeavour, that his Majesty may speedily come to his own Houses of Parliaments, with honour, safety and freedom, (and that without the nearer approach of the army) there to confirm such things, as he has granted in his message of the 12th of May last, in answer to the propositions of both Kingdoms; and that by a personal treaty with his two Houses of Parliament, and the commissioners of the Kingdom of Scotland, such things as are yet in difference, may be speedily settled, and in a firm and lasting peace established; for the effecting hereof, we do protest and re-oblige ourselves, as in the presence God, the searcher of all hearts, with our lives and fortunes, to endeavour what in us lies, to preserve and defend his Majesty's royal person and authority, the privileges of Parliament, and liberty of the Subject, in their full and constant freedom, the cities of London and Westminster, lines of communication and parishes mentioned in the weekly bills of mortality; and all others that shall adhere with us to the said Covenant, and oath of allegiance, oath of every freeman of London and Westminster, and protection:

Nor shall we by any means admit, suffer, or endure, any neutrality, in this common cause of God, the King, and Kingdom, as we do expect the blessing of God Almighty, whose help we crave, and wholly devolve ourselves upon, in this our undertaking.

## **The Parliament Forbids The Signing it**

The two Houses had no sooner advice of this engagement, but they published by beat of drum, and sound of trumpet, a prohibition to sign it. On the other hand, the General loudly complained to the Parliament's commissioners, and desired them to put a speedy stop to the agitations in London, which tended to rekindle the war. At the same time, he ordered a strict enquiry to be made in the army after all cavaliers, who had born arms for the King, or were suspected to be of his party, with a command to dismiss them forthwith.

## **Commotions in London**

For two or three days there was a great commotion in London: Assemblies were held, soldiers listed, and orders given them to be ready upon the first notice. The Common-Council received two Petitions, one from a great number of substantial citizens, the other from the young men and apprentices[260], to desire:—

**That** the militia might be continued, as settled by ordinance of the 4th of May.

## **Two Petitions Concerning The Militia**

Whereupon the Common-Council represented to the Commons in a petition:—

**That** having taken notice of the pleasure of both Houses for constituting, by ordinance dated the 23rd of July, a new committee for the Militia of the City of London, and for determining a former ordinance for the same, dated the 4th of May last, they could not but call to mind, how far both Houses of Parliament had formerly honoured the City, when they first established the Committee for the Militia, to take the sense of this Court before they finally resolved thereupon; which confidence the petitioners are not conscious to themselves to have forfeited.

**And** next being sensible, what a general distemper this sudden change hath already made, and is like to make, in the City, they could not but earnestly pray, that the Militia which was established by ordinance of the 4th of May last, may be restored.

The Parliament was not a little embarrassed in the present juncture, considering the impossibility of contenting at the same time, the army and the City, whose desires were diametrically opposite.

It is certain, most of the Members were Presbyterians, and consequently ill affected to the army. Had it been in their choice, they would have declared against and disbanded the army according to their intention. But since the army's approach to the City, the wisest, who were the majority, had thought it proper to comply, not seeing how the army could be opposed, if they proceeded to violence, as was very likely. But there was a good number of others who were for running all hazards rather than see the Independents triumph.

Meanwhile, these last privately cherished the commotions in the City, imagining, the assistance they might receive from London, was sufficient to resist all attempts of the army. This was

likewise the opinion of the Common Council, the populace, and some general officers, as Sir William Waller, Poyntz, and Massey, who were removed by the new model, and were then in London. The only point therefore was to induce the Parliament to join with them, and take vigorous resolutions against the army. But as there was no likelihood of prevailing by fair means, it was resolved to use force.

## **The Young Men and apprentices Come and Petition Parliament**

To that end, July the 26th, a great number of young men, and apprentices, came to Westminster, and presented a petition to the House of Commons, desiring:—

- 1. That** the ordinance of the 23rd of July for change of the Militia of London, be immediately repealed.
- 2. That** the City may be vindicated against a late pretended declaration, that those are traitors who shall act to get subscriptions, and that it may be revoked.
- 3. That** both Houses do presently make an order, for calling in all absent members, especially the eleven late accused Members, against whom there has been nothing proved to this day.

## **And Confront Both Houses to Grant Their Demands**

These demands were such, considering the present juncture, that it was no wonder much time was spent in debating by both Houses. But the people without, growing impatient, and perceiving these debates were intended only to amuse them, made a great noise in the outer rooms. Some knocked at the door of the House. Others threw in stones at the windows of the House of Peers. In a word, they very plainly shewed, they would not suffer the two Houses to rise, before they had received satisfaction.

At last both Houses seeing it would be in vain to resist the multitude, who threatened to tear them in pieces, voted:—

**That** the ordinance of the 23rd of July, for settling the Militia of London, and the Declaration of the 24th of the same intent, be null and void.

This done the House of Commons adjourned till next day. But the multitude constrained the Speaker and Members to resume their places, and desired them to vote, That the King should come to London which was done accordingly. On the morrow both Houses being met, adjourned to the 30th.

## **The General's Letter to The City**

**On the 28th**, the Common-Council received a letter from the General, expressing his good affection and tender care of the City, but withal his great dislike of the petition, and the means used to promote it.

## **The Common Council's Answer**

At the same time, many young men and others attended the Common Council, declaring their readiness to support the just privileges of the City against all opposers. Whereupon a letter was sent by a messenger to the General, and six Commissioners appointed to follow the next morning. In the letter, they declared their inclination to peace, entreating him, that the army might not advance, nor intermeddle with the rights and privileges of the City, conceiving that

the strengthening the City for the safety thereof, was no just cause to provoke the soldiers: And as for the petition, the Parliament had already declared their sense of it, and therefore it was needless for them to do it, and the rather for that it had never been formally preferred to them.

## **The City Put Themselves in a Posture of Defence**

Meanwhile, the Common Council having received intelligence that the army was advancing towards London, orders were given for the trained bands to go to their works, of and for all that could bear arms to appear the next morning at several places.

## **Votes of The Parliament to Resist The Army**

Both Houses meeting the 30th of July, the two Speakers did not appear, which obliged them to chuse others in their room[261]. With the Speakers, a good number of Members of both Houses were also departed from London, and without anyone's knowing whither. The absence of these Members, who were all friends to the army, rendered the the contrary party so superior, that the Commons voted the same day:—

**That** the King should come to London:

**That** the Militia of the City should have full power to raise such forces as they should think fit, for the defence thereof;

**That** they should chuse a commander in chief to be approved by the House, and such commander to present other officers, to be approved by the Militia.

After that, the Committee made choice of Major-General Massey to command in chief, and ordered, that all Reformado's and other officers should the next day appear to be listed in St. James' fields, and the forces already listed to be put into a regimental way.

The same day, the Common Council received a letter from General Fairfax, dated the day before, wherein he spoke very sharply of the tumult of the 26th, and of all violence upon the Parliament. He said:—

**The guard** sent from the city, not only neglected their duty, but that divers of the Common Council greatly encouraged the seditious.

**That** they had not kept their word with the army. which, upon their assurance to secure the Parliament from any attempt, had removed to that distance from the city.

**That** he could not but look on them as accountable to the Kingdom, for the present interruptions of the hopeful way of peace and settlement of the nation, if by their care and industry the chief actors in the late tumults were not detected and given up to justice.

On the other hand, the city published an apology by way of declaration or Manifesto, setting forth:—

**The army's** surprising of the King at Holmby, without its being known by what authority, and under what pretences and their keeping his royal person ever since, notwithstanding his surprisal was disowned by the General for himself and all the officers about him, and for the body of the army:—

**That** the privileges of Parliament had been violated by the army's causing the eleven members to withdraw, and by interposing in the Militia of London, which was subject to no other cognizance but of the King and Parliament.

There were several other things in this Manifesto, which insinuated, that the army's ill designs were but too evident. They concluded with protesting,

**That** they sincerely desire a happy and speedy peace by the settlement of true religion, by re-establishing his Majesty's just rights, by upholding all lawful privileges of a free Parliament, by maintaining the fundamental laws of the land, by restoring the subject to his just liberty, and by freeing this long oppressed Kingdom from all taxes, and the enforced free quarters towards the maintenance of an army, which hath long had no visible enemy to encounter.

### **The Parliament Orders The General to Remove The Army Further From London**

Both Houses also writ to the General, that though he had given them no account of the motion of his army, be yet they understood, he had ordered his forces to march towards London, on pretence of defending the Houses from the danger of tumults, upon which account they thought fit to let him know, that as they could not but have a deep sense of the undue liberty which some apprentices and others had taken, to violate the freedom of Parliament, so they doubted not, but the sense of so great an offence would at last strike those that were accessory thereto with a detestation of any such practices for the future.

And that as the Houses could not imagine, these disorders had the allowance of the city of London, so they had since received full satisfaction by the strict orders published by the Common Council for preventing and suppressing of tumults, and by their declaration, that they should sit with freedom, and security from any disturbances for the future.

And therefore they saw no cause to command the army to come to their assistance, but rather judged (by the distractions raised at the news thereof) that the army's approach was like to produce great mischiefs, and cast the whole Kingdom into confusion. That for prevention of these dangers, they had sent him an express order to withdraw his army, requiring him to give exact obedience thereto.

### **Vote to Receive The Eleven Members**

The same day the Commons voted, that the eleven accused members should be received into the House; accordingly most of them came and took their places on the morrow[262].

On the 31st, the two Houses published an ordinance, enabling the committee of the Militia of London to punish such as did not repair to their colours, and to chuse a Major-General, or any other officer for the forces raised or to be raised within the City of London; and Magistratcy, Waller, and Poyntz were employed in forming regiments and companies.

Though the Parliament and City made great preparations, the army were under no apprehension. They knew, that two or three days were not sufficient to discipline an army levied in haste in the city, and enable it to withstand twenty thousand victorious troops, well supplied with arms, ammunition, and ordnance. They continued therefore their march to the general rendezvous at Hounslow Heath, within twelve miles of London.

Meanwhile, the General delivered to the Parliament's Commissioners, certain proposals to be negotiated between the Parliament and army, for settling the peace of the Kingdom. At the same

time, he put into their hands a declaration by the council of war, wherein the officers said, Though the late violence done to the Parliament rendered all proceedings in the way of treaty vain and hopeless, till the Parliament should be restored to a condition of freedom, yet they had thought good to make this public tender of proposals to the consideration of the Kingdom, wherein all men might see the integrity of their intentions, and the bottom of their desires.

These proposals related entirely to the public, without any mixture of the private views of the army.

### **The Two Speakers and The Rest of The Members Cast Themselves Upon The Army's Protection**

Meanwhile, the two speakers, and the rest of the members of both Houses who had absented themselves, to the number of sixty six, came to the General, desiring his protection, and saying, that as there was no free sitting for them in the Parliament, they had quitted the Houses for fear of being torn in pieces by the mob. Nothing could be more agreeable to the army than this request, which authorized them, without their being forced to seek other pretences, to march to London to re-instate the members supposed to be driven from the Parliament by the populace.

From that time, they would no more own the two Houses for Parliament, but paid to the Speakers and Members who attended them, the same respect as they would have done to the Parliament itself.

It was very strange, that zealous Presbyterians, such as were most of the absented members, should have recourse to the army's protection, against the endeavours of their brethren in both Houses and the city, to prevent the Independents from trampling upon Presbyterianism. The most probable reason of this proceeding, I think, is, that these members imagined, their brethren and the Common council of London were taking wrong measures, and would be infallibly oppressed by the army.

It was therefore very natural for men in this belief, to endeavour to avoid being involved in the ruin their party was threatened with, and to chuse rather to continue to dissemble their sentiments, as they had done for some time, than be exposed in vain to inevitable, as they thought, calamities. To this may be added, that among these members there were some Independents, who earnestly laboured to persuade the rest to this course, as we are informed by Ludlow's Memoirs, who was of this number and party.

The Lord Clarendon gives another reason, which seems not so natural. He pretends, these members believed, the army designed to restore the King to all his rights, and seeing there were not forces sufficient to hinder it, they were willing to avoid the effects of his vengeance, by concurring with the army in his restoration. But, besides that the event shewed, the Independents had no such intention, it is certain they had not hitherto expressed it, unless some civilities paid the King since he was in their hands, are to be considered as real proofs of this intention.

Moreover, the army had just given a sensible proof, that their design was not to restore the King to all his rights, by the proposals lately delivered to the Parliament's Commissioners, whereby the King's prerogatives were entirely subverted, as will hereafter appear.

However this be, the army improved the desertion of these members to justify their advance towards London, and to shew that their aim was only to prevent a new war, which the members at Westminster, and the Common Council of London, had a mind to excite.

To this purpose, they published a Manifesto, containing the reasons of their marching to London; the substance whereof was to this effect:—

**That** the army was formerly led, by the grounds then declared, to advance towards the city of London; but having received from the Parliament and city some hopes of satisfaction, they yielded a speedy compliance to their desires for their removal to a farther distance.

**And** being in this secure way, and labouring after the sudden settlement of the Kingdom, they had even brought to perfection, particular proposals to be sent to the Parliament, for a final conclusion of all their troubles; but the Kingdom's enemies being most vigilant to frustrate those good intentions of theirs, had endeavoured to cast the Kingdom into a new and bloody war:

**And** for that end had procured the underhand listing of several reformado's, and others, and contrived a wicked and treasonable combination; as it was sufficiently manifested by a declaration passed thereupon by both Houses of Parliament the 23rd of July last, for the prevention of the disturbances that were like to ensue thereupon; from which kind of disorders the city had been well preserved, during the space of almost four years, whilst the Militia was in the hands of the old Commissioners, whereby it appeared, there was cause for the army to entreat the Parliament, that the Militia might be returned into the hands it was in before.

**That** those old Commissioners of the Militia were not only persons without all exception, but also men of whom the Kingdom had had above four years experience in the faithful discharge of their trust, and that were always most desirous of a peace. Yet, on a sudden this trust which they had so faithfully discharged so long, was taken out of their hands, and put into the hands of others, some whereof had been very cool in the service of the Parliament; and this was pressed, and in a manner forced upon the Parliament, with the utmost importunity. These things ministered great cause of suspicion, that that alteration of the Militia was in order to make the terms of the peace, and agreement with the King, more suitable to the private undertakings of some men, than to the public welfare of the whole Kingdom. But this design discovered itself more clearly, in that at the same time that the alteration of the Militia of London was set on foot, the same persons with as much earnestness pressed for the disbanding of the army, before any thing was settled for the security and liberty of the Kingdom. At the same time, the Common Council was new modellised, a Lord-Mayor chosen that might suit with the present design, and divers persons were left out of the Common Council and Militia of eminent deserts and fidelity, and others brought into their rooms, that had either testified an ill affection, or little affection to the Parliament and their cause.

**That** the honour of the Parliament was continually trampled under foot, and their authority affronted by every rabble of women, apprentices, reformado's and soldiers, till at length it was risen to the height of monstrous violence against the Parliament, that they might set themselves on work, and the Kingdom on fire again.

**That** at length, the design appeared open faced, and though the Militia was made the principal ground of the quarrel, yet the pressing so much the King's coming to London to confirm the same, shewed that the Militia was desired but in order to that design, and to force the Parliament to such terms of peace as they pleased.

**That** the interest of the Common-Council, in their change of the Militia, was claimed as the birth-right of the City of London; but such a claim could not justly be held up against both Houses of Parliament: For then who should be master of the Parliament's freedom and resolutions? And who should be masters of the birth-rights of the whole Kingdom, when there should be no army on foot?



**That** the army discerning how intimate some of the new Militia were with some of the eleven accused Members, and how forward they were to comply and act with them in their endeavours to raise a new war, found it necessary to desire,

**That** the Militia might be put into the hands wherein it was formerly, that the army being secured by that means from danger, might with the more confidence retire further from the City. Which, according to their desire, being restored again into the hands of the old Commissioners, several petitions were presented to the Common Council of the City of London, in the name of the apprentices and others, importing their desires,

**That** the Militia of the City might continue in the hands of the former commissioners, according to the ordinance of the 4th of May last; Whereupon the Common-Council of the City presents their Petitions to both Houses for changing the Militia, wherein the House of Lords refuse to alter their resolutions; the House of Commons answered, they would take it into consideration the next morning; notwithstanding which, the City and Kingdom could not be ignorant, with what rage and insolence the tumult of apprentices the same day forced both Houses; they blocked up their doors, threatening them, if they granted not their desires; and in this outrageous manner continued at the House eight hours together; after which, the House rising, the Speaker, and many Members going out, they forced them back again into the House.

**And** during the time of that violence, Westminster Hall and the Palace Yard, was filled with Reformado's, and other ill affected persons designed to back them. After that, the Houses being adjourned, the apprentices printed and posted a paper in several places of the City, requiring all their fellows to be early at the Parliament the next morning, for that they intended to adjourn by seven of the clock, and that for a month.

**Thus** the Speakers, with many of the members, were driven away from the Parliament. All men therefore might judge of the justness of the cause the army had engaged themselves in. And if after so much blood and treasure spent, all that they were to hope for, and rest in was only what the King had granted in his message of the 12th of May last, what must become of the Kingdom?[263]

**Lastly**, the army declared, that they would stand by all such members of either House of Parliament, as were forced to absent themselves from Westminster, and use their utmost and speedy endeavours, that they might with freedom and security sit there again. They likewise declared against the choice of a new Speaker, and against all orders, votes, or resolutions forced from the House on the 26th of July last, and such as should be passed till those members were restored again:

**That** they thought themselves bound to bring to condign punishment the authors and fomenters of the violence done to the Parliament, and expected that the people of London would deliver up to them the eleven Members impeached. But if any in the City should engage themselves to protect those members, and so put the Kingdom again into a war the blood must be laid to the account of such persons.

**And** whereas some had possessed the minds of men; that they gaped only after the plunder of the great and wealthy city of London; they declared from their hearts, that they abhorred the thought thereof: But as they were informed, that the city of Westminster, and the borough of Southwark, were brought into a hard condition, by claiming a right not to be subjected to a militia, without their own consent, they promised to assist them for the obtaining of their just desires and immunities.

**That** when these things were duly settled, they should be as ready to assure unto the King his just rights and authority, as any that pretended it never so much.

### **The Common Council Alter Their Resolution**

The next day, the army being drawn together on Hounslow Heath[264], the Common Council of London began to fear the danger to which the city would be exposed, if the army should force the lines, which was but too likely, and this apprehension caused them to take more moderate resolutions[265].

So taking occasion from the army's late declaration, they writ to the General, that understanding by the declaration, that the army's intention was only to restore the absent members to their places in the Parliament, the city was ready to concur with them in their design. That accordingly, he should find all ports and passes open, and for removing all misunderstanding, they had recalled their late declaration.

### **The Forts About London are Delivered up to The General**

The General answered, That he wished all the forts on the west side of the city were delivered to him, and he was immediately obeyed. After that, he writ to the Common Council, that the preserving of the privileges of the Parliament, and securing the members from violence, had been the sole cause of his near approach to their city.

### **He Comes to London and Restores The Speakers and The Rest of The Members**

**The 6th of August**, the General, preceded by some regiments of horse, and attended by the two old Speakers, and the members who had absented themselves, came to Westminster, and alighted at Sir Abraham Williams's house, in New Palace Yard. He staid there some time, whilst the two Speakers[266], and the rest of the members repaired to their respective Houses.

### **The General is Made Governor of The Tower and Thanked**

Presently after, the House of Peers passed an ordinance for making General Fairfax Constable of the Tower, with power to name a deputy, to which the Commons consented. After that, the General was desired to come to the Parliament, where he received the thanks of both of Houses.

### **The Parliament Approves of What The Army Had Done**

The same day, the Parliament ordered, that the 12th should be a day of thanksgiving to God, for restoring the members of both Houses to their just privileges, without the effusion of blood, and that a gratuity of a month's pay should be given to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers for this great service. The following days were spent in approving and ratifying what the army had done. But this was not all.

### **Dispute Between The Lords and Commons**

The Lords demanded two things, which the Commons very much opposed. The first was, the making null all acts, done from the 26th of July to the 6th of August. The Commons were ready to give their consent, provided it was without declaring them illegal. This dispute held till the 20th, when the Commons passed at length the ordinance demanded by the Peers, but with this restriction:-

**That** no person shall be impeached or punished, for his acting by, or upon, the said votes, orders, or ordinances, unless he shall be found guilty of contriving or abetting the visible force put upon the Parliament, or of entering into, or promoting the late engagement, for the bringing the King to the city, upon the terms and conditions expressed in his Majesty's letters of the 12th of May last.

The second thing desired by the Lords, was, that it should be declared, the Parliament was not free from the use 26th of July to the 6th of August, and that the members who assembled at Westminster, in the absence of the Speakers, should be expelled the Parliament and punished. This question being debated a whole day in the House of Commons, was carried in the negative, but by three voices[267].

The Lords insisted upon this point merely out of compliance to the army, who, by a remonstrance to the Parliament, had demanded the same thing, declaring, they could not suffer such members as sat and voted during the absence of the Speakers, to intrude themselves into the Parliament before they had given satisfaction to their respective Houses.

Nevertheless, this affair was carried no farther. Only seven Lords[268], with the Lord-Mayor, several Aldermen, and some officers of the Militia were accused of high treason for being concerned in the tumult of the 26th of July, which was called, intending to excite a new war.

## **The King's State and Condition**

Whilst these things passed between the Parliament and army, the King was not only very quiet, but even entertained great hopes from this division, and flattered himself, that the army would declare for him. Their civility and complaisance to him seemed to promise him a happier state, than when in the hands of the Parliament. Three of his chaplains[269] were allowed to come to him, and celebrate divine service, after the manner of the Church of England, and all his old servants and domestics had liberty to see and speak with him.

Berkley, Ashburnham, Capel the Marquis of Ormond himself, who had at last surrendered Dublin to the Parliament, saw him as often as they pleased in public or private, and the two first were now in his service. The Scotch commissioners residing at London, frequently visited him, and expressed a great desire to serve him. As they knew, that the independents were sworn enemies of their nation, they began to perceive, it was their interest to join with the King against their common enemies. Meanwhile, the civilities shown the King were but the effect of the policy of Cromwell and his associates[270].

They were not ignorant how the Parliament and city of London stood affected to them, and were persuaded, that after all, the Presbyterians would chuse rather to agree with the King, than see the independents triumph. To prevent this union it was, that they had caused the King to be removed from Holmby, without either the General officers, or the body of the army appearing in it, to a place where his person was in their power.

On the other hand, the King was extremely caressed by them, and even put in hopes of a speedy agreement with the army, as well to divert him from the thoughts of uniting with the Parliament, as to deprive the Presbyterians of the hope of such an union. In every declaration and remonstrance of the army, there was always something inserted to express their desire, that the King might be restored to his just rights. But it was ever with this restriction, when the affairs of the government should be fully settled, that is, in the manner they desired, and they knew, it would then be easy to find occasion to quarrel with the King, and retract what they seemed to promise him.

## **The King's Conceived Hopes Overreached By Cromwell**

The King was deceived by this policy. As he saw himself courted by both parties, he imagined, they could not be without him, and that he should quickly be able to incline the scale to which side he pleased. Nay, he fancied for some time, that the two parties would accept him for mediator. In this imagination he expressed a regard for both, and told them by turns, though very secretly, he would be guided by their counsels. Meanwhile, as he mortally hated the Presbyterians, he was much more desirous to join with the army, if they would but have granted him tolerable conditions, as they made him expect. Nevertheless, he listened to the proposals of the Scotch commissioners, to put himself under the protection of the Presbyterians and Scots, and thereby hoped to be safe, however the contests between the Parliament and army might end.

In the meantime, he suffered himself to be amused by Cromwell, and Ireton who, on pretence they were suspected by both Houses, seldom visited him, but however, acquainted him with their intentions, by means of some officers, who could converse more freely with him, or his confidants. Though he was used very civilly, he was narrowly watched, and at the very time he thought himself arbiter of the two parties, was really a prisoner.

Since his removal from Holmby, he had followed the motions of the army, and resided sometimes in a town, and sometimes at a country house, according as the army thought fit. At last, when the army had their rendezvous on Hounslow Heath, in order to march to London, he was conducted to Hampton Court[271].

### **After The Army Was Uppermost The King Had Not The Same Respect Paid Him**

The revolution, which happened within a few days, and which brought the Parliament in subjection to the army, proved fatal to the King. He had quickly cause to perceive, Cromwell and Ireton had only amused him with vain hopes. The army was no sooner master of the Parliament and city, but the King saw himself not only neglected, but even treated more harshly than ever. The same respect was no longer paid him, and his guards would scarce suffer his servants to confer with him in private.

In short, he was left a long while at Hampton Court, without mention of any accommodation, whilst his words, his actions, and the persons that came to visit him, were carefully watched. Nay, the Scotch commissioners were hindered from seeing him, of which they complained to no purpose. But before I proceed to speak of the King, and his circumstances, it will be necessary to relate what passed in the army and Parliament, whilst the King was left at Hampton Court almost forgotten, though he was served sometimes for pretence with several papers.

When the army resolved to oppose the Parliament's design to disband them, they pretended, they would meddle only in their own affairs, without concerning themselves with the government of Church or State. The demand of arrears was at first, the only point whereon they founded their refusal of being cashiered.

After that, finding it was not impossible to give them satisfaction upon that article, they demanded reparation for their honour, and a full vindication from the pretended crimes, on which the Parliament had grounded their declaration against the authors of the first petition. Then they required, that the Parliament should solemnly declare, it was the privilege of the subject, and of the army in particular, to present petitions. After which, they formed the councils of war, and agitators, who not content with desiring things relating to the army, inserted in their remonstrances, sundry articles concerning the Government.

Lastly, the King was removed from Holmby by the authority, as it was pretended, of the army, though the General affirmed, that neither himself, nor the other General officers, nor the body of the army, were privy to it; and by this same authority, how chimerical soever it appeared, was the King kept in the quarters of the army.

As soon as the army had the King in their power, they pretended to a right of settling the government of the Kingdom with the Parliament They nominated commissioners to treat upon that subject, with those of the Parliament.

In short, just as they were preparing to march to London, the General delivered to the Parliament's commissioners, propositions from the army, to settle the Government, of which, not so much as one related to the particular concerns of the army. The propositions were these:—

### **Articles Proposed by The Army, to be Treated on by The Parliaments Commissioners**

**THAT** (things hereafter proposed being provided for by this Parliament) a certain period may, by Act of Parliament, be set for the ending of this Parliament, such period to be put within a year at most, and in the same act provision to be made for the succession and constitution of Parliaments in future, as followeth:

- 1. That** Parliaments may biennially be called and meet at a certain day.
- 2. Each** biennial Parliament to sit a hundred and twenty days certain, and no Parliament to sit past two hundred and forty days from their first meeting, or some other limited number of days; upon the expiration whereof each Parliament to dissolve of course, if not otherwise dissolved sooner.
- 3. The King**, in the intervals betwixt biennial Parliaments, to call a Parliament extraordinary, provided it meet above seventy days before the next biennial day, and be dissolved at least sixty days before the same.
- 4. That** this and each succeeding biennial Parliament, at or before adjournment or dissolution thereof, may appoint Committees during the interval for such purposes as are in any of these proposals referred to such Committees.
- 5. That** all Counties may have a number of Parliament Members allowed to their choice, proportionable to the respective rates they bear in the common charges and burthens of the Kingdom; and that the election of Burgesses for poor decayed or inconsiderable towns be taken off.
- 6. That** effectual provision be made for future freedom of elections, and certainty of due returns.
- 7. That** the House of Commons alone have the power, from time to time, to set down further orders and rules for the ends expressed in the two last preceding articles.
- 8. That** there be a liberty for entering dissents in the House of Commons, with provision that no member be censurable for ought said or voted in the House, further than to exclusion from that trust, and that only by the judgment of the House itself.
- 9. That** the judicial power, or power of final judgment in the Lords and Commons, may be cleared: And that no officer of justice, minister of

state, or other person adjudged by them, may be capable of protection or pardon from the King without their advice or consent.

**10. That** the right and liberty of the Commons of England may be cleared and vindicated as to a due exemption from any judgment, tryal or other proceeding against them by the House of Peers, without the concurring judgment of the House of Commons: As also from any other judgment, sentence or proceeding against them, other than by their equals, or according to the law of the Land.

**11. The same act to provide,** That the choice of Grand Jury men may not be as now, at the discretion of an under Sheriff; and that such Grand Jury men for their respective counties, may at each Assize present the names of persons to be made Justices of peace from time to time, as the country hath need for any to be added to the Commission; and at the summer Assize to present the names of three persons, out of which the King may pick one to be Sheriff for the next year.

**II.** For the Militia in general, That it be provided by Act of Parliament.

**1. That the power** of the Militia by sea and land, during the space of ten years next ensuing, shall be ordered and disposed by such persons as the Lords and Commons shall nominate and appoint.

**2. That the said power** shall not be ordered or exercised by the King's Majesty, or by any persons by authority derived from him, during the said space, or at any time hereafter, without the advice and consent of the said Lords and Commons.

**3. That** during the same space of ten years, the said Lords and Commons may, by bill or ordinance, raise and dispose of what monies, and for what forces they shall from time to time and necessary; as also for payment of the public debts and damages, and for all other: the public uses of the Kingdom.

**4. That no subjects** that have been in hostility against the Parliament in the late war, shall be capable of bearing any office of power or public trust in the Commonwealth, during the space of five years, without the consent of Parliament; or to sit as member of either House, until the second biennial Parliament be past.

**III.** For the present form of disposing the Militia, in order to the peace and safety of this Kingdom, and the service of Ireland.

**1. That** there be Commissioners for the Admiralty, with the Vice-Admiral and Rear Admiral, with power for the forming, regulating, appointing of officers, and providing for the Navy.

**2. That** there be a General for command of the land forces.

**3. That** there be Commissioners in the several counties for the standing Militia, with power for the proportioning, regulating, training and disciplining of them.

**4. That** there be a council of State, with power to superintend and direct the several and particular powers of the Militia last mentioned.

**5. That** the same Council may have power as the King's Privy-Council, for and in all foreign negotiations; provided that the making of war or peace with any other Kingdom or State, shall not be without the advice and consent of Parliament.

**6. That** the said power of the Council of State be put into the hands of trusty and able persons now to be agreed on, and the same persons to continue in that power (*si bene se gesserint*) for a certain term not extending seven years.

**7. That** there be a efficient establishment now provided for the salary of the forces both in England and Ireland, the establishment to continue until, two months after the meeting of the first biennial Parliament.

**IV. That** an act be passed for disposing the great offices for ten years by the Lords and Commons in Parliament; or by such Committees as they shall appoint for that purpose in the intervals (with submission to the approbation of the next Parliament) and after ten years they to nominate three, and the King out of that number to appoint one for the succession upon any vacancy.

**V. That** an Act be passed, for restraining of any Peers, made since the 2nd day of May 1642, or to be hereafter made, from having any power to sit or vote in Parliament without consent of both Houses.

**VI. That** an Act be passed for recalling and making void all declarations and other proceedings against the Parliament, or against any that have acted by, or under their authority in the late war, or in relation to it; and that the ordinance for indemnity may be confirmed.

**VII. That** an Act be passed for making void all grants, under the Great Seal, since the time that it was conveyed away from the Parliament, (except as in the Parliament's propositions) and for making those valid that have been or shall be passed under the Great Seal, made by the authority of both Houses of Parliament.

**VIII. That** an Act be passed for confirmation of the treaties between the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland; and for appointing Conservators of the Peace betwixt them.

**IX. That** the ordinance for taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries be confirmed by Act of Parliament; provided his Majesty's revenue be not diminished therein, nor those that last held offices in the same, without reparation some other way.

**X. An Act** to declare void the cessation of Ireland, &c. and to leave the prosecution of that war to the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of England.

**XI. An Act** to be passed to take away all coercive power, authority and jurisdiction of Bishops extending to any civil penalties upon any, &c.

**XII. That** there be a repeal of all Acts or clauses in any Act enjoining the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and imposing any penalty for neglect thereof, and for not coming to Church, or for meeting elsewhere; and some other provision to be made for discovering of Papists, Priests, Jesuits, &c.

**XIII. That** the taking of the Covenant be not enforced upon any; but all orders or ordinances tending to that purpose to be repealed.

**XIV. That** (the thing here before proposed, being provided, for securing the rights, liberties, of the Kingdom) his Majesty's person, his Queen and Royal issue may be restored to a condition of safety, honour, and freedom in this nation, without diminution to their personal rights, or further limitation to the exercise of regal power than according to the particulars foregoing.

**XV. For** the matter of composition, &c.

**NB. There** are under this head six articles, which cannot be well understood, without knowing the particulars of an Act wherein delinquents were placed under several heads or qualifications, and their composition settled accordingly. But the knowledge of that can be of no use at present.

**XVI. That** there may be a general Act of Oblivion, &c,

**That** such of the King's party who shall appear to have expressed, or shall hereafter express their good affections to the peace and welfare of the Kingdom, and to hinder the embroiling of the same in a new war, may be freed and exempted from compositions, or to pay but one year's revenue, or a twentieth part.

**Next** to the proposals aforesaid for the present settling of a peace, the army desires, that no time may be left by the Parliament for dispatch of other things tending to the welfare, ease, and just satisfaction of the Kingdom, and in special manner:

**I. That** the liberty of the people to represent their grievances and desires by way of petition may be cleared and vindicated.

**II. That** the common grievances of the people may be speedily considered of, and effectually redressed and in particular,

**1. That** the excise may be taken off from such commodities, whereon the poor people of the land do ordinarily live.

**2. That** the oppressions and encroachments of Forest Laws may be prevented for the future.

**3. All** monopolies and restraints to the freedom of trade to be taken off.

**4. That** a course may be taken to rectify the inequality of rates lying upon several Counties.

**5. The** present, unequal, troublesome, and contentious way of Ministers maintenance by tithes to be considered of, and some remedy applied.

**6. That** the rules and course of Law, and the officers of it may be so reduced and reformed, as that all suits and ques-



tions of right may be more clear and certain in the issues, and not so tedious nor chargeable in the proceedings as now.

**7. That** prisoners for debt may not, by embracing imprisonment, or any other ways, have advantage to defraud their creditors: And that such prisoners for debt, who have not wherewith to pay, may be freed from imprisonment.

**8. That** none may be compelled to answer unto questions tending to the accusing of themselves, or their nearest relations in criminal causes; and no man's life to be taken away under two witnesses,

**9. That** consideration may be had of all Statutes, and the Laws or customs of corporations, imposing any oaths so far as they may extend to the molestation or ensnaring of religious and peaceable people, merely for non-conformity in religion.

**III. That** the large power given to Committees or Deputy Lieutenants, during the late times of war and distraction, may speedily be recalled and made void, and such powers of that nature as shall appear necessarily to be continued, may be put into a regulated way, and left to as little arbitrariness as the nature and necessity of things will bear.

**IV. That** the Kingdom may be righted, and satisfied in point of accounts for the vast sums that have been levied.

**V. That** provision may be made for payment of arrears to the army, and the rest of the soldiers of the Kingdom: and in the next place for payment of the public debts and damages of the Kingdom; and that to be performed, first, to such persons whose debts or damages are great and their estates small, so as they are thereby reduced to a difficulty of subsistence: In order to all which (continue they) we shall speedily offer some further particulars, which we hope will be of good use towards public satisfaction."

## Remarks on These Proposals

These proposals show, the army did not mean to leave to the Parliament the sole power of settling the Government, though when they were delivered to the commissioners, they had not yet subjected the Parliament and City, as they did some days after. How much more therefore should they think themselves entitled to have a share in this settlement, after they had both Houses at command?

Certainly, if the army, had really desired, that the Government should be settled, according to their proposals, there could not be a fairer opportunity, and the Parliament would neither have been able nor have dared to oppose it. But, on the contrary, it is very likely, the army's design, in delivering these proposals, was only to retard the settlement by raising difficulties, which would require time to be removed.

For instance, the XIth article, which supposed the restoring of the Bishops, and the XIIIth, which left every one free to take or not to take the Covenant, were directly contrary to the pretensions of the Presbyterians. It was not for the interest of the independents that the Government should be settled in the manner they proposed: but it was for their advantage to dazzle the people, and

make them believe, the army desired only the peace and safety of the public, though in effect nothing was farther from the thoughts of the leaders and managers.

This evidently appears, in that afterwards, they never troubled themselves to press the two Houses to proceed to this settlement. On the other hand, the Parliament was yet the same it had been for some time, that is, almost wholly Presbyterian, and consequently enemy of the independents, though obliged to show the contrary.

The Earl of Manchester, Speaker of the House of Lords, was Cromwell's sworn enemy, though he had been the first to apply to the army for protection. The city of London was in the same disposition as the Parliament, and, far from soliciting the settlement proposed by the army, they were very glad it should never be mentioned, in expectation that time would afford some opportunity to settle the Government without the intervention of the soldiery.

It is therefore no wonder, this affair should be neglected, when neither army, nor Parliament, nor City, wished to see it accomplished. Some steps however were now and then taken to make the public believe it was intended. But Cromwell and the other heads of the independents were very far from being willing to leave it to the Parliament for ten years, to, manage the affairs of the Kingdom as they pleased, to order the militia by sea and land, and raise what money they should think necessary. Much less would they have cared to let the people chuse every two years new representatives.

All these things were only to throw dust in the people's eyes. The independents had a mind to be superior, as they were at length, and all their proceedings, though covered with the pretence of the public good, tended solely to that end.

The design of the Presbyterians, Parliament, and City of London was to ruin the Independent party, and the army their supporters. But as they were not sufficiently strong to effect it, their project was to join with the King and Scotland, provided they could prevail with his Majesty to abolish Episcopacy. This is what was secretly contriving at London and Edinburgh, whilst endeavours were used to amuse the army by affected delays on their demand of pay and arrears, and whilst the City of London declined to make the necessary advances, in order to render the army odious, by obliging them to oppress the people for want of pay.

The army was yet ignorant of the secret practices against them in London. they incessantly demanded their pay, and the Parliament favourably received their demands. Nay, they passed votes to grant them their desires; but some difficulty always occurred to retard the performance, or if they were paid any money it. was but a small part of their arrears.

## **Regulation Touching The Army**

Three other affairs also employed the Parliament and army for some time, and served for pretence to amuse. The first was, to settle what forces should be sent to Ireland; the second, how many troops were to be maintained in England; the third, to disband the supernumeraries.

**Upon the first article,** it was resolved to send into Ireland six thousand foot, four thousand horse, and five hundred dragoons; and that the Parliament's Commissioners should confer with the General concerning the sending these forces, and the officers that were to command them.

**Upon the second,** it was ordered, there should be maintained in England, seven thousand two hundred horse, eighteen thousand foot, and one thousand dragoons. It was pretended, these forces were continued in England to relieve those in Ireland in case of need. But it is likely, the army would not bear to be considerably lessened.

**Upon the third**, it was resolved, that all the supernumeraries should be paid and dismissed.

But these things were executed very slowly by reason of several unexpected affairs, of which it will be necessary to speak.

## **The King Resolves to Make His Escape From Hampton Court**

Since the army had thought themselves out of danger from the Parliament and city, their respect to the King was so diminished, that it was easy for him to perceive, he had nothing to expect from them, and that Cromwell had only amused him, the better to accomplish his own designs.

### **The King's Reasons For it**

Besides the visible alteration in the behaviour of those who had the custody of him, he had many other proofs of ill designs against him. In the first place, the army had sent him privately some propositions for peace, much worse than those presented to him at Newcastle; but he had refused them with indignation[272], which the army very much resented.

Secondly, Cromwell had very sharply reproached Ashburnham, who was then the King's confident, that notwithstanding the army's regard for his Majesty, he had secretly treated with the commissioners of Scotland to excite that Kingdom against the army. This reproach inspired the King with the more dread, as it was true, that he had privately treated with the Scotch commissioners, though he had concluded nothing with them, and could not conceive how Cromwell came to know it.

He was therefore apprehensive, the army would assassinate, or poison him, to free themselves from the fear of his agreeing with the Presbyterians. On the other hand, Major Huntington, who had been employed by Cromwell, to amuse the King with several private messages, finding at length he had been the instrument to deceive that unfortunate Prince, warned him, that Cromwell was not sincere, and would destroy him if he was not prevented.

Shortly after he threw up his commission, and would serve no longer in the army. Nay, he went farther; for after quitting the service, he offered to discover to the Parliament, Cromwell's ill practices, but they would not hearken to him[273].

## **The King Puts His Resolution into Practice**

At last, the King received private notice every day, by indirect and extraordinary ways, that his enemies had ill designs, and he ought to take care of himself[274].

All these things made such an impression upon him, that he resolved, if possible, to escape out of the hands of the army. But it was not easy to determine where to retire. There was no safety for him in any part of the Kingdom, The Parliament and city of London were at the army's command, and though the Presbyterians had been able to protect him, all he could expect from them was, that they would not attempt upon his life. So, probably, his intention was to transport himself beyond the seas[275].

Ashburnham was his only confident, for though he believed Berkley faithful, he had not so good an opinion of his discretion, as to trust him with such a secret. This resolution being taken, the King withdrew very early to his chamber, feigning to be indisposed, and about one in the morning, went out by the back stairs, and came with Ashburnham and Legg, to the garden-gate, where Berkley waited with horses[276]. They rid all night with great speed, as well to escape all pursuers, as to get out of the quarters of the army, and in the morning, found themselves in

the New Forest in Hampshire. Then the King asked Ashburnham, where the ship lay? Ashburnham riding before, as it were to get information, returned in some little time without any news of the ship at which the King seemed very uneasy.

Meanwhile, as it was not safe for him to stay in the highways, he resolved to go to Titchfield, a seat of the Earl of Southampton, where the Earl's Mother then lived with a small family. There he consulted with his three attendants, where he should go. It is said, Ashburnham was the first to advise him to retire to the Isle of Wight, and put himself into the hands of Colonel Hammond the Governor, who was reckoned a man of honour.

He must however have known, that Hammond was Cromwell's creature, by whose advice he had married a daughter of John Hampden, and who had lately procured him the government of the Isle of Wight. Notwithstanding these reasons, which should have diverted Ashburnham from giving such advice, he ceased not to persuade the King, who after some objections consented to it, provided Hammond would faithfully promise not to deliver him up, though the Parliament or army should require him, but to give him his liberty to shift for himself, if he was not able to defend him.

Pursuant to this resolution, Ashburnham and Berkley repaired to the Isle of Wight to talk with the Governor, who seemed very much surprised[277] when they told him, the King was escaped from Hampton-Court, and was willing to trust his person in his hands, upon the forementioned terms.

His answer was, he would do the King all the service that lay in his power; but as he was an inferior officer, he could not promise to disobey his superiors in what they should please to command him. After some fruitless endeavours to obtain a promise from him, he asked where the King was? They told him, he was not very far off, and at last, after some time spent in debate, it was agreed, he should go with them to the King.

So they all three went together to Titchfield, and at their arrival, Hammond staid below, and Ashburnham went up to the King's chamber, to acquaint him, that Hammond was in the house, but had not made any promise. Whereupon the King cried out, O Jack thou hast undone me! With which Ashburnham falling into a great passion of weeping, offered to go down and kill Hammond, but the King would not consent to it.

In short, the King sending for Hammond, endeavoured to persuade him to promise not to deliver him up, but Hammond still persisted in his first answer. Then the King, not knowing where to go else, and considering there was now perhaps no possible way to get from him, as he had the command of the country, and could call in what help he pleased, resolved to go with him to the Isle of Wight. He was conducted to Carisbrook castle, where Hammond received him with his attendants, with all demonstrations of respect[278].

### **Remark on The King's Flight**

When a man considers all the circumstances of the King's flight, he can scarce forbear thinking, he was betrayed on this occasion. His design was to go beyond sea, since he asked where the ship lay, but there was no ship ready, which was so great an oversight, that Ashburnham can hardly be thought to commit it through negligence or imprudence.

Ashburnham is not satisfied with proposing to the King to trust himself with Hammond, a creature of Cromwell, who, according to Major Huntington's information, had resolved to destroy him, but even puts him under the necessity of confiding in him, though he refused to promise him protection.

And yet, the Lord Clarendon says very positively, he does not believe the King was betrayed by Ashburnham, nor did his Majesty ever entertain the least jealousy of it. All therefore that can be said in favour of this confidant of the King, is, what the Lord Clarendon hints, I mean, that he was outwitted by Cromwell, who by some one of his emissaries persuaded him, it should prove for his Majesty's benefit, and his business be the sooner done, that he should withdraw to the Isle of Wight.

If this were so, Ashburnham probably, thinking himself more able than the King, had a mind to serve him, whether he would or no, and not to be forced to answer the King's objections, believed to do him a service in concealing the secret, and putting him under an absolute necessity to take a course, which, in his opinion, was not the most proper.

In that case, if it be not treachery, it is at least, the greatest presumption and rashness, a subject can possibly be guilty of to his Prince. It is not easy to guess the reasons that could induce Ashburnham to imagine, the King would be safe in the Isle of Wight. It is to be presumed, he was deceived himself, and his easiness abused, to cause him to credit general promises, which signified nothing, and of which he durst not afterwards complain.

Supposing no treachery in what he did, probably, his easiness to be deceived, procured him afterwards a very favourable and much lower than usual composition, which greatly contributed to increase the suspicions already conceived of him.

### **The King's Letter to Both Houses Left upon His Table**

The Parliament was informed of the King's escape, by a letter from Cromwell, who gave the first notice of it, but without saying where the King was, though in all appearance he knew very well. He also sent a letter, which the King had left upon, the table in his room, directed to both Houses. He said in this letter,

**That** liberty being in all times the aim and desire of all men, he had endeavoured to obtain his. He called God to witness, with what patience he had endured a tedious restraint, among men who changed their principles with their condition; who were not ashamed openly to intend the destruction of the nobility, by taking away their negative voice, and with whom the Levellers doctrine was rather countenanced than punished,

**That** he thought he was bound, as well by natural as political obligation, to seek his safety, by retiring himself for sometime from the public view, both of his friends and enemies; but should earnestly and incessantly endeavour the settling of a safe and well-grounded peace wherever he was.

**Finally**, he desired to be heard with freedom, honour, and safety, and then he would instantly break through his cloud of retirement, and show himself ready to be *Pater Patriæ*.

### **The Parliament Cause a Search to be Made for The King in London**

The Parliament at first believed, the King was come to conceal himself in London, till he should find an opportunity to escape out of the Kingdom. They even gave orders to search after, and stop his person. But this uncertainty did not last long. On the 15th of November, the Earl of Manchester, Speaker of the House of Lords, received a letter from Colonel Hammond, informing him, that the King, from an apprehension of his life being in danger at Hampton-Court, was come into the Isle of Wight, to put himself under his protection.

## Who The Levellers Are

The King, as may be observed, speaks in his letter of the principles of the Levellers, which I think incumbent upon me to explain. There had been for some time a new fashion in the army, called Levellers, that is, men who declared:-

**That** all degrees of persons should be levelled, and an equality established both in titles and estates, throughout the Kingdom[279].

This was a doctrine, much like that of Watt Tyler's followers in the reign of Richard II. This faction was grown so strong, that they began to make the general officers, and particularly Cromwell, very uneasy, who feared this new party would subvert all his projects if they were suffered to increase, though probably, this spirit was raised by himself. They consisted of private soldiers and Agitators, whom I have already described. During the contests between the army and Parliament, the Generals had put no restraint upon these men.

They had allowed them to form a separate council, by means of their Agitators, and the opinions of this council were received as being those of the army, because they were agreeable to the sentiments of the general officers. But as soon as the Parliament was subdued, the general officers believed it proper to suppress these councils, and send the agitators to their respective regiments. This was more easily enjoined than executed.

The soldiers refused to obey, and continued their assemblies and conferences, in spite of their officers, and the generals' orders. Hence, probably, they acquired the name of Levellers, because they pretended to have as much right as the Officers and Generals to settle the Government; a principle tending to level all ranks and degrees, and consequently to breed confusion in the Kingdom.

The assemblies of the Levellers produced sundry petitions; first, from the agitators of four regiments of horse, and afterwards of seven regiments of foot joining with them, wherein they made proposals for settling the Government according to their humour, so that the General Officers were not a little embarrassed. They were afraid the army would divide, at a time when their whole strength depended upon their union. For this reason, they at first bore in some measure with the Levellers; which only increased the evil.

At last, the insolence of these men being grown to a monstrous height, Cromwell undertook with the hazard of his life, to free the army and Parliament from them. To that end, having notice that the Levellers were to meet at a certain place, he came unexpectedly, attended with a chosen guard, and asking some questions of those whom he observed most active, and receiving insolent answers, knocked down two or three with his own hand, and briskly charging the rest, so dispersed them, that he took as many as he pleased, whereof he hanged some on the spot, and sent others to London.

By two or three such notable encounters, he totally subdued that party, which began to grow very dangerous, and reduced the army to entire obedience. But this was not yet effected, when the King made his escape from Hampton-Court, and therefore he mentions the Levellers in his letter, as a party subsisting[280].

When the King writ this letter to both Houses, he hoped to be quickly out of the power of the army and Parliament, and assuredly expected no answer, since he intended to keep himself concealed.

Besides, this letter required no answer, as he did nothing more than express his desire of peace. But finding himself still, contrary to his expectation, in the hands of the army and Parliament, he conceived, his escape from Hampton Court might be prejudicial to him, and interpreted as a

design to hide himself, only to avoid answering the propositions for peace, the Parliament had prepared. For this reason, he resolved to send the following message to both Houses:—

### **Charles Rex,**

**HIS** Majesty is confident, that before this time, his two Houses of Parliament have received the message which he left behind him at Hampton Court, the eleventh of this month, by which they will have understood the reasons which enforced him to go from thence; as likewise his constant endeavours for the settling of a safe and well grounded peace, wheresoever he should be; and being now in a place where he conceives himself to be at much more freedom and security than formerly, he thinks it necessary, not only for making good of his own professions, but also for the speedy procuring of a peace, in these languishing and distressed Kingdoms, at this time to offer such grounds to his two Houses for that effect, which upon due examination of all interest, may best conduce thereunto.

**And** because religion is the best and chiefest foundation of peace, his Majesty will begin with that particular.

**That** for the abolishing of Archbishops, Bishops, &c. his Majesty clearly professeth, that he cannot give his consent thereunto, both in relation as he is a Christian, and a King; for the first he avows, that he is satisfied in his judgment, that this order was placed in the Church by the Apostles themselves, and ever since their time hath continued in all Christian Churches throughout the world, until this last century of years; and in this Church, in all times of change and reformation it hath been upheld by the wisdom of his ancestors, as the great preserver of doctrine, discipline, and order, in the service of God.

As a King at his coronation, he hath not only taken a solemn oath to maintain this order, but his Majesty and his predecessors, in their confirmations of the great Charter, have inseparably woven the right of the Church, into the liberty of the subjects; and yet he is willing it be provided, that the particular Bishops perform their several duties of their callings, both by their personal residence, and frequent preaching in their personal exercise, no act of jurisdiction or ordination, without the consent of their Presbyters, and will consent, that their powers in all things be so limited, that they be not grievous to the tender consciences of others. He sees no reason why he alone, and those of his judgment, should be pressed to a violation of theirs:

**Nor** can his Majesty consent to the alienation of Church lands; because it cannot be denied to be a sin of the highest sacrilege; as also that it subverts the intentions of so many pious donors, who have laid a heavy curse upon all such profane violations, which his Majesty is very unwilling to undergo:

**And** besides the matter of consequence, his Majesty believes it to be a prejudice to the public good, many of his subject having the benefit of renewing leases, at much easier rates, than if those possessions were in the hands of private men, not omitting the discouragement it will be to all learning and industry, when such eminent rewards shall betaken away; which now lye open to the children of the meanest persons.

**Yet** his Majesty considering the great present distempers concerning Church discipline, and that the Presbyterian government is now in practice, his Majesty, to eschew confusion, as much as may be, and for the satisfaction of his two Houses, is content, that the said Government be legally permitted to stand in the same condi-

tion it now is, for three years; provided that his Majesty, and those of his judgment, or any other, who cannot in conscience submit thereunto, be not obliged to comply with the Presbyterian government, but have free practice of our own profession, without receiving any prejudice thereby; and that free consultation and debate be had with the Divines of Westminster twenty of his Majesty's nomination being added unto them; whereby it may be determined by his Majesty and the two Houses, how the Church government, after the said time shall be settled, or sooner, if differences may be agreed, as is most agreeable to the word of God, with full liberty to all those who shall differ upon conscientious grounds from that settlement; always provided, that nothing aforesaid be understood to tolerate those of the popish profession, nor exempt any popish recusants from the penalties of the laws; or to tolerate the public profession of atheism or blasphemy, contrary to the doctrine of the Apostles, Nicene, and Athanasian creed, they having been received by, and had in reverence of all the Christian Churches, and more particularly by this of England, ever since the reformation.

**Next**, the militia being that right which is inseparably and undoubtedly inherent to the Crown by the laws of this nation, and that which former Parliaments, as likewise this, have acknowledged so to be, his Majesty cannot so much wrong that trust, which the laws of God, and this land hath annexed to the Crown, for the protection and security of his people, as to divest himself and successors of the power of the sword; yet to give an infallible evidence of his desire to secure the performance of such agreements as shall be made in order to a peace, his Majesty will consent to an act of Parliament, that the whole power of the militia, both by sea and land, for, and during his whole reign, shall be ordered and disposed by the two Houses of Parliament, or by such persons as they shall appoint, with powers limited for suppressing of forces within this Kingdom, to the disturbance of the public peace, and against foreign invasion:

**And** that they shall have power, during his said reign, to raise moneys for the purpose aforesaid; and that neither his Majesty that now is, or any other, by any authority, derived only from him, shall execute any of the said powers, during his Majesty's said reign, but such as shall act by the consent and approbation of the two Houses of Parliament:

**Nevertheless** his Majesty intends, that all patents, commissions, and other acts concerning the Militia, be made and acted as formerly; and that after his Majesty's reign, all the power of the militia shall return entirely to the Crown, as was in the times of Queen Elizabeth, and King James, of blessed memory.

**After** this head of the militia, the consideration of the arrears due to the army is not improper to follow; for the payment whereof, and the ease of his people, his Majesty is willing to concur in any thing that can be done without the violation of his conscience and honour.

**Wherefore** if his two Houses shall consent to remit unto him such benefit out of sequestrations from Michaelmas last, and out of compositions that shall be made before the concluding of the peace, and the arrears of such as have been already made, the assistance of the Clergy, and the arrears of such rents of his own revenue as his two Houses shall not have received before the concluding of the peace, his Majesty will undertake within the space of eighteen months, the payment of four hundred thousand pounds for the satisfaction of the army; and if those means shall not be sufficient, his Majesty intends to give way for the sale of forest lands for that purpose. This being the public debt, which in his Majesty's judgment is first to be satisfied:



**And** for other public debts already contracted upon Church lands, or any other engagements, his Majesty will give his consent to such act or acts for raising of moneys for payment thereof, as both Houses hereafter shall agree upon, so as they be equally laid; whereby his people, already too heavily burthened by these late distempers, may have no more pressures upon them than this absolute necessity requires.

**And** for the further securing all fears, his Majesty will consent, that an act of Parliament be passed for the disposing of the great offices of State, and naming of Privy-Counsellors for the whole term of his reign, by the two Houses of Parliament, their patents and commissions being taken from his Majesty, and after to return to the crown, as is expressed in the articles of the militia. For the Court of Wards and Liveries, his Majesty very well knows the consequence of taking that away, by turning of all tenures into common socage, as well in point of revenue to the Crown, as in the protection of many of his subjects, being infants:

**Nevertheless**, if the continuance thereof seem grievous to his subjects, rather than he will fail on his part in giving satisfaction, he will consent to an act for taking it away, so as a full recompense be settled upon his Majesty and his successors in perpetuity[281]; and that the arrears now due be reserved unto him towards the payment of the arrears of the army.

**And** that the memory of these late distractions may be wholly wiped away, his Majesty will consent to an act of Parliament for the suppressing and making null of all oaths, declarations, and proclamations against both or either House of Parliament, and of all indictments and other proceedings against any persons for adhering unto them. And his Majesty proposeth, as the best expedient to take away all seeds of future difference, that there be an act of Oblivion to extend to all his subjects.

**As** to Ireland, the cessation therein is long since determined; but for the future, and all other things being fully agreed, his Majesty will give full satisfaction to his Houses concerning that Kingdom.

**And** although his Majesty cannot consent in honour and justice to void all his own grants and acts passed under his Great Seal since the 22nd of May 1642, or to the confirming of all the grants and acts passed under that made by the two Houses, yet his Majesty is confident, that upon the perusal of particulars, he will give all satisfaction to his two Houses to what may be reasonably desired in that particular.

**And** now his Majesty conceives, that by these his offers, which he is ready to make good upon the settlement of a peace, he hath clearly manifested his intentions to give full security and satisfaction to all interests, for what can justly be desired in order to the future happiness of his people, and for the perfecting these concessions, as also for such other things as may be proposed by the two Houses; and for such just and reasonable demands as his Majesty shall find necessary to propose on his part, he earnestly desires a personal treaty at London with his two Houses, in honour, freedom, and safety; it being in his judgment, the most proper, and indeed only means to a firm and settled peace, and impossible without it to reconcile former, or avoid future misunderstandings.

**All** these being by treaty perfected, his Majesty believes his two Houses will think it reasonable, that the proposals of the army concerning the succession of Parliaments, and their due election should be taken into consideration.

As for what concerns the Kingdom of Scotland, his Majesty will very readily apply himself to give all reasonable satisfaction; when the desires of the two Houses of Parliament on their behalf, or of the commissioners of that Kingdom, or of both joined together, shall be made known unto him.

## **The Parliament Takes no Notice of Them**

The Parliament took no notice of these offers. Besides that they saw only part of their former demands, they were always upon their guard with respect to the King's proposals, wherein it was but too usual to find ambiguous expressions, restrictions and conditions expressed or implied, which made it impossible to build securely upon such foundations. We have seen several instances in the King's papers, since the beginning of his reign; and in this here, where he carries his offers farther than ever, it was easy to perceive the same method; for he was very artful, as well as his father, in the choice of his expressions.

Nay, it seems that in offering to yield the power of the militia, during his whole Reign, an expression often repeated in these proposals, he had some secret intention, as to resign the Crown to the Prince his son. Otherwise, I do not see why he affected to substitute the term of his reign, instead of that of his life, or of twenty years, as was demanded by the Parliament. At least it is certain, if his offer had been accepted, as expressed in his words, he might, by realigning the Crown, have put the Prince of Wales, by the treaty it self, in full possession of the militia, and nomination to the great offices.

But this is only a conjecture, though very probable. Be this as it will, the two Houses had long since refused to treat but upon their own propositions. Neither would they allow of his explications, so apprehensive were they of his subtleties, which would have engaged them in discussions where they would have always had the same thing to fear.

Such was the distrust the King's character had bred, which made a reconciliation between him and the Parliament ever impracticable. It must however be confessed, that on this occasion there were other reasons which hindered the two Houses from regarding the King's offers. The principal was, they were under the dominion of the army, or rather the independents, who were not for peace upon any terms whatever.

## **Negotiation of The Scotch Commissioners With The King**

During the King's stay at Hampton Court, the Scotch commissioners, as I observed, had treated with him, and put him in hopes that the Scots would join with his party, and the English Presbyterians, to deliver him from the independents. But they required a thing which he could not resolve, namely, the change of Epifcopal Government in the Church of England into Presbyterian. This single point had prolonged the negotiation, and hindered the conclusion of the treaty. Cromwell had some intimation of it, and probably for that reason used all his industry to cause the King to retire to the Isle of Wight, where the Scotch commissioners could not have the same access to him.

## **Contest Between The Parliament and Scotch Commissioners**

When the King went from Hampton Court, the proposals the two Houses were to send him, were all ready, But the Scotch Commissioners deferred from day to day to approve them, on pretence the interests of Scotland were not sufficiently specified, expecting to agree with the King, before they should be presented. This dispute between the Parliament and Scotch Commissioners still subsisted, when suddenly the House of Lords acquainted the Commons at a conference, that having more maturely considered the King's last message, they were of opinion to admit him to a personal treaty, on condition he would give his assent to four preliminary propositions to be passed into acts before the rest should be treated on.

- 1. An Act** for settling the Militia of the Kingdom.
- 2. An Act** for calling in all declarations, oaths, and proclamations, against the Parliament, and those who adhered to them.
- 3. An Act**, that those Lords who were made after the Great-Seal was carried to Oxford, may be made incapable of sitting in the House of Peers.
- 4. An Act** for empowering the two Houses of Parliament to adjourn as they shall think fit.

The next day[282], the Commons gave their consent to these propositions, and ordered, that the four Bills should be drawn, and dispatched to his Majesty, after which a personal treaty with him should be entered into. All this was done with so great expedition, that it was not possible for the independents to prevent what they were not prepared against.

The Scotch Commissioners, who had formed other projects, tried in vain to hinder the effect of this resolution. The Parliament wished for peace, thereby to break the measures of the independents. The 6th of December, the King sent a fresh message to both Houses, earnestly pressing for a personal Treaty, as being the best means for settling a peace.

The 14th of the same month, the Commons, after passing the four Bills, and approving the instructions for those that were to present them, named a Committee to carry them to the King. Then they answered the complaints of the Scotch Commissioners, that the four Bills were not communicated to them.

They said, it was contrary to the rights and privileges of Parliament, to communicate Bills to any person whatever, before they had received the royal assent, and that there was nothing in the treaty between the two Kingdoms to the contrary:-

**That** they desired the Scotch Commissioners to prepare such propositions as they should judge necessary for the Kingdom of Scotland, that the Committee might depart on the 20th.

## **Declaration of The Scotch Commissioners**

That day, the Scotch Commissioners presented to both Houses a large declaration, complaining in very high language, that the Parliament of England violated the Covenant, in labouring for peace without the concurrence of Scotland. They insisted upon a personal treaty between the King, both Houses, and themselves, that peace might be settled with mutual consent; and declared, as they could not agree to the sending of the four Bills to his Majesty for his assent, before any treaty upon the rest of the propositions, so they were unsatisfied with the matter of these new proposals lately communicated to them; and desired, that there might be a personal treaty with the King, upon such propositions as should be agreed upon, with advice and consent of both Kingdoms.

## **Parliament is Offended**

This declaration gave great offence to both Houses.

Their reply to it was answerable in terms to the language used by the Commissioners; and it was ordered, that the printer of the declaration should be committed to prison.

In short, notwithstanding the opposition of the Scotch Commissioners, the four Bills were presented to the King the 24th of December. The next day, the Scotch Commissioners came to

Isle of Wight, and delivered to the King a declaration of their dissent to the propositions they had lately seen, and the four Bills brought to his Majesty. After that, they had a conference with the King, wherein some, things passed, which long remained secret, and which it will be necessary to relate, because on them turned the events mentioned hereafter.

Since the King had been in the power of the army, the Scots feared, he would unite with them. They knew they were mortally hated by the Independents, and consequently, this union could not but be very prejudicial to Scotland.

The army's success against the Parliament and City of London increased their fear very much, and put them upon seeking means to prevent, as they thought, the impending danger. They found no proper means, than to join with the King, provided he could be persuaded to approve of the Covenant, and abolish Episcopacy in England. In their frequent conferences with him at Hampton-Court, they intimated, that when he was delivered to the Parliament, it was not with the advice of all Scotland, but only by the Marquis of Argyle's credit, who tyrannized over the Kingdom:—

**That** all the Scots were displeased with it, and ready to atone for the fault, by assisting him with all their power to recover his just rights. But they added, that to engage the Scots to employ their forces to this end, his Majesty was to give them satisfaction concerning the Covenant, and the abolition of Episcopacy in England, for otherwise, he could not expect the assistance of the English Presbyterians, which was absolutely necessary.

In a word, they made him hope, that the Scots would enter, England with a strong army, which, by the junction of the King's party, and English Presbyterians, would become so superior to the army of the Independents, that he might almost be assured, nothing would be capable to oppose his restoration.

These overtures were the more agreeable to the King, as the Duke of Hamilton, after his freedom from imprisonment by the army, had declared to the King's friends, he was ready to do his Majesty all the service that lay in his power. On the other hand, the Marquis of Ormond had informed the King of his project to return into Ireland, join with the Lord Inchiquin, whom he had privately gained, and with some of the heads of the rebels, and make war upon the Parliament, affirming, that France had promised to supply him with all necessaries.

It was very probable, that the union between the King's party, the English Presbyterians, and the Scots, added to a diversion in Ireland, would very much embarrass the Independents, and disable them to withstand so great a force. But to execute this project, the King was to approve of the Covenant, and consent to the abolition of Episcopacy, which he could never resolve.

These were the two stumbling-blocks, which hindered him from concluding a treaty with the Scotch Commissioners, before his flight from Hampton-Court. He would never grant these two points, and in expectation that by his steadiness he should induce the Scots to desist from their desires, quitted Hampton-Court, without any agreement with them.

When therefore he so earnestly pressed for a personal treaty at London, with honour, freedom, and safety, it was in order to treat more commodiously with the Scotch Commissioners, and consult with his friends, what could be expected as well from his own, as the Presbyterian party; and doubtless, in case he concluded a treaty with them, his design was to prolong the negotiation with the two Houses, till the Scotch army had entered England, and his old and new friends laid all their measures[283].

It was very likely, this league would find the army so much employment, that they would not be able to subdue, a second time, the Parliament and City of London, Accordingly, this was the end

the Scotch Commissioners proposed to themselves, in their objections to the propositions, and in their demand of a personal treaty with the King, upon such proposals as should be agreed upon by both Kingdoms, being well assured, it would be easy for them to prolong the time, till every thing should be ready.

The method the two Houses took to procure the King's consent to the four Bills, amongst which was that of the militia, before they admitted him to a personal treaty, convinced him, they had no design to relax upon any of the principal articles. He considered, that after passing these four Bills, he should still be forced to treat on propositions much like those presented to him at Newcastle:

**That**, after all, what both Houses called treating, was, according to their ideas, consenting to their demands, and upon the least refusal to grant what should be proposed to him, he should be, perhaps, more closely confined, when he had passed one of the most important points in dispute:

**That** then, he should not be able to treat with the Scots, and by passing the four Bills, should lose the present opportunity, which should never offer again. These considerations determined him to agree with the Scotch Commissioners, at a second conference with them the 25th of December. As there was no time to lose, the Parliament's Commissioners having orders to stay but four days in the Isle of Wight, the Scotch Commissioners had brought with them a treaty ready drawn, agreeable to the propositions they had made the King at Hampton Court.

This treaty was signed by the King and the Scotch Commissioners the next day, December the 26th, the King having had but few hours to resolve. Here follows the substance of the treaty, which the Lord Clarendon says was read but by very few, and which he represents as the most unjust treaty that could be imposed upon the King. This obliges me to make remarks on some of the articles.

## The Substance of The Treaty

**I**N the preface, the King acknowledged, that the intentions of those who had entered into the Covenant, were real for the preservation of his Majesty's person and authority, according to their allegiance, and no ways to diminish his just power and greatness. He promised, as soon as he could, with freedom, honour, and safety, to be present in a free Parliament, to confirm the said League and Covenant by Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, for the security of all who had taken or should take it. With this proviso however, That none who was unwilling should be constrained to take it (1)

**Remark 1.** If it is considered, that the Scots joined their forces with those of England, only in defence of this Covenant, which had been solemnly sworn to in both Kingdoms, it will not bethought strange, the Scotch Commissioners should require this promise of the King. Without this, there would have been no possibility to engage the Scots to employ their forces to restore the King to his rights, and how hard soever this condition might appear to him, it was absolutely necessary to produce the effect which he expected from his union with Scotland.

**His Majesty engaged to confirm by Act of Parliament in England, Presbyterian Government the directory for worship, and the assembly of Divines at Westminster for three years; so that his Majesty and his household should not be hindered from using that form of divine service he had formerly practised: ( 2 )**

**And** that during these three years there should be a consultation with the Assembly of Divines, to which twenty of the King's nomination should be added, and some

from the Church of Scotland, and thereupon it should be determined by his Majesty, and the two Houses of Parliament, what form of Government should be established after the expiration of those years, as should be most agreeable to the word of God.

**Remark 2.** The Scotch Commissioners were not so stupid as to imagine, the Scots with their forces alone should be able to restore the King. They depended chiefly upon the aid of the English Presbyterians. But how was it possible for them to rely on their aid, if nothing were stipulated for them?

Nay, it is astonishing they should be satisfied with an establishment which was to last but three years, considering how they themselves and the English Presbyterians, whose assistance was absolutely necessary, stood affected. The King himself did not think, doubtless, he was forced upon this point, since he had offered the same thing to both Houses, in his message of the 10th of December.

**That** an effectual course may be taken by Act of Parliament, and all other ways needful or expedient, for the suppressing the opinions and practices of Anti-Trinitarians, Arians, Socinians, Anti-Scripturalists, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Arminians, Familists, Brownists, Separatists, Independents, Libertines, and Seekers, and generally, for the suppressing of all blasphemy, heresy, schism, and all such scandalous doctrines and practices as are contrary to the light of nature, and to the principles of Christianity, whether concerning faith, worship or conversation, or the power of Godliness, or which may be destructive to order and Government, or to the peace of the Church and Kingdom ( 3 ).

**Remark 3.** All the sects mentioned in this article were no less enemies to the Presbyterians than to the Church of England. These three last articles being exactly what the King had offered in his message of the 16th of November, it cannot be said that he granted them through surprise or force.

**The King** promised, that in the next session of Parliament, after the Kingdom of Scotland should declare for his Majesty, in pursuance of this agreement, he should in person, or by commission, confirm the League and Covenant in that Kingdom; and concerning all the Acts passed in the last Parliament of that Kingdom, his Majesty declared, that he should then likewise be content to give assurance by Act of Parliament, that neither he nor his successors should quarrel, call in question, or command the contrary of any of them, nor question any for giving obedience to the same.

After these articles concerning religion, there was a long recital of:—

**The agreement** the Parliament of England had made when the Scots army returned to Scotland, that the army under Fairfax should be disbanded; and of that army's submitting thereunto of their taking the King from Holmby, and keeping him prisoner till he fled from them to the Isle of Wight; and since that time both his Majesty, and the Commissioners for the Kingdom of Scotland, had very earnestly desired, that the King might come to London in safety, honour and freedom, for a personal treaty with the two Houses, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland, which, they said, had been granted, but that the army had, in a violent manner, forced away divers members of the Parliament from the discharge of their trust, and possessed themselves of the city of London, and all the strengths and garrisons of the Kingdoms:

**And** that by the strength and influence of that army, and their adherents, propositions and bills had been sent to the King without the advice and consent of the Kingdom

of Scotland, contrary to the treaties which are between the two Kingdoms, and destructive to religion, his Majesty's rights, the privilege of Parliament, and liberty of the subject; from which propositions and bills the Scottish Commissioners had dissented, and protested against, in the name of the Kingdom of Scotland.

After this preamble and recital, they said,

**That** for as much as his Majesty is willing to give satisfaction concerning the settling of Religion, and other matters in difference, as is expressed in this agreement, the Kingdom of Scotland doth oblige, and engage itself, first, in a peaceable way and manner to endeavour, that the King may come to London in safety, honour, and freedom, for a personal treaty with the Houses of Parliament, and the Commissioners of Scotland, upon, such propositions as should be mutually agreed on between the two Kingdoms, and such propositions as his Majesty should think fit to make; and for this end, all armies should be disbanded; and in case that this should not be granted, that declarations should be emitted by the Kingdom of Scotland, in pursuance of this agreement, against the unjust proceedings of the two Houses of Parliament, towards his Majesty, and the Kingdom of Scotland, in which they would assert the right that belonged to the Crown, in the power of the Militia, the Great Seal, bestowing of honours, and offices of trust, choice of the Privy-Counsellors, and the right of the King's negative voice in Parliament:

**And** that the Queen's Majesty, the Prince, and the rest of the royal issue, ought to remain where his Majesty shall think fit, in either of his Kingdoms, with safety, honour, and freedom:

**That** upon the issuing out of this declaration, an army should be sent out of Scotland into England, for the preservation and establishment of religion, for defence of his Majesty's person and authority, and restoring him to his Government, to the just rights of the Crown, and the full revenues for the defence of the privilege of Parliament and liberty of the subject; for making a firm union between the Kingdoms under his Majesty and his posterity and settling a lasting peace. In pursuance whereof, this Kingdom of Scotland was to endeavour, that there might be a free and full Parliament in England, and that his Majesty may be with them in honour, safety, and freedom; and that a speedy period be set to the present Parliament. And they undertook, that the army which they would raise, should be upon its march, before the message and declaration should be delivered to the Houses."

It was farther agreed on,

**That** all such in the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, as would join with the Kingdom of Scotland, in pursuance of this agreement, should be protected by his Majesty in their persons and estates; and that all his subjects in England or Ireland, who would join with him, in pursuance of this agreement, might come to the Scottish army and join with them, or else put themselves into other bodies in England or Wales, for prosecution of the same ends, as the King's Majesty should judge most convenient, and such Commanders or Generals of the English Nation, as his Majesty shall think fit:

**And** that all such should be protected by the Kingdom of Scotland and their army, in their persons and estates, and where any injury or wrong is done unto them, they would be careful to see them fully repaired, as far as it should be in their power to do; and likewise when any injury or wrong is done to those who join with the Kingdom of Scotland, his Majesty should be careful of their full reparation (4).

**Remark 4.** When the five last articles are considered, it plainly appears, what great advantages the King received by his condescension to establish Presbyterianism in England for three years. But some men's prejudice against Presbyterianism, makes them think, the King paid very dear for the advantages he expected to reap from his union with Scotland. They obliged his Majesty to promise:-

**That** neither himself, nor any by his authority or knowledge, should make or admit any cessation, pacification, or agreement whatsoever for peace, nor of any treaty, propositions, bills, or any other ways for that end, with the Houses of Parliament, or any army or party in England or Ireland, without the advice and consent of the Kingdom of Scotland; and reciprocally, that neither the Kingdom of Scotland, nor any, having their authority, should make or admit of any of these, any manner of way, with any whatsoever, without his Majesty's advice or consent:

**And** that upon the settlement of a peace, there should be an act of oblivion to be agreed upon by his Majesty, and both his Parliaments, of both his Kingdoms:

**That** his Majesty, the Prince, or both, should come into Scotland, upon the invitation of that Kingdom, and their declaration, that they should be in honour, freedom, and safety, when possibly they could come with safety and convenience; and that the King should contribute his utmost endeavour, both at home and abroad, for assisting the Kingdom of Scotland, for carrying on this war both by sea and land, and all other supplies by money, arms, ammunition, and all other things requisite, as also for guarding the coasts of Scotland with ships, and protecting all their merchants, in the free exercise of their trade and commerce with other Nations:

**And** likewise, that his Majesty was willing, and did authorize the Scottish army, to possess themselves of Berwick, Carlisle, Newcastle upon Tyne, with the castle of Tynemouth, and the town of Hartlepool:

**Those** places to be their retreat, and magazines; and that, when the peace of the Kingdom should be settled, the Kingdom of Scotland should remove all their forces, and deliver back again those towns and castles.

**The King** promised also, and undertook to pay the arrears of the brotherly assistance, and likewise the two hundred thousand pounds, which remained still due upon the last treaty, for return of the Scottish army, when they had delivered up the King (5).

**Remark 5.** If the four hundred thousand pounds promised to the Scottish army, when they quitted England, be considered as the price of the sale of the King's person, nothing could be harder, than to oblige the King to the payment of that sum. But if it was really due to the Scots for their arrears, the King approving of the Covenant of both Kingdoms, by the first article of this treaty, the Scots could urge, that he was bound to see them paid the expense they had been at in maintaining the said Covenant.

**And also, That** payment should be made to the Kingdom of Scotland, for the charge and expense of their army in this future war, with due recompense for the losses they should sustain therein; and that due satisfaction, according to the treaty on that behalf betwixt the two Kingdoms, should be made to the Scottish army in Ireland, out of the lands of this Kingdom, or otherwise:

**And** that the King, according to the intention of his father, should endeavour a complete union of the two Kingdoms, so as they may be one under his Majesty. and all his posterity; or if that cannot speedily be effected, that all liberties and privileges concerning commerce, traffic, manufactures; peculiar to the subjects of either Nation,



should be common to the subjects of both Kingdoms without distinction; and that there be a communication, and mutual capacity of all other liberties of the Subjects in the two Kingdoms (6).

**Remark 6.** If the King could not, by his own authority unite the two Kingdoms, without the concurrence of the two Parliaments, neither could he, without the same concurrence, make the privileges of both Kingdoms common. So, probably, this article was put into the treaty only, to dazzle the people of Scotland.

**That** a competent number of ships should be yearly assigned, and appointed out of his Majesty's navy, which should attend the coast of Scotland for a guard, and freedom of trade of that Nation; and that his Majesty should declare, that his successors, as well as himself, are obliged to the performance of the articles and conditions of this agreement; but that his Majesty shall not be obliged to the performance of the aforesaid articles, until the Kingdom of Scotland should declare for him, in pursuance of this agreement; and that the whole articles and conditions aforesaid, shall be finished, perfected, and performed, before the return of the Scottish army; and that when they return into Scotland, at the same time, *Simul & semel*, all armies should be disbanded in England.

The King engaged himself also,

**To** employ those of the Scottish nation, equally with the English, in all foreign employments and negotiations; and that a third part of all the offices and places about the King, Queen, and Prince, should be conferred upon persons of that nation; and that the King and Prince, or one of them will frequently reside in Scotland, that the subjects of that Kingdom may be known to them.

The King's consent by this treaty to the establishment of the Presbyterian government in England for three years, lying heavy upon his mind, he prevailed with the commissioners, that it should be inferred under the same treaty,

**That** his Majesty did declare, that by the clause of confirming Presbyterian government by act of Parliament, he is neither obliged to desire the settling of Presbyterian government, nor to present any bills to that effect; and that he likewise understands, that no person whatsoever shall suffer in his estate, nor undergo any corporal punishment, for not submitting to Presbyterian government; his Majesty understanding, that this indemnity should not extend to those who are mentioned in the articles against toleration.

**To** this the Scotch commissioners subscribed their hands, as witnesses only, as they said, and not as assenters.

The Lord Clarendon, in his history of the civil wars of England, exclaims against the injustice of this treaty, in the following words:

No man who reads this treaty (which very few men have ever done) can wonder, that such an engagement met with the fate that attended it; which contained so many monstrous concessions, that, except the whole Kingdom of England had been likewise imprisoned in Carisbrook Castle with the King, it could not be imagined, that it was possible to be performed.

I own, whatever esteem I may have for this illustrious historian, this bare asseveration, without any explication, is not satisfactory to me. After having examined every clause of this treaty, I meet with none that to me appear monstrous. It is true, the article, of settling the Presbyterian-

government in England for three years, might seem so to the Earl of Clarendon, and those who are of his opinion. The reader is to judge, whether this monstrosity, if I may venture to use that term, is to be ascribed to the thing it self, or to the historians prepossession[284].

The King having concluded his treaty with the Scotch commissioners, delivered his answer to the commissioners of the Parliament, to this effect:—

**That** his Majesty had always thought it a matter of great difficulty, to comply in such a manner with all engaged interests, that a firm and lasting peace might ensue; in which opinion he was now confirmed, since the Commissioners for Scotland did solemnly protest against the several Bills, and propositions, which the two Houses of Parliament had presented to him for his assent; so that it was not possible for him to give such an answer as might be the foundation of a hopeful peace.

**That** besides, the four Bills as they were offered to him did not only divest him of all Sovereignty, and leave him without any possibility of recovering it to him or his successors, but opened a door for all intolerable oppressions upon his subjects, he granting such an arbitrary and unlimited power to the two Houses.

**That** neither the desire of being freed from that tedious and irksome condition of life, which he had so long suffered, nor the apprehension of any thing that might befall him, should ever prevail with him to consent to any one act, till the conditions of the whole peace should be concluded; and then that he would be ready to give all just and reasonable satisfaction, in all particulars; and for the adjusting of all this, he knew no way but a personal treaty (and therefore very earnestly desired the two Houses to consent to it) to be either at London, or any other place they would rather choose.

The King, not doubting but his answer would displease the two Houses, would have given it sealed to the Commissioners, because whilst the Parliament should take it into consideration, he intended to make his escape, having already taken some measures for that purpose. But the Commissioners[285] would not receive it in that manner, saying:—

**They** were not to be looked upon as common messengers, and to carry back an answer they had not seen.

The King fearing, their return without his answer would be attended with the worst of consequences, gave it to them open; after which they instantly departed. They were no sooner gone, than Governor Hammond (by Sir 'Thomas Fairfax's order) caused the King's servants to be put out of the castle, who till then had been permitted to be with him, and confined him so closely, that no man had liberty to go to him without express leave[286].

It was not in vain that the Governor took these precautions, since, immediately after, one Captain Burley an inhabitant of the island, who had been first a sea officer, and afterwards General of the ordnance in one of the King's armies, endeavoured to excite the people to rescue the King from his captivity[287]. But he laid his measures so ill, that instead of executing his design he was apprehended, and afterwards condemned, and hanged, drawn, and quartered. Probably, the King depended upon this officer for his escape.

The King's answer being read in the House of Commons, several Members spoke against the King with great warmth. Cromwell among others said:—

**That** the King was a man of great parts, and great understanding, but that he was so great a dissembler, and so false a man, that he was not to be missed.

**That** whilst he professed with all solemnity that he referred himself wholly to the Parliament, and depended only upon their wisdom and counsels or the sentiment and composing the distractions of the Kingdom, he had at the same time secret treaties with the Scottish Commissioners, how he might embroil the Nation in a new war, and destroy the Parliament.

**He concluded**, that they might no farther trouble themselves with sending messages to him, or farther propositions, but that they might enter upon those counsels which were necessary towards the settlement of the Kingdom, without having farther recourse to the King.

This advice being strongly seconded by some other members, it was at length resolved after a long debate from morning till late at night[288], that no more addresses should be made to, or messages received from, the King[289], and that a declaration should be published to satisfy the Kingdom of the reason of it.

This Declaration was prepared in a very short time[290]. It contained all the reproaches cast upon the King in 1641, in the Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, and whatever had been complained of since that time, not without a direct insinuation that the King, when Prince of Wales, had conspired with the Duke of Buckingham against his father's life. They charged him with having openly betrayed the interests of the Protestant religion, by sending his ships to the King of France, who employed them against Rochelle.

When this Declaration came to be debated, it met with much opposition even in the House of Commons. But the contrary party to the King did what is daily practised in the Parliament. They suffered the opposers of the Declaration to talk as much as they pleased, and then called for the question, which was carried by a plurality of voices; after which the Declaration was sent to the House of Peers, where it passed without any difficulty.

## **Project in Favour of The King**

The Scotch Commissioners, before they returned home, communicated their designs to the King's party, the Marquis of Ormond, and some leading Presbyterians, and early preparations were made for accomplishing the project which was forming in favour of the King. The project was as follows.

The Scots were to send an army into England to act against the Independents, and deliver the King: The Marquis of Ormond was to return into Ireland, where the Lord Inchiquin who commanded the Parliament's forces in Munster, had promised to declare for the King, and several heads of the rebels who were displeased with the tyrannical proceedings of the Pope's Nuncio, had engaged to join the Marquis with a strong body of their troops.

At the same time, the King's friends in England were to rise in several counties. The generals and officers, discarded by the new model, had promised to assemble what forces they could, to countenance the design. The Nobility, Gentry, and Burghers being dissatisfied that the army should govern the Parliament, and all offices be conferred on persons of their party, it was not doubted but the insurrections in several parts, would be supported and encouraged.

On the other hand, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and Sir Philip Musgrave, who had great interest in Yorkshire and Cumberland, engaged to seize Berwick and Carlisle, The Presbyterian party being still very numerous in the Parliament and City, were preparing openly to oppose the army, as soon as they should see it employed in so many different places. Had all these projects been well managed, and executed at the same time, very probably, Cromwell, with all his art, would have been extremely embarrassed. But of all those who should have acted at the same time, some were too hasty, others too slow, and by that means, the army crushed them with ease one

after another. But before I relate how these several projects were attempted to be executed, I think it absolutely necessary to show the interests and views of the different parties, otherwise it would be very difficult to understand what will be said hereafter.

## **The Designs of The Independents**

The Independents designed to be masters of the Kingdom, as they were already of the Parliament and City of London. But as they found, it would not be easy to succeed in this undertaking, by the same means they had employed to subdue the City and Parliament, their aim was to make use of the Parliament and govern in their name.

It was therefore their interest, that the power they had acquired over the Parliament should not be too visible, for fear of causing both Houses to lose their authority, which they meant to make use of. For this reason they were very careful to manage the two Houses, knowing, that whilst the army subsisted, they would have a regard for them, for fear of incensing them. And in case they should think of taking too much liberty, they knew how to reduce them to a greater compliance.

Though they had dissembled their sentiments with respect to the King, after his removal from Holmby, they were his mortal enemies, and bent to oppose, with all their power, his restoration on: any conditions whatever, because they considered it as entirely destructive of their party. Oliver Cromwell, who privately directed their affairs, had found means, as I said, to keep his post in the army, and his seat in Parliament, though he had been the chief promoter of the self-denying ordinance, whereby the rest of the members were excluded from all offices military and civil.

Moreover, since the conclusion of the war, he had brought into the House many more of his fashion, besides those who had been there from the beginning of the Parliament. Hence the independent party was grown very considerable in the House of Commons, as well by their number as by the junction of several other members, who through fear, or want of judgment, suffered themselves to be led by the independents, on some occasions where their artifices were not easy to be discovered.

But their principal strength was the support of the army, of which they were secure on occasion. So, when any leading independent spoke with warmth in the House, he seldom met with opposition, because he was considered as the mouth of the army.

But what was the end the independents proposed? The event showed, their principles were inconsistent with Monarchy, with Episcopacy, and with Presbyterian Government, and that their aim was to establish a Commonwealth in the State, and abolish Ecclesiastical authority in the Church. Nothing was more opposite to this design than the hierarchy, especially, as it was known by experience to have supported the Monarchy, not only in its just rights, but also in its most exorbitant pretensions. Presbyterianism, as established in Scotland, and as intended to be established in England, was no less contrary to their designs.

They pretended it was inconsistent with the civil Government, and to admit it would be to admit a sort of Commonwealth in the Church, which would aspire to an independency on the State, and besides, the Presbyterian Clergy were as much against toleration as the episcopal. This they proved by the example of Scotland, where under colour of religion and Godliness, the General Assemblies of the Kirk pretended to intermeddle in all important affairs of the State, and not only to assist the civil authority, but to be bound to it in conference on certain occasions.

Besides, if the Bishops had persecuted those who refused to conform to the Church of England, the Presbyterians, since they were superior, exercised no less tyranny upon those who would not submit to their Government.

Thus the principles of the Episcopalians and Presbyterians being directly contrary to those of the independents, these last were equally enemies to both, and equally laboured their ruin. To execute their designs, they had at first joined with the Presbyterians, on pretence of establishing Presbyterianism, but in reality to destroy the King. And when it was out of the King's power to hurt them, they laboured to destroy the same Presbyterianism, for the establishment of which, they had shown more zeal than the Presbyterians themselves.

## **Cromwell's Views**

Such were the views of the independents: as for Cromwell in particular, it cannot be said when he began to form the project of his advancement. He had spent the two first years of this Parliament in the House of Commons as member for the town of Cambridge, without being very remarkable. Though he was above forty years old before he exercised the profession of arms, he suddenly grew so expert, and showed such undaunted courage in all the actions where he was prefect, that he was soon made Lieutenant-General of the army, commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax.

It can hardly be doubted, that since the battle of Naseby, where he acquired fresh laurels, he had begun to think of raising himself higher. But I dare not affirm, he then thought of what he afterwards accomplished. I should rather believe, he had only some general views, and was led by the events and situation of affairs to form more ambitious projects[291].

## **Interests and Views of the Presbyterians**

I come now to the Presbyterians. The war was ended to the King's disadvantage: but he was still alive though a prisoner, and had several children. It was the general sense of the nation, or at least of those who were not blinded by a spirit of party, that the King should be restored, but upon such terms however as should hinder the constitution of the Government from being liable to the same danger as before this Parliament.

It can't be doubted, this was the sentiment of all honest Englishmen, when it is considered, that even those who had nothing less in view than the King's reestablishment, did however publicly declare, they desired it, for fear the contrary opinion should deprive them of the people's favour, which was absolutely necessary for them.

This appears in all the papers published since the beginning of the war and the King's imprisonment. And indeed, nothing was more just and reasonable. The nation's interest did not require that Royalty should be abolished, or the King reduced so low as to be disabled from executing the Laws and protecting his subjects. But the interest of the independents required the first of these two things, and that of the Presbyterians, the second. Herein consisted the difficulty of the King's restoration. He was very willing to consent, that the ordering of the Militia, and the nomination to the great offices, should be left to both Houses of Parliament for some time.

This was sufficient for the interest of the nation in general, since the people would have been freed from their fears, with respect to the Government for the future. If the Presbyterians had only intended the good of the public, they would doubtless, have been satisfied with the King's offers. But they had another interest, no less dear to them, and which distinguished their party from the rest of the nation, namely, the abolition of episcopal Government, which was their greatest concern.

Nay, very likely, if they had applied themselves at first to procure the good of the nation, by endeavouring to humble the regal Power, it was only to effect the more easily their secret designs, to change the Government of the Church. At the juncture I am speaking of, they had

not altered their projects. They knew how zealous the King was for episcopal Government, and how averse to the Presbyterian.

They could not therefore, without running the hazard of losing the fruit of their labours, leave their pretensions undecided, and their affairs in such a state, that it should be in the King's power to demolish what they had raised, and the King refused to give them any assurance in that respect. On the contrary, he plainly intimated, it was with reluctance that he granted them any thing, and even for a very short time. Besides, they had no confidence in his promises.

But on the other hand, they had other enemies who were no less formidable. These were the Independents, who had great advantages over them.

1. They had the King's person in their power,
2. They were supported by the army now at the gates of London.
3. The army directed, in great measure, the determinations of the Parliament. Thus, the Presbyterians were extremely embarrassed, since, which soever of the two parties, the King's or the Independents, prevailed, their ruin was inevitable.

Meanwhile, as the danger from the Independents was the most imminent, as soon as they were informed of the resolution taken by the Scots to send an army to the King's relief, they thought fit to suspend their quarrel with the King, and join their endeavours with those of the Scots, to deliver him from the Independents. Not that they intended to restore him without terms: nothing was farther from their thoughts. But they hoped, with the assistance of the Scots and the royal party, to destroy the independents and army, and that then the Parliament would be perfectly free.

In that case, they flattered themselves that their party would be sufficiently powerful in both Houses, to require of the King such conditions as they should think proper for their designs. That is to say, they pretended to free the King from the captivity in which he was held by the Independents, by means of his own friends, to put him under another, which would have been no less grievous to him; in a word, to put him into the power of a Parliament by which he had always been opposed.

Chimerical project, if ever there was one! It must be observed, the Presbyterians no longer prevailing in the Parliament, since the 6th of August, their principal strength lay in the assistance they could expect from the city, and the Generals, officers and soldiers, who were cashiered by the new model, and very ready to act against those who had robbed them of the fruit of their labours.

## **The Interests and Views of The Scots**

The Scots had the same interests and views with regard to the King. They knew, the King considered the favours he had granted them, as extorted at a time when he could not deny them without great inconveniences. On the other hand, they had not confidence enough in him, to believe he would be punctual to his promises, in case he remounted the throne of England with all his prerogatives.

It was their interest therefore to hinder the King from becoming too powerful in England, and this had induced them to assist the Parliament. But as for the independents, Scotland does not seem to have been so much concerned to oppose the superiority they had acquired in England.

Indeed, it would have been more advantageous to Scotland, if there had been no independent party in England, if the Presbyterian had prevailed, and if the Covenant had been strictly

observed. But since affairs had taken another course, and the independents had gained the advantage, it does not appear what mischief could thence accrue to the Scots, since they were no less secured from the King's power, whilst he was in the hands of the independents than when he was in those of the Presbyterians. The resolution of the Scots to assist the King can be ascribed but to one, or perhaps all, of these causes:—

1. To the fear of an union between the King and Independents; but this fear was groundless, the principles of the two parties being diametrically opposite:
2. To the desire of being revenged on their sworn enemies, the independents, who had often mortified the Scotch commissioners:
3. To their extreme desire of firmly establishing the Presbyterian Government in the Church of England:
4. and lastly, To their hopes of preserving, by means of this new war, the advantages procured them by the Covenant. The question is to know, whether these three last causes were sufficient to engage them indispensably to undertake a war against England? I say against England, for they could not doubt that the Parliament, directed as it was by the army, would consider their entrance into the Kingdom as an invasion.

On the other hand, the Royalists, though overthrown, being still very numerous, there was great danger, that though the Scots, by their union with them, should destroy the independent party and their supporters the army, this advantage would turn more to the benefit of the King than of the Presbyterians. At least, it cannot be denied, that by uniting with the Royalists, they would, though contrary to their intention, enable them to hold up their heads, and by their own successes give new strength to their antient enemies.

These were reflections which occurred to many in Scotland, where the intended new war was far from being universally liked. The King's party appeared very active, which was a sign, their hopes were not confined to the freeing of the King from the Independents, in order to put him into the hands of the Presbyterians.

The commissioners had signed the treaty of the Isle of Wight, without being authorized by the Parliament of Scotland and the execution of that treaty, on the part of the Scots, was entirely founded upon the hopes, the commissioners had given the King, of causing it to be ratified. But they had ventured to impart it only to a few friends, and some leading Presbyterians of England, knowing, it contained not the whole of what the Presbyterians desired. It may therefore be affirmed, the new war, for which preparations were making in Scotland, was rather the work of some particular persons than of the nation in general, as will plainly appear in the sequel.

## **Views of The King's Party**

The design of the Royalists was not, as I said, to deliver the King out of the hands of the independents, to leave him at the mercy of the Presbyterians. They knew, that when the Parliament should be entirely free, the King's condition would not be much better. And therefore, in jointly labouring with the Presbyterians and Scots, their aim was to restore the King to his former state, without subjecting him to the terms already proposed.

Indeed there were among them some who would not have scrupled to consent to a toleration of the Presbyterian religion, rather than hazard the King's restoration. Nay, some there were who, had they been consulted, would have advised the King to submit to a change introduced against his consent. Though they were persuaded that Episcopal was more perfect than Presbyterian Government, they did not think the difference between them material enough, to hinder the

sincere union of the two parties, which they considered as the sole means of restoring the King to his rights.

And this was what some had proposed to the King, before he withdrew to the Scotch army. The Queen and the Court of France were of this opinion: but the King was not. He was so possessed with the necessity of Episcopacy, that nothing could move him. Unfortunately for him, he had none about him but men, who, like him, believed Episcopacy so essential to religion, that without Bishops neither the ordination of Ministers, nor consequently the administration of the Sacraments, could be valid. It must not therefore be thought strange, that the King had great scruples upon this point, since, according to his Principles, he could not consider the Presbyterians as members of the Christian Church. For how could they be Christians, if their Baptism was invalid?

It cannot be denied, this was the opinion of the Court and of many Church of England men. If therefore the Royalists had fully known the contents of the Isle of Wight treaty, very likely, their zeal for the King's service would have cooled. It has been remembered, how much it displeased the Earl of Clarendon.

It is very easy to conceive, that men of such sentiments did not mean to labour for the interest of the Presbyterians. What therefore could be expected from the union of the Royalists with the Presbyterians and Scots, since they all acted with different or rather opposite views, and, though their common design had succeeded, they must have therefore disunited, and begun a new war?

### **The King's Views**

As to the King's particular views, they can only be conjectured. He was like a man that is drowning, and catches at whatever he thinks able to save him, or at least, retard his fate. His accepting the service of the Scots and Presbyterians of England, was not because he expedited much from their condescension. He had too often experienced their injustice to him, to imagine they would seriously think of restoring him, without imposing upon him intolerable terms. But as necessity obliged them to offer him their assistance, so necessity forced him to accept it, if not in expedition of obtaining his desires, at least, in hopes of delaying his ruin as long as possible.

For he was told, and by one that was present, that in a council of officers at Windsor, it was moved to take away his life. He hoped, very likely, by the aid of the Scots and English Presbyterians, so to strengthen his own party, that they would be in condition to act alone, when once the independent army was dispersed, and by that means he might be freed and enabled to make a peace upon more tolerable terms than those hitherto offered.

Thus by a strange blindness, the King pretended to use the Scots and Presbyterians to recover his rights, and these last pretended to make the King and his party subservient to their own designs. The King might have another view in setting the Presbyterians and Independents, at variance, namely, that the weakest party would join with him without terms rather than see their enemies triumph.

### **The Parliament's Views**

The Parliament consisted of Presbyterians and Independents, and, notwithstanding the efforts of Cromwell and his Party, the Presbyterians were still the majority, this party was considerably weakened by the absence of eleven of their chief members driven from the House of Commons by the army. From that time, the same vigour as formerly no more appeared in that House, because it was not directed as before the exclusion of these members.



Besides, this example deterred the boldest Presbyterians. So, the Independents were masters; and though the Parliament was Presbyterian as to number, they acted however like Independents, because they could not do otherwise. As the army was near London, Cromwell had opportunity to be constantly in the House, where his presence alone made the balance incline to which side he pleased, in the debates where his party was concerned. The Lords were under no less constraint than the Commons, nor less exposed to the violence of the army, which had caused seven Peers to be impeached by the Commons of High Treason, under colour of their being concerned in the tumult of the 26<sup>th</sup> of July.

The transactions therefore of both Houses from the 6th of August 1647, and till June 1648, are to be considered as directed by the army, that is, by the leading Independents. It may be imagined, the Presbyterian members were extremely troubled to be forced, notwithstanding their majority in both Houses, to do things manifestly tending to the destruction of their party. But there was no remedy but patience, till time should afford some opportunity to free themselves from this slavery.

This opportunity was of course to offer itself the next spring. Though the Scotch commissioners had not thought proper to impart to the leading Presbyterians the particulars of their treaty with the King, they had however intimated to them, that they were going to endeavour to raise an army in Scotland, to free England from the yoke of the Independents, and that the King's party was to join with them, or at least favour their progress by insurrections in several parts of the Kingdom.

So the Presbyterian members impatiently expected the happy time, when the army would be indispensably obliged to remove from London, to oppose so many enemies, particularly, in the North. They resolved therefore to be ready to act in the Parliament at so favourable a juncture, and in the meanwhile, to give no offence, for fear of being prevented by the army, who carefully watched all their proceedings.

This dissimulation was necessary, because otherwise they ran the risk of being ruined to no purpose, and of disabling themselves from supporting their friends on occasion.

## **Of The City of London**

It remains to speak of the city of London, which was no less concerned in what passed, than the rest of the Kingdom, and could be of great service to the party they espoused. In this great city were men of all sects and parties; but in general, it was Presbyterian, and the Common council was of the same party. The army had done what lay in their power to lessen the number of their adversaries in that council, by causing the Lord Mayor, some Aldermen, and several Common council men, to be accused and imprisoned, for the tumult of the 26th of July: but however, the Presbyterian party was still superior in number.

In expectation of the opportunity to declare openly against the army, and the Independents, the Presbyterian party so managed, that great difficulties constantly occurred, when it was proposed to advance money for the army.

The city itself was very much in arrears, with respect to the sums laid upon them for the payment of the troops. They did not want excuses to delay these arrears: but the true reason was, they thereby obliged the army to take free quarters, which made the people wish to be rid of them.

## **Of General Fairfax**

The expectation of the revolutions, which the entrance of the Scots into the Kingdom might produce, caused the Magistrates of London to continue the same conduct, being ready to do, on

all occasions, whatever was in their power to be revenged of the army. I should willingly add something concerning the character of the Lord Fairfax[292], General of the army, and the ends he might propose to himself, but own, I have met with little information. He was Presbyterian, and yet, suffered himself to be guided by Cromwell, the head of the Independents. What can be said in his favour, is, that he kept the command of the army to avoid a greater mischief for fear, if he resigned his commission, it should be given to Cromwell, as it would certainly have been.

I thought it necessary, before I proceed to the great revolution in 1648, to show the views and interests of the principal actors, believing this digression would conduce very much to the understanding of what will hereafter be said.

## **Strict Union Between The Parliament and The Army**

Since the two Houses had resolved to present no more addresses to the King, nor receive any messages from him, if there seemed to be a strict union between the Parliament and Army. The council of war had consented, that all the supernumerary forces, not upon the present establishment, should be disbanded. The Parliament on their part gave the army sufficient security for their arrears, and published a declaration, containing the reasons, why the army ought to be continued, though the war was over.

## **The Army Desist From Meddling in State Affairs**

In short, the army desisted from their pretension, to meddle with affairs of State, and left the Parliament free to settle the Government as they should think fit. Thus the vote for no more addresses seemed to produce such an union between the Parliament and army, that they appeared to have the same views and interests, though hitherto they had been jealous of each other. This clearly shows, what were the designs of the army, with regard to the King. As for the Parliament, though the Independent members were devoted to the army, it is certain, the rest, who were the majority, only dissembled their sentiments.

## **The Parliament Desire a Guard**

Meanwhile, the Independents, who met with no more opposition in the two Houses, being willing to be still more assured of the Parliament, caused it to be ordered, that the General should be desired to take care and guard the Parliament.

## **The General Send Two Regiments**

Pursuant to this request, the General sent a regiment of foot to Whitehall, and another of horse to the Meuse, where the King's stables stood. This was to hinder the Londoners, from thinking again of using violence to the two Houses. Though the Scotch commissioners departed not from London till the 24th of January, they had however, by their letters, promoted their affairs, as soon as their treaty with the King was signed, so that it was now resolved at Edinburgh, the committee of Estates should meet the 6th of February, and the Parliament the 10th of March.

## **Account of What Passed in Scotland**

This resolution was taken, notwithstanding the Marquis of Argyle's opposition, though Presbyterian as to religion, was of the same principles with the Independents as to the Government of the State, and had contracted a fast friendship with Cromwell and Vane. But though he ruled in great measure, the rigid Presbyterians, that is, those who would not depart from one single point of the Covenant, the combination was so strong, that it was not only resolved to call a Parliament, but that also the elections of the members were agreeable for the most part to the wishes of those who were for levying an army.

The Parliament of England, or rather the Independent party, by whom the two Houses were directed, doubted not that the aim of those who had procured this resolution, was to support the Presbyterians of England, who were upon the brink of ruin. Wherefore they resolved to send commissioners to Scotland[293], as well to endeavour to content the Scots, as to observe what should pass in the Parliament, and try to strengthen the party of those who were against war[294].

At the opening of the Parliament of Scotland, studied speeches were made by several of the members, to excite the people against the English. They represented, that the army of England kept the King in captivity, and the Parliament in such subjection:-

**That** nothing was done but what the army pleased.

**That**, contrary to the tenor of the Covenant between the two nations, the Parliament had refused to debate with the Scotch commissioners, the propositions sent to the King for peace, and rejected their protestation, as if Scotland had no interest in the King:

**That** they had in reality deposed the King by divesting him of all his prerogatives, by voting he should be no more addressed, and by hindering the Scots from having access to his person, though he was as much King of Scotland, as King of England:

**That** it was a manifest breach of the right of the Scots, and of the Covenant between the two Kingdoms, and that Scotland ought to resent this affront, or resolve to become subject to England:

**That** for these reasons, their advice was, that speedy means might be devised to send an army into England, which should no sooner enter that Kingdom, but all the English except the army, would join with them, and by that means the Parliament, being restored to freedom, would reunite with Scotland, and the Covenant be punctually observed.

### **A Committee Appointed Who are for Levying An Army**

The Parliament thought not proper to take this important motion so speedily into consideration. But to facilitate the execution of what had been resolved before their meeting, a committee of twenty-four members was appointed, with power to provide for the safety of the Kingdom, in case it should be in danger.

For this reason, they were called the Committee of Danger, in which care was taken, that the number of those who were for war, should be superior to those of the contrary party, and to make Duke of Hamilton President.

### **The Kirk Commissioners are Against it**

This committee having examined the state of the Kingdom, found it to be in danger, and that it was necessary to raise an army of forty thousand men, to put it in a posture of defence. It was not possible for the Marquis of Argyle, who was of the committee, to prevent this resolution. But he found means to actuate the commissioners of the General assembly of the Kirk, who some days after presented to the Parliament certain demands, proper to prolong the affair.

The Parliament answered these demands, and the commissioners replied. As this affair will be better understood, by comparing the demands, answers, and replies, I think it necessary not to divide them. This will be of use, as it discovers the obstacles which occurred in Scotland, to the raising of the army that was to act in England. Herein also will appear, what authority the

general assembly of the Kirk of Scotland assumed to themselves, since their commissioners thought they had a right to oppose the Parliament to their face.

**1. Demand. That** the grounds and causes of undertaking a war may be cleared to be so just, as that all who are well affected, may be satisfied in the lawfulness and the necessity of the engagement, and that nothing be acted in reference to a war, before the lawfulness of the war, and the state of the question be agreed upon.

**Answer.** The Estates declare, That the grounds and causes of undertaking of war, shall be cleared to be so just, as that all who are well-affected may be satisfied in the lawfulness and necessity of the engagement.

**Reply.** They conceive, that notwithstanding anything expressed in their Lordships answer, there may be an adding in reference to war, before the lawfulness of the war and the state of the question be agreed upon, which is the very thing they desire to be avoided.

**2. Demand, That** as the breaches of the Covenant, by the prevalent party of the secretaries in England are evident, so we desire and hope, that, according to the treaty, it may be condescended upon, and declared by the Parliament, what are those breaches which they take to be a ground of war, and that reparation thereof may be sought.

**Answer.** They think it fit, that the breaches of the Covenant and treaties be presented; and the seeking of reparation, and the best time and manner thereof considered.

**Reply.** They neither find any breach of peace between the Kingdoms, which may be a ground of war, nor any positive resolution of Parliament to seek reparation.

**3. Demand. That** there may be no such quarrel or ground of the war, as may break the union between the two Kingdoms, or may discourage or disoblige the Presbyterian party in England, who continue firm in adhering to the League and Covenant.

**Answer.** They declare, that this Kingdom will be so far from making any war against the Kingdom of England, that any engagement they shall enter into, shall be for strengthening the union between these two Kingdoms, and for encouraging the Presbyterians, and well affected in England.

**Reply.** Instead of that clause of the desire, The Presbyterian party in England, who continue firm in adhering to the League and Covenant; change of expression in the answer is, the Presbyterians and well affected in England, which may intimate, that there are some well affected in England, which are not of the Presbyterian party, nor do adhere to the League and Covenant.

**4. Demand. That** if the popish, prelatical, or malignant party shall again rise in arms, this nation and their armies may be so far from joining or associating with them, that on the contrary, they may oppose them, and endeavour to suppress them, as enemies to this cause and government upon the one hand, as well as secretaries on the other.

**Answer.** They agree to the substance and matter thereof; and remit to those who are to be upon the conference for stating the question to explain the same.

**Reply.** For not joining with the popish, prelatical, or malignant party, we cannot conceive wherein it needs explanation, unless there be now more favourable and friendly intentions towards malignants than formerly.

**5. Demand.** Seeing your Lordships undertakings should be in the first place for religion; we desire, that his Majesty's late concessions and offers concerning religion (as they have been by the Church, so may be by the Parliament) declared unsatisfactory; whereby your Lordships may give further evidence of the reality of your intentions for the good and safety of religion.

**Answer.** They declare, that upon the agreement on the whole matter and state of the question, they will declare his Majesty's concessions concerning religion, not to be satisfactory.

**Reply.** His Majesty's concessions being so prejudicial to the cause and Covenant, they desire the Parliament to declare against them both positively, without any condition, and presently without delay.

**6. Demand.** That your Lordships may be pleased not to fix and settle upon any such state of a question, as doth not contain security and assurance to be had from his Majesty, by his solemn oath, under his hand and seal, that he shall, for himself and his successors, consent and agree to acts of Parliaments, enjoining the League and Covenant, and fully establishing Presbyterian-government, Directory of worship and confession of faith, in all his Majesty's dominions; and that his Majesty shall never make any opposition to any of these, or endeavour any change thereof; and that this security be had from his Majesty before his restitution so the exercise of his royal power; which we define for no other end, but because we cannot see how religion (which has been, and we trust shall he, the principal end of all the undertakings of this nation) can be otherwise secured, but that without this security it shall be left in very great hazard.

**Answer.** That since religion hath been, and they trust ever shall be, the principal end of all their undertakings; so they will be careful, that the present question to be sated shall contain security and assurance from his Majesty, by his solemn oath under his hand and seal, that he shall for himself and for his successors, give his royal consent to pass Acts of Parliament, enjoining the League and Covenant, established by Presbyterian Government, the Directory of Worship, and Confession of Faith, in all his Majesty's dominions; and that his Majesty shall never make opposition to any of these, or endeavour any change thereof.

**Reply.** As there is much said in the first part, for security of religion to be had from his Majesty; so that clause, viz. That this security be had from his Majesty before his restitution to the exercise of his royal power is laid aside, and they are left unsatisfied in that which is the main of that desire.

**7. Demand.** That the same end in securing religion (which is professed to be the principal cause of engagement) and for securing all other ends of the Covenant, such persons only may be entrusted by your Lordships to be of your committees and armies, as have given constant proof of their integrity and faithfulness in this cause, and against whom there is no just exception or jealousy, that so we may the more confidently encourage our flocks and congregations to follow the cause of God in

their hands, and not to doubt of the fidelity of those, who shall be entrusted by your Lordships.

**Answer.** That they will be careful that none shall be employed in the command of their armies, nor in their committees, but such as are of known integrity and affection to the cause, and against whom there is no just cause of exception,

**Reply.** Concerning such as are to be entrusted in armies and committees, doth admit of some of the qualifications expressed in the desire, viz. Such as have given constant proof of their integrity and faithfulness in this cause, and against whom there was no just cause of jealousy, that so we may the more confidently encourage our flocks to follow the cause of God in their hands, and not doubt of their fidelity.

**8. Demand.** That there be no engagement without a solemn oath, wherein the Church may have the same interest which they had in the solemn league and Covenant, the cause being the same.

**Answer.** They declare, that to the grounds of their engagements and undertaking an oath shall be subjoined, wherein both in the framing of it, and otherwise, the Church shall have their due interest. And the Estates of Parliament desire the Commissioners of the Church to appoint some of their number, to meet with such of the committee of Parliament of twenty-four, as shall be appointed by the same committee, for the conference and stating of the question, for agreeing upon the grounds of an engagement, and drawing up such a state of a question, as may unite this Nation in an unanimous undertaking of such duties as are requisite for the reformation and defence of religion, the safety, honour, and happiness of the King and his posterity, and the good of this Kingdom.

**Reply.** Instead of that clear expression used, namely, That the Kirk may have the same interest in any oath for a new engagement which they had in the solemn League and Covenant, they find this doubtful and uncertain expression, That both in the framing the oath and otherwise, the Kirk shall have their due interests.

And upon these and the like considerations, they conceive that their desires, unto which they still adhere as just and necessary, are not satisfied by their Lordships' answer.

## Sundry Protestations Against The War

The opposition of the Kirk Commissioners was not the only storm the resolution of levying an army drew upon the Committee of danger. Eighteen Lords and forty other Members of Parliament, entered a solemn protest against this vote, affirming, the Committee had exceeded their power, which they did not in any manner consent to give them.

There were moreover two other difficulties to surmount, before the Parliament could positively order the levying an army. The first related to the general, who was to have the command. Naturally this post belonged to General Lesly (now Lord Newark) who had commanded the last army, and of whom there was no occasion to complain. But he was not fit for their purpose who were for a war. That party's scheme was to make Duke Hamilton General, because he had

privately declared for the King, and it was conceived he would be more proper than Lesly, to unite the royal party in England, with the army of Scotland.

### **Hamilton Made General**

This difficulty was at length removed, Lesly being artfully prevailed with to quit his pretension, under colour of age and infirmities. Which done, Duke Hamilton had no other rival[295].

The second difficulty was much more considerable. Before the Scotch Commissioners left London, they had intimated to several officers and others of the King's party, that when the Scotch army should enter England, they should be welcome to the Scots, and with them make but one body and party, for the deliverance of the King out of the hands of the Independents.

### **Order of Parliament Concerning The Covenant**

They had given the same assurances to Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and Sir Philip Musgrave, and by that induced them to promise to seize Berwick and Carlisle. Upon these hopes a great number of Royalists repaired to Edinburgh, to join with the Scots, or be employed in their army.

Moreover, a troop of horse commanded by Captain Wogan, which was to have been disbanded, had retired into Scotland, to join the forces of that Kingdom; and this troop, by the junction of several horse deserters, was become four hundred strong. Duke Hamilton had put Langdale and Musgrave in hopes, that when the Scotch army should be in England, there would be no more said of the Covenant, and the Royalists might join with them and make but one body. But it was not in the power of those who made these promises to perform them.

The Marquis of Argyle, and the rigid Presbyterians strongly represented, both in public and private:-

**That** under colour of acting against the Independents in England, the Royalists, that is, the mortal enemies of Scotland and of all Presbyterians, were going to be effectually restored.

**That** this was the design of those who were so eager for a war, might easily be perceived, both by the activity of such Scots as had never heartily adhered to the Covenant, and by the extraordinary concourse of Royalists into Scotland.

**That** even men were sent for to Edinburgh, who were most attached to the King's party, and most inveterate against the Covenant, such as Langdale, Musgrave, Glemham, Fleming, and others, who daily conferred with their friends, whereof the Parliament of England had complained to no purpose.

**That** the junction with the King's party consisting of Papists, Episcopalians, and other disaffected persons, was a more manifest breach of the Covenant, than what the English were charged with.

**That**, in short, by these proceedings the Covenant, which was the basis and foundation of the union betwixt the two Nations, would be destroyed, whilst it was pretended to raise an army to support it, and even while there was no other pretence to carry the war into England.

These representations joined to the endeavours of the Parliament of England's Commissioners who spared neither solicitations nor money to second them, made such impression on the people, that the Parliament could not help ordering, that those who had not taken, or should

refuse to take, the Covenant, should not be received into the army, or joined with it at their entrance into England.

After this declaration, it seemed to be out of The Duke of Hamilton's power to perform what he had promised the Royalists. But he found means to evade in some measure this order when he came into England, as will hereafter appear.

These and other obstacles, daily raised by the Marquis of Argyle, and the rigid Clergy, were the reason the Parliament could not be so speedy as the authors of the project had expected. As the people of Scotland were strongly prepossessed in favour of the Covenant and union with the English Presbyterians, the Parliament was obliged to publish a Declaration to satisfy them upon that head. But the contrary party pretended, there was no sincerity in this Declaration, full of ambiguous expressions, which discovered the ill designs of those who were for a war.

So, though the party who had caused the raising of forces to be ordered, was superior in the Parliament, no soldiers could be levied till the middle of May, and the army was not ready till the beginning of July, though the Scotch Commissioners had assured it should be in condition to act by the beginning of May.

Moreover this army, which was to consist of forty thousand men, was not above half that number, even after the junction of the English troops. But before I speak of the success of these mighty preparations, it will be proper to see what passed in England.

## **Combination in Wales in Favour of The King**

Wales was the place where the first scene was opened, in that country were three Colonels, namely, Langborn, Powel, and Poyer, who had faithfully served the Parliament during the war, but unhappily found themselves by the new establishment, in the number of the supernumeraries who were to be disbanded, with which they were extremely dissatisfied. Having communicated their discontents to each other, they resolved all three to declare for the King, as soon as the Scotch army should enter the Kingdom. Langborn even sent a confidant to Paris, to acquaint the Queen and Prince of Wales with this design, defying a commission, with supplies of money and ammunition.

The commission was readily granted, but the circumstances of the Queen and Prince, allowed them not to send the desired supplies. Though these three officers had resolved not to declare before the Scots had entered England, they were however obliged to it sooner. Poyer, being Governor and Mayor of Pembroke in South-Wales, saw Colonel Fleming unexpectedly arrive with the General's commission to take the Government of the castle.

As this alteration could not but break the measures of the three Colonels, Poyer refused to obey, under colour it was unreasonable to deprive him of his Government, without paying him his arrears[296].

The Parliament was inflamed when they heard of this disobedience, and declared Poyer a traitor, if he did: not deliver the castle within four and twenty hours after the first summons. Poyer contemned this ordinance, and even defeated Fleming to whom some troops had been sent to put him in possession of Pembroke Castle. As the particulars of this affair are not absolutely necessary, I shall content myself with saying, that it became of greater consequence than the Parliament had imagined.

Not only Langborn and Powell joined with Poyer, but all South Wales declared for the King, whilst the Lord Byron was labouring to draw North-Wales and the parts about Chester into a revolt.



During these transactions in Wales, there were commotions in Kent no less dangerous to the army. The King had always many friends in that county, but the neighbourhood of London and the army kept them in awe. Meantime, some Gentlemen of the country having early information of the design of the Scots, took care to sow the seeds of revolt, in hopes of producing fruit in due season.

### **Insurrection in Kent**

The disposition of the people of Kent began to shew itself in a great riot at Canterbury, the 25th of December 1647, (about keeping of Christmas Day). The multitude wounded and abused the Mayor and others of the Magistrates, and at last the cry was, for God, King Charles, and Kent.

The tumult being appeased, and some of the mutineers apprehended, the Parliament had a mind to punish them with death. But they found so many obstacles, that it was May before they sent down a commission to try them. The Grand Jury refused to find the Bill, to the great astonishment of the Commissioners. There were at that time commotions forming in the county, in which the Grand Jury were doubtless concerned, and that was the reason of their not finding the Bill against their accomplices.

Though the directors of the affairs for the King had resolved to delay the Kentish insurrection till the army was marched against the Scots, it was not in their power to defer it so long. Roger L'estrang a Norfolk man[297] being in Kent, at the house of Mr. Hales a young Gentleman who was heir to a great estate, persuaded him to undertake something in favour of the King, and to sound the Gentry and people of the country that frequented his house. Matters were so ordered in the county, that about the middle of May, the people rose, took arms, and owned Hales for their General, in which they committed two very great errors.

The first, in putting themselves under the conduct of an inexperienced young man without authority. The second, in rising before the army was removed to some distance from London. As the General knew, the Scotch army was not yet ready, he detached Cromwell with part of his forces to reduce the Welsh to obedience, and then to march against the Scots at their entrance into England. For himself remained near London, as well to be ready to march against the Kentish men, as to prevent the like insurrection in London, which the army dreaded of all things. Besides that, he had no inclination, as it afterwards appeared, to act against the Scots.

### **Fairfax Marches Against The Kentish Men**

The number of the malcontents in Kent being greatly increased, they were headed by, George Goring, Earl of Norwich, and Sir William Waller, and, in expectation that London would not fail to declare for them, advanced towards Black-Heath. Then Fairfax speedily passed the Thames with his army over London Bridge, to give them battle. The Londoners being too wise to declare at such a juncture, the revolvers thought fit to retire, some to Rochester, and others to Maidstone.

### **He Defeats Them**

General Fairfax attacked these last so vigorously, that he carried the town by storm, slew many of them, and took a great number of prisoners. At the first news of this defeat, those at Rochester quitted the City, and posted themselves on Black Heath, hoping still that London would send them assistance, or receive them into the City.

These two refuges failing, and hearing moreover, that a detachment of the army was approaching, they took to flight, and were dispersed; but however, a great many were made prisoners. The Earl of Norwich found means to pass the Thames at Greenwich in boats, with five or six hundred men, and join his friends in Essex who were upon the point of passing into Kent, if Fairfax had not been so diligent.

The county of Essex was in the same disposition as Kent. There had been for some time in that county, men, who were earnestly labouring to excite the people against the army, and only waited an opportunity to appear openly, as soon as the army should march to the North, not questioning but the approach of the Scots would oblige them to it.

Of this, number were Sir Charles Lucas, Lieutenant-Colonel Farr, Sir Bernard Gascoign; and at the same time, the Lord Capel, one of the managers of the insurrections, was labouring the same thing in Hertfordshire. Though the Kentish insurrection had been unsuccessful, the Essex Royalists were not discouraged. They still hoped, either that London would declare for the King, or the Scotch army make so great progress, that the army of England would not be able to withstand so many attacks from all quarters. For there was scarce a county, but what was to have some insurrection, those especially, where the King's party prevailed during the war.

So the Parliament having sent a general pardon into Essex, for such as should lay down their arms, most refused it by the instances of Sir Charles Lucas, who was the most active Royalist in those parts.

### **Fairfax Marches into Essex**

The General remained in Kent no longer than was necessary to raise the siege of Dover undertaken by Waller, and quiet the country, to which he granted very advantageous terms, considering their present circumstances. This done, he re-passed the Thames and marched into Essex[298], where the number of the revolvers was increased by the junction of the troops brought out of Hertfordshire by the Lord Capel.

### **The Revolvers Retire to Essex**

Nevertheless, as they found themselves unable to keep the field before a victorious as well as a stronger army, they resolved to retire to Colchester. This was an open unfortified town: but they speedily cast up such works before the avenues, that they did not fear being stormed. Here they resolved to defend themselves, and wait the event of affairs in the other counties, and particularly in the North.

### **The General Blocks Them up in Colchester**

The principal men, who were in Colchester, were the Earl of Norwich[299], the Lord Capel, Sir George Lisle, Sir William Compton, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir Bernard Gascoign, Lieutenant-Colonel Farr, and several other good officers, with a garrison of three thousand men, all bent to sell their lives dearly.

This furnished the General with a reason, or perhaps a pretence not to attack the town in form, but to block it up, and reduce the besieged by famine. I say, this might be a pretence: for it seems, in such a juncture, when all the Kingdom was in a flame, and the Scotch army expected every moment, it was not proper for the General to be employed in a blockade, which probably would last some time, whilst he held the rest of the Kingdom defenceless, and was in great danger from the City of London. But as he might have good reasons to run no hazard, it is not my business to censure his conduct.

### **Conjectures About The General's Views**

All that can be said is, that his whole proceedings shewed his unwillingness to fight with the Scots, though he always acted vigorously against the King's friends. May I venture to make one conjecture? Fairfax was a zealous Presbyterian, but hitherto had suffered himself to be guided, or rather deceived, by Cromwell. Perhaps having discovered the artifices and ill designs of this

friend, he would not have been sorry to see Cromwell defeated, in expectation that if he were slain, or lost his reputation, it would be easier to make peace, which he found to be impracticable so long as Cromwell could oppose it.

According to this supposition, the blockade of Colchester enabled the General to wait, without any hazard, the event of the war preparing in the north. However this be, he applied himself to the blockade, which began the 10th of June, and lasted till August[300].

## **Tumult at London**

The revolted Kentish men, as I said, had twice advanced towards London, in hopes the city would declare for them. This hope was not altogether groundless. Besides that the city was known to be very much displeased with the army, the common people had, in the beginning of April, shewn their readiness for any undertaking. Some persons playing and sporting on a Sunday in Moor fields in contempt of the ordinance of Parliament, the constables of that quarter would have dispersed them: but it was not in their power.

The obstinacy of the mob went so far, that a party of the trained-bands were forced to be sent for. But before the party arrived, the number of the rioters was grown so great, that they fell upon and dispersed the trained-bands, wounding and killing several. This success so inflamed the tumult, that the mob came from all quarters to join with the mutineers. Some seized Newgate and Ludgate; others went to the Lord-Mayor's house, who seeing them coming, ran away to the Tower, whilst others made towards Whitehall, but were repulsed by the regiment of Horse posted in the Meuse for a guard to the Parliament.

## **The Mutineers are Dispersed**

In the night the tumult still increased: The cry was every where, For God and King Charles. The General, who was then in London, with only the two regiments at Whitehall and the Meuse, immediately called a council, where it was debated, whether they should stay for more forces, or attack the mutineers with these two regiments. The last was judged most advisable, whilst the seditious were yet adding with great confusion, and had no leader to conduct them. They were therefore vigorously attacked when they least expected it, and thought themselves masters of the city, and though they made an obstinate defence, were at length dispersed.

The Parliament, having received the circumstances of this commotion, believed it to have been very dangerous, and ordered public thanks to be given to God in all the Churches of London for its being happily appeased. When I say the Parliament, I mean the Parliament still directed by the Independents, who dreaded nothing so much as to see London declare against the army. But as the army was not yet removed, the magistrates were too wise to declare so unseasonably.

I have already mentioned two of the projects against the army; the insurrection in Wales, which kept Cromwell; employed till the beginning of July; and that of Kent, which by too great a precipitation, miscarried; and lastly, of the tumult in London, which probably had been raised by some rash and inconsiderate Royalists, who knew nothing of the projects that were formed.

I must now speak of some others which were executed about the same time, that is, whilst preparations were making in Scotland, to send an army into England, and which were attended with no better success.

## **The Duke of York's Escape**

The first was the Duke of York's escape, the King's second son, from St. James's palace, where he was under the Earl of Northumberland's custody, and his retreat into Holland, to his sister the

Princess of Orange, Thus to have his two eldest sons out of the power of his enemies was no small advantage and satisfaction to the King[301].

### **Langdale Seizes Berwick, and Musgrave Carlisle.**

Some days after, Langdale possessed himself of Berwick, and Musgrave of Carlisle. The Parliament had received some intelligence of the design to surprise these places, and might have prevented it by putting garrisons there. But as, by the late treaty with Scotland, they were to be left to the care of the inhabitants, the two Houses were unwilling by seizing them, to give the Scots so just an occasion to complain, at a time when they wanted pretences to send an army into England, They contented themselves therefore with ordering the Mayors, to take care and provide against a surprise, which however they either could not, or would not prevent.

As soon as Langdale was master of Berwick, all the Royalists in Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland came and joined him. By this means, he quickly formed a body of three thousand foot and one thousand horse, which, enabled him to go in quest of General Lambert, who commanded in those parts for the Parliament. But he received very express orders from Edinburgh not to engage in any action, what advantage soever he might thence expect, but to retire about Carlisle till the arrival of the Scotch army, which he obeyed.

The reason of this order was, that as the rigid Presbyterians of Scotland were extremely jealous of the Royal party, the directors of affairs were apprehensive, that the progress made in England for the King, would obstruct the levying an army in Scotland. And indeed, it was publicly said, the army was intended for the King's rather than for the service of the English Presbyterians.

### **Part of The Fleet Revolts Against Parliament and Sails to Holland**

The loss of Berwick and Carlisle was followed soon after with another, which seemingly should have embroiled the affairs of the Independents. I mean the revolt of part of the fleet about the end of May. The Parliament having ordered eight men of war to guard the seas during the summer, these ships lay in the Downs to take in provisions, which was done but slowly, because there was not much to be feared from the sea.

While this part of the Fleet lay in the Downs, some Kentish Gentlemen, the King's friends, frequently came on board[302]. Whether they found in the sailors an inclination to mutiny, or raised it themselves by conversing with them, it happened shortly after, that the service was not performed in the fleet with the same submission as before.

The sailors took the liberty to contradict their officers, and obey them no farther than they pleased. The officers perceiving this great alteration, acquainted the Parliament with it, and immediately Vice Admiral Rainsborough, who was to command this squadron, was ordered to repair to the fleet, and inquire into the causes of this disobedience.

Rainsborough, being naturally very severe, began to make strict inquisition on board the Admiral's ship; upon which the men all rose against him, and seizing on him, put him with some more of the officers into the boat, and sent them on shore. This was no sooner known to the rest of the ships, but they followed their example, and used such officers as they did not like, in the same manner.

As the fleet was not yet well victualled, they were obliged to stay some days longer in the Downs, during which the Royalists supplied them with necessaries in the best manner they could. After that, they sailed for Holland, and came to an anchor at the Brill, in order to put themselves under the command of the Duke of York, who was designed by the King to be Lord High Admiral, as soon as he should be of fit age for that post.

## **The Duke of York Received on Board as Admiral**

The Duke of York repairing to the fleet, then at Helvoet-Sluys, was received with great acclamations. He declared the Lord Willoughby of Parham, his Vice-Admiral[3003], and appointed some other officers in the several ships, the sailors having kept very few above the rank of a Boatswain or Mate[304].

As soon as the Prince of Wales, who was at Paris with the Queen his mother, heard of this revolt, he resolved to command the fleet himself, and employ it to the best advantage. But want of money detained him longer than he wished, Cardinal Mazarin not being very forward to supply him, no more than the Earl of Ormond, who waited in vain at Paris, for the performance of his promises concerning Ireland.

The news that the Duke his brother was preparing to sail with the fleet, made him repeat his endeavours to procure money upon loan, and succeeding at last, came to Calais, and from thence by sea to Helvoet-Sluys. He was received by the fleet with all the respect and joy that could be desired, and having provided what was wanting, by the Prince of Orange's assistance, sent back the Duke of York to the Hague, it not being proper to venture both at one time.

## **The Duke of York Sails to Yarmouth**

His design was to seize Yarmouth, whether to go from thence and head the Scotch army, when it should be in England, or to secure an entrance into the Kingdom, when there should be occasion. In sailing to Yarmouth, he took a ship of London, bound for Rotterdam, laden with cloth by the company of Merchant adventurers. It was said this ship was worth forty thousand pounds.

He ordered the goods to be sealed up, and continued his course, But he succeeded not at Yarmouth as he expected, the town refusing to admit him, though great part of the inhabitants were for the King. Wherefore he resolved to enter the Thames, as well to intercept outward and homeward bound ships, as to support the King's party, and that of the Presbyterians in the Parliament and City; for he was not ignorant of the projects that were formed. Besides, the Queen his Mother had enjoined him to court the Presbyterians, conceiving it was only by their means, that the King could be restored. For that reason also, he afterwards released the cloth-ship for twelve thousand pounds.

## **The Earl of Warwick Approaches Him**

Whilst the Prince lay in the Thames, where he seized some other merchant ships, the Earl of Warwick, beings well assured of the fidelity of the rest of the ships at Portsmouth, and elsewhere, assembled a fleet, and anchored in sight of the Prince; so that in all appearance the two fleets would not part without an engagement. But though the Prince seemed inclined to it, he was advised to avoid it if possible, and not without reason. His ships were fewer, and much smaller than the Earl of Harwich's; besides, the Earl expected others from Portsmouth every moment, which arriving the next day, rendered him very superior. So the Prince sailed back to Holland, and secured his fleet at Helvoet-Sluys. The Earl of Warwick followed him, and appeared before that port, but to no manner of purpose.

Thus ended the Prince of Wales expedition with the ships revolted from the Parliament. The money he received for the prizes he had taken, was not sufficient to pay his fleet, and provide it with necessaries, so that it procured him more trouble than advantage.

Before I leave this subject, it will not be improper, briefly to explain some circumstances in the Lord Clarendon's History. Whilst the two fleets lay in sight, and seemed to prepare for battle, the Prince sent Harry Seymour to the Earl off Warwick, with a letter to invite him to return to

his allegiance. The Earl answered, that he advised his Highness to put himself into the hands of the Parliament. Notwithstanding this discouraging answer, the Prince sent Mr. Crofts to the Earl, who had married his Aunt, imagining, he durst not venture to discover his sentiments to Seymour. But Crofts returned with much the same answer. Hence it appears, the Prince thought he had some room to rely on the Earl of Warwick, as the Lord Clarendon insinuates, and the ground of his hope, which was properly the effect only of his, or rather of the whole Royal Party's, prepossession, was briefly this:-

The Scotch Commissioners, as I said, did not acquaint the leading Presbyterians with the particulars of their treaty with the King in the Isle of Wight. They only told them, an army would be raised in Scotland to deliver the King out of the hands of the Independents, and that it was necessary the Royalists and Presbyterians should second these endeavours, by acting jointly or separately.

This proposal being accepted, the Royalists and Presbyterians prepared, as I have said, to countenance the designs of the Scots by insurrections in several parts of the Kingdom. Matters standing thus, Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, who had acted an ill part in the late war, had a mind on this occasion, to reconcile himself to the King, by labouring for his restoration.

To that end, he received a commission from the Prince of Wales, empowering him to raise forces for the King's service, and his brother the Earl of Warwick promised to assist him in his designs. This is what the Prince knew, and what made him believe the Earl of Warwick was in the same disposition with his brother. But there was a wide difference between the views of the Royalists, and those of the Presbyterians.

These last, of whom the Earl of Warwick was one of the heads, did not pretend to restore the King without terms, but only to free him out of the hands of the Independents, to make conditions with him afterwards, which they called settling the peace of the Kingdom. But the Prince, and the King's whole party would not understand this difference, and preposterously imagined, that all who had promised to act against the independents, had thereby engaged to serve the King without terms.

Herein lay the mistake. It is therefore evident, the Earl of Warwick, who acted upon Presbyterian views, could not believe it to be his interest to deliver the fleet to the Prince, since, notwithstanding the present occasion which induced the Presbyterians to be in a readiness to act against the army, they still considered the Royal party as their real enemies.

## **Pontefract Castle Surprised**

In the beginning of June the King's friends found means to surprise Pontefract Castle in Yorkshire, and put a garrison there. Shortly after Scarborough Castle revolted from the Parliament, and declared for the King.

The Scotch army being at length upon the point of entering England, General Fairfax being still employed in the blockade of Colchester, and Cromwell in the siege of Pembroke, and as there were but two regiments in London, Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, thought he could not have a fairer opportunity to execute his design in favour of the King. This design was so far from being a secret, that it was become the common talk of the city.

It was known beforehand, what day the Earl of Holland was to depart, and the Parliament did not seem to regard it. It was not for want of information; but the scene of affairs was much altered since the army's removal from London. The Independents prevailed no more in the Parliament, and the Presbyterians began to hold up their heads. For this reason, the Independents did not think proper, such a juncture, to take any steps that might induce the City of London to declare openly. On the other hand, the Presbyterian members were far from endeavouring to

prevent the Earl of Holland's design, which they considered as flowing from the general combination for the delivery of the King out of the hands of the army.

### **The Earl of Holland is Joined By The Duke of Buckingham and Others**

So, the Earl publicly departed from London, with about one hundred horse, and came to Kingston upon Thames, where, George Villiers, the young Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Francis Villiers his brother, Henry Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, and the family of the Earl of Northampton met him with some troops[305].

As soon as they were joined, they sent a letter to the Lord-Mayor and Common-Council of London, declaring their intention was to join the forces of Surrey, Sussex, and Middlesex, to release his Majesty's person, to bring him with honour to his Parliament, and to settle peace in the Kingdom: And desired their assistance no farther than their designs were really for the good and happiness of the King, Parliament and Kingdom, according to the Covenant.

These last words, according to the Covenant, seemed necessary, because they knew the Presbyterians wished for nothing so much as the confirmation of the Covenant. But the Magistrates of London thought not fit to chuse for leaders, the Earl of Holland, who was in no great repute, or the Duke of Buckingham an inexperienced youth, who had only the King's service in view, without any regard to the public, or the Covenant; or in short, any of a these Lords, whose principles were by no means agreeable to those of the Presbyterians.

### **They Are Declared Traitors**

So, without answering this letter, they sent it to the Parliament, who immediately voted the Lords that had signed it to be traitors, and their estates to be sequestered.

### **They Are Defeated Near Kingston**

The same day the letter was writ. Colonel Levesey, with a some companies of the two regiments that were quartered in Westminster, met these Lords near Kingston, and entirely routed them. But. Levesey's Foot which was left behind, not being yet arrived, and the Lords having sent theirs to Kingston, to secure their retreat, the horse only, on both sides, were engaged. Levesey briskly pursued them to Kingston, where the foot stood their ground, and hindered the enemy's horse from entering the town.

That same night they quitted Kingston, and retired to St. Albans, with about four hundred men.

### **They are Surprised at St. Neot's Where The Earl of Holland was Taken**

Meanwhile, General Fairfax hearing of this insurrection, sent from the blockade of Colchester, Colonel Scroop with a regiment of horse, to the assistance of the Parliament's troops. Scroop coming to Hertford, was informed, that the Lords who had been defeated at Kingston, were at w St. Neot's in a negligent manner.

Upon this intelligence, he marched thither in the night, and surprised them in that little town, killing some of their men, taking above a hundred prisoners, and dispersing the rest. The Lord Francis Villiers was slain[306]. His brother the Duke of Buckingham, found means to escape, and the Earl of Holland was taken, conducted to London, and afterwards sent prisoner to

Warwick Castle. Thus ended this ill concerted enterprise, managed by persons of no experience or skill in the art of war.

## **The Scotch Army Enters England Pembroke Castle Surrenders**

At last, Duke Hamilton entered England at the head of the Scotch army, the 9th of July. The eleventh of the same month, Pembroke Castle surrendered to Cromwell, who' immediately dispatched a body of horse to reinforce the army in the North, commanded by Major General Lambert. He departed himself three days after, with the rest of his forces, which were already very much fatigued by in the late siege, and of which the greatest part wanted shoes and stockings, though they undertook a long march, which probably, would be followed with a battle.

These difficulties discouraged not Cromwell. He pursued his march with all possible diligence, and yet could not join Lambert till the middle of August. We must now see what Duke Hamilton was doing, whilst Cromwell was marching towards him.

## **The Duke of Hamilton's Aims**

The design of those who had prevailed for the raising an army in Scotland, seemed to be to assist the English Presbyterians, to free the Parliament from the yoke of the Independents, and to deliver the King out of the hands of the army. These at least were the most plausible things that were urged to induce the Parliament of Scotland to consent to this extraordinary expedition. But it may very justly be doubted, whether this was the design of all the leaders of that party.

Some, among whom were Duke Hamilton, and his Brother the Earl of Lancrick, probably, sought only to restore the King without terms, or at least without any other condition than what he had himself offered namely, his promise to observe the ancient Laws.

## **The Scotch Commissioners Would Deceive Each Other**

They did not much concern themselves about maintaining the establishment of Presbyterianism in England, or the Covenant between the two nations. Others, as the Earls of Loudon and Lauderdale, who had been commissioners in England, really intended to serve the King, but upon these two conditions, that the Presbyterian-government should be established in the Church of England, and the Covenant punctually observed. As they thought, they had taken sufficient care of these two points, by the Isle of Wight treaty, they little regarded the other conditions required of the King by the Parliament of England, concerning the militia, nomination to the great offices, but very likely, their design was to deceive one another.

These last meant to make use of the King's party to procure the execution of the Isle of Wight treaty, and the King's party, feigning to agree to what the others desired, intended to make use of them to enable the King not to be forced to receive any terms.

## **The Duke of Hamilton Lost Time in The North**

The Duke of Hamilton's conduct after his entrance into England, seems to me a very strong evidence, that he designed not to act in favour of the Presbyterians. If he had such an intention, he should not, it seems, have lost, as he did, forty days in the northern counties, but have marched directly to London. Lambert would not have been able to hinder his march, being much weaker than he.

Cromwell was yet employed in Wales, and Fairfax in the blockade of Colchester. Probably, if, without losing time, he had marched to London, he would have arrived before Cromwell and



Lambert could have joined farces, and if Fairfax had quitted the blockade of Colchester, in order to throw himself into London, very likely, the inhabitants would have shut their gates against him, since they would have been supported by the army of Scotland. At least, in case Fairfax had risen from before Colchester, that town, the whole County of Essex, and doubtless, Suffolk, and Norfolk, would have joined with the Scots.

In a word, if the Scotch army had marched towards the centre of the Kingdom, there would, doubtless, have been in many places, in four regions, which would have greatly distressed the army of the Independents; and if Duke Hamilton could have reached London, certainly the City and Parliament would have openly declared against the army, and expelled out of both Houses the Independent members.

It will hereafter appear, these are not bare conjectures, considering what passed in the City and Parliament, whilst it was expected, the Scotch army would take the course, I have been speaking of. But Duke Hamilton had doubtless other views, since he staid above a month in the north, without any necessity.

### **Conjectures of The Lord Clarendon**

The Lord Clarendon conjectures, the Duke's intention was, to afford time to the English army to defeat those forces which were up in several parts of the Kingdom for the King, that they might not be so united as to obstruct the Presbyterians design. But, whatever regard I may have for that noble Historian, I cannot be of his opinion, for two reasons which to me seemed very strong. The first is, that Duke Hamilton was not a zealous Presbyterian. On the contrary, though he had taken the Covenant, he was Episcopal in his heart, as he had sufficiently discovered whilst he could do it without danger.

The second is, that he was the man who had most courted and drawn into Scotland the Royalists whilst the voting of an army was in question. I should rather think, he had a quite contrary aim to what the Lord Clarendon imputes to him, that instead of designing to countenance the Presbyterian party, he rather feared to render them too powerful, by approaching London, knowing, when the King should be in the hands of the Presbyterians, his condition would not be much happier. Very likely, his long stay in the north, was only to give the King's friends in those parts opportunity to join Langdale's forces, and thereby render the King's party superior.

However this be, not to dwell too long upon conjectures, as soon as Duke Hamilton entered England, he marched to Carlisle, from whence he drew out the English placed there by Musgrave, and put in a Scotch garrison.

### **The Duke Marches**

Some days after, Langdale joined him with about four thousand English foot, and seven or eight hundred horse[307]. But these troops remained separate, and in the marches, Langdale was always a day before the Scotch army. This was to evade in some measure the order of the Parliament of Scotland, that the English who should refuse to take the Covenant, should not be received into the army, nor act in conjunction with the Scots. Nevertheless the English and Scots made but one army, under the command of Duke Hamilton from whom Langdale received orders.

Lambert who was passed near the place where the two armies joined, or at least approached each other, retired in such disorder, that probably he would have been defeated, had he been pursued; but Duke Hamilton did not think fit to improve this advantage.

He continued some days at Carlisle, after which he marched to Kendal in Westmoreland, where he rested again, till finding not wherewithal to subsist his army, he was forced, as it were, to

proceed to Lancashire with part of his army, leaving the rest at Kendal. At length, he advanced to Preston, where he halted, the reason whereof is not known, unless it was to stay for Monroe, who was coming with three thousand men out of Scotland.

## **Cromwell Joins Lambert**

Meanwhile, Cromwell having reached Yorkshire, Lambert instantly joined him, and they marched together directly to press on, where Duke Hamilton lay. Langdale who made the van of the Duke's army with his English troops, sent him notice that Cromwell was approaching with a resolution to give him battle, and consequently it was necessary to keep his army together. But the Duke regarded not this intelligence, believing it to be only some detachment of Cromwell's army.

## **Cromwell Defeats Langdale**

In short, Langdale was attacked by the enemies horse, who drove him to press on, where he brought with him some prisoners, who averred, that Cromwell's whole army was near.

Whereupon the Duke sent him back to his troops, promising to send him assistance; but disappointed him. So Langdale being attacked, was forced to maintain a very unequal fight, which lasted however five or six hours; but, at last he was entirely routed. Immediately after, Cromwell's horse marched directly to Preston, where all was in such confusion that nothing was thought of but flight.

## **The Duke's Army Routed**

The Duke himself found it proper to retire by the bridge, which he in vain endeavoured to guard, after passing it. The following letter was sent by Cromwell to the Parliament, the 20th of August containing a particular account of what passed between the two armies, on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of August.

## **Cromwell's Letter About It**

**After** the conjunction of that party which I brought with me out of Wales with the northern forces about Knaresborough and Wetherby, hearing that the enemy was advanced with their army to Lancaster, we came the 6th instant to Hodder Bridge over Ribble, where we had a council of war; and upon advertisement the enemy intended southward, and since confirmed, that they resolved for London itself, and information that the Irish forces under Monroe, lately come out of Ireland, which consisted of twelve hundred horse, and fifteen hundred foot, were on their march towards Lancashire to join with them, it was thought, to engage the enemy to fight was our business; and accordingly marching over the bridge that night, quartered the whole army in the fields.

Next morning we marched towards Preston, having intelligence that the enemy was drawing together thereabouts from all his out-quarters; we drew out a forlorn of about two hundred Horse, and four hundred foot; these gallantly engaged the enemy's scouts and out-guards, until we had opportunity to bring up our whole army.

So soon as our foot and horse were come up, we resolved that night to engage them if we could; and therefore advancing with our forlorns, and putting the rest of the army into as good a posture as the ground would bear, (which was totally inconvenient for our horse, being all enclosure and miry ground) we pressed upon them

through a lane, and forced them from their ground, after four hours dispute, until we came to the town; into which four troops of my regiment first entered; and being well Seconded by Colonel Harrison's regiment, charged the enemy in the town, and cleared the streets.

At last the enemy was put into disorder, many men slain, and many prisoners taken; the Duke with most of the Scots horse and foot retreated over the bridge; where after a very hot dispute betwixt the Lancashire regiments, (part of my Lord General's and them being at push of pike) they were beaten from the bridge, and our horse and foot following them, killed many, and took divers prisoners; and we possessed the bridge over Derwent, and a few houses there, the enemy being drawn up within musket shot of us, where we lay that night, we not being able to attempt further upon the enemy, the night preventing us. In this posture did the enemy and we lie most part of that night; upon entering the town, many of the enemy's horse fled towards Lancaster, in the chase of whom we had divers of our horse, who pursued them near ten miles, and had execution of them, and took about five hundred horse, and many prisoners:

We possessed in the fight very much of the enemy's ammunition; I believe they lost four or five thousand arms; the number of the slain we judge to be about a thousand, the prisoners we took near about four thousand.

In the night they marched away, seven or eight thousand foot, and about four thousand horse; we followed them with about three thousand foot, and about two thousand five hundred horse and dragoons; and in this prosecution that worthy Gentleman Colonel Thornhaugh, pressing too boldly, was slain, being run into the body, thigh, and head, by the enemies lancers; our horse still prosecuted the enemy, killing and taking divers all the way; but by that time our army was come up, they recovered Wigan before we could attempt any thing upon them. We lay that night in the field close by the enemy, lying very dirty and weary, where we had some skirmishing, &c. We took Major<sup>r</sup> General Van Druskey, Col. Hurrey and Lieutenant Colonel Ennis.

The next morning the enemy marched towards Warrington, made a stand at a pass near Winwick; we held them in some dispute until our army was come up, they maintaining the pass with great resolution for many hours; but our men, by the blessing of God, charged right home upon them, beat them from their standing, where we killed about a thousand of them, and took (as we believe) about two thousand prisoners, and prosecuted them home to Warrington town, where they possessed the bridge. As soon as we came thither, I received a message from Lieutenant-General Bailey, desiring some capitulation; to which I yielded, and gave him these terms:

**That** he should surrender himself and all his officers and soldiers prisoners of war, with all his arms, ammunition, and horses, upon quarter for life which accordingly is done.

Here are took about four thousand complete arms, and as many prisoners: And thus you have their infantry ruined.

The Duke is marched with his remaining horse (which are about three thousand) towards Nantwich, where the Gentlemen of the county have taken about five hundred of them; the country will scarce suffer any of them to pass, but bring in and kill divers as they light upon them. I have sent post to my Lord Grey and Sir Edward Rhodes, to gather all together with speed for their prosecution:

Monroe is about Cumberland, with the horse that ran away, and his Irish horse and foot; but I have left a considerable strength, I hope, to make refinance till we can come up to them. Thus you have the narrative of the particulars of the success. I could hardly tell how to say less, there being so much of God; and I was not willing to say more, lest: there should seem to be any thing of man; only give me leave to add one word, shewing the disparity of the forces of both sides; that so you may see, and all the world acknowledge, the great hand of God in this business.

The Scots army could not be less than twelve thousand foot well armed, and five thousand horse; Langdale not less than two thousand five hundred foot, and fifteen hundred horse; in all twenty one thousand: in ours, in all, about eight thousand six hundred, and by computation about two thousand of the enemy's slain, betwixt eight and nine thousand prisoners, besides what are lurking in hedges and private places, which the country daily bring in, or destroy.

## **The Duke is Taken Prisoner and His Army Defeated**

To finish, in a few words, the relation of the unfortunate end of Duke Hamilton and his army, I shall add, to what is said in Cromwell's letter, that the Duke retiring to Nantwich and finding himself pursued by Lambert with a strong party of horse, marched to Utoxeter [in Staffordshire] where Lambert was almost as soon as he, and where the Scots made not the least shew of resistance.

In a word, the Duke was taken with all the officers about him; and of the whole army, the horse only escaped, who went and joined Monroe in Cumberland. To this came the great effort of Scotland in favour of the King. I say in favour of the King, for it is certain, most of the authors of this enterprise intended the King's restoration, though they covered their design with other pretences.

## **Colchester Surrenders**

The defeat of the Scotch army was followed, within a few days, by the taking of Colchester, the blockade whereof had lasted above two months. The besieged having been forced to surrender at discretion, the general called a council of war, where it was determined, that Sir George Lisle, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir Bernard Gascoigne[308] should be shot to death. The two first were executed, but the General hearing, Sir Bernard was a Florentine, I saved his life, for fear the Grand-Duke should revenge his death on the English Gentlemen, who Frequently travelled into his dominions[309].

## **Lauderdale Presses The Prince in Vain**

The Prince of Wales was at the Hague, when the news of Duke Hamilton's defeat arrived there. On the morrow, John Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale waited on him with a letter from the Parliament of Scotland, inviting him to come into their Country, and head their army in England. But the news he had received the day before being confirmed, he did not think fit to hazard his person to no purpose, though the Earl of Lauderdale pressed him extremely to depart. So, the Earl was obliged to return all alone.

## **The State of Parliament and City**

After the recital of the fruits of the several commotions raised by the King's friends in the last seven or eight months, it will be necessary, before we proceed, to speak of what passed the mean while in the Parliament and City. Since the two Houses had voted no more addresses to the King, there was a perfect union between the Parliament and the army. The army no more

pretended to meddle in State affairs. They consented that the supernumerary troops, that is, such as were not upon the late establishment, should be disbanded by Companies, as money was raised to pay them.

## **The Independents Prevail in Parliament**

They promised to retire to the towns and garrisons as soon as the Parliament should settle the necessary funds for their regular pay. This condescension or rather submission to the Parliament, proceeded from the Independent's power in both Houses, no resolution being taken but by their direction, or at least that was contrary to their views.

## **The Presbyterians Rely upon Assistance From Scotland**

On the other hand, though the Presbyterians were not sorry, there were insurrections in the Kingdom capable of keeping the army employed, and obliging them to remove from London, they were in danger however that the King's party would grow too powerful before the Scotch army should enter England.

## **Policy of The Presbyterians**

Upon this army it was that they founded their hope of becoming once more masters of the Parliament and Kingdom. But they perceived, that before the arrival of the assistance expected from Scotland, it was not their interest to second the endeavours of the Royalists, whose views were very opposite to theirs, for fear of enabling them to renew the war by their own strength.

On the other hand, they would have acted very imprudently, if they had openly declared against the army, whilst it was about London, without having sufficient forces to refill it. The assistance of Scotland only could enable them to hold up their heads. For which reason the votes of both Houses were always unanimous to condemn the insurrections in Wales, Kent, Essex, as well as those of the Earl of Holland and the Duke of Buckingham.

This was also the reason, that the Independents met with no obstacle in causing the eleven Members accused by the army to be declared incapable of serving in Parliament, and the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen of London, and the seven Peers to be prosecuted with the utmost rigour for being concerned in the tumult of the 26th of July.

These were the resolutions of a Parliament yet governed and directed by the Independents. But when once Cromwell was engaged in Wales with part of the army, Fairfax employed at the blockade of Colchester, and when the surprisal of Berwick and Carlisle had made it necessary to send some regiments into the north, the face of affairs began to change. The Independent Members found themselves obliged, in their turn, to dissemble, and consent to things which they would doubtless have opposed, had the army been near to support them.

## **They Get Uppermost in The Parliament**

The 27th of April before the army removed from London, upon information, true or false, brought to the Parliament<sup>[310]</sup>, that some officers had plotted to disarm, and then plunder the City, the Common-Council presented a petition to the House of Commons, desiring, that the chains of the City, which had been lately pulled down, might be set up again; the army removed to a farther distance from London; and Major-General Skippon appointed to command within the lines of communication, and the weekly bills of mortality.

It is evident the Common Council had a mind to have it in their power to act when the Scotch army should enter England. For they could not imagine the Scots had other thoughts than to

support the Presbyterian party in England. The House granted two of their requests, and took time to consider of the removal of the army.

## **The Commons' Votes**

The next day the House of Commons having taken into consideration the affair of settling the Government, voted:—

1. That the Government of the Kingdom should be still by King, Lords, and Commons.
2. That the ground-work for this Government should be the propositions last presented to the King at Hampton Court.
3. That any member of the House should have leave to speak freely to any votes; ordinances; or declarations concerning the King, &c.

These Votes were directly contrary to the designs of the Independents, who meant to abolish regal power, and establish a Commonwealth. But as their intention was yet a secret, or at least they had not declared it, they did not think proper to discover it too openly, by opposing these votes.

## **Petition to The Common Council Touching The Militia**

Some days after, sundry of the Inhabitants of London, presented a petition to the Common-Council, praying, that the Lord-Mayor and Sheriffs of London might be part of the Committee for the Militia of the City, and that the rest of the Committee might be chosen by the Common-Council.

## **Petition From The Common Council to The Parliament**

Upon this; the Lord-Mayor and Common-Council presented a Petition to the House of Commons, shewing;

**That** the General having by letter informed the House of Commons of his design to remove the two regiments that were at Westminster, they conceived, that there was an expedition, the Parliament should be guarded by the forces of the City, which they were ready to do, provided they were put into a capacity to perform the same, by settling the Militia of London, and being authorized so to do.

**That** the Lord-Mayor and Common-Council might, by ordinance of Parliament, be authorized to nominate and present to both Houses of Parliament a Committee for the Militia of the said city; whereby Commanders and soldiers might be the better united and encouraged to perform their duties, for the safety and preservation of the Parliament and City.

**That** the command of the Tower of London might be put into the hand of such a person as should be nominated and presented to both Houses of Parliament by the Lord-Mayor and Common-Council.

**That** the soldiers there remaining might be removed. All this was granted against the interest of the Independents, who, for a few months before, had ordered the contrary, because they knew the Londoners were not for them. Thus the City

endeavoured by degrees, under divers pretences, to put themselves in condition to act, when the season was ripe.

## **Declaration of The House of Commons**

It appears also by a declaration of the House of Commons of the 5th of May, how much the Presbyterians began to be superior in the Parliament. This declaration ran:—

**That** the House is resolved to preserve and maintain the solemn League and Covenant, and the Treaties between the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland: And that they will be ready to join with the Kingdom of Scotland in the propositions agreed upon by the two Kingdoms, and presented to his Majesty at Hampton-Court.

This was a soothing to unite themselves with the Scots, as soon as they should enter the Kingdom. Probably, the Commons believed them to be more ready than they were, and moreover, were yet ignorant, that the aim of those who had promoted the raising of an army in Scotland, was rather to serve the King, than support the Presbyterian party in England. But they soon perceived, the Royalists intended not to maintain the Parliament's interest.

## **The Royalists' Eagerness is Prejudicial to The King**

If the Cavaliers, for so the King's party were called, had behaved with a little more policy, and less passion and heat, they might have done the King signal service. But they so openly showed, that their design was to restore the King without terms, that they obliged the Presbyterians to be upon their guard, and even to oppose them, instead of acting jointly with them, as the Cavaliers expected.

## **Petition From Surrey on Behalf of The King**

This passion, or, if you please, extreme zeal for the King's service, was always the distinguishing character of that party, and often baffled their designs. Some of this party, inhabitants of the County of Surrey, could not contain themselves so long as would have been requisite for the King's interest. They assembled in great numbers, horse and foot, and came to Westminster where they presented a petition to the Lords, and another to the Commons, worded in such high and strong terms, that they seemed to believe themselves supported by the whole Kingdom.

## **Petition From Surrey in Behalf of The King**

**1648 AD]** They demanded;

**That** the King might be restored to his due honour, and just rights, according to the oaths of allegiance and supremacy:

**That** he might be forthwith established in his throne, according to the splendour of his ancestors:

**That** he might for the present come to Westminster with honour and safety, to treat personally for composing differences:

**That** the free-born subject of England might be governed by the known Laws and Statutes in force in the Kingdom:

**That** the war beginning might be prevented; and that the ordinances for preventing free-quarter, might be duly executed, and speed made in disbanding all armies, having their arrears due paid them.

Nothing could be more unreasonable than this petition in such a juncture, when the business was to foment the division between the Presbyterians and Independents, whereas the petition tended to unite them against the Royalists. The Lords answered:—

**They** were now upon the consideration of the settling of the Kingdom, and doubted not to satisfy all.

Whilst the Commons were debating on the petition, some of the Surrey-men[311] quarrelled with the Parliament's guard, disarmed two or three of the soldiers, and killed one. Whereupon, to hinder them from carrying their violence any farther, more horse and foot were sent for from the Meuse and Whitehall, who slew and wounded several, before they could be dispersed.

## **Union Between Parliament and City**

This attempt, and an information brought to the House of Commons, that soldiers were privately listing in London, and a plot contriving by the Royal Party to ruin both Parliament and City, Presbyterians, and Independents, caused the Parliament and City to enter into a strict union together. It was equally their interest to guard against the Royalists, who hated the city no less than the Parliament and army, and to take measures to hinder the execution of the Cavaliers' designs.

Thus the impetuous zeal of the Cavaliers was extremely injurious to the King; whereas had it been well managed, it might have procured him great advantages. If they could have resolved to conceal their sentiments, and suffer the Presbyterians to believe, that their sole design was to deliver the King out of the hands of the Independents, and to act against the army, they would have, doubtless, considerably strengthened their party; and the Presbyterians, instead of hurting, would have assisted them.

This was, probably, Duke Hamilton's project, and theirs, who laboured to procure him the command of the Scotch army. But the rash and impetuous zeal of some particular persons, to whom it was not thought proper to impart the secret, caused the Presbyterians to be as much upon their guard against the Cavaliers, as against the Independents.

## **The Presbyterians Mistrust The Royalists**

So in all the insurrections in several parts of the Kingdom, whilst the Scotch army was expected, the Presbyterians were wholly unconcerned, except in Kent, where some general officers and reformado's were willing to engage. But after that disappointment, they lay still, in expectation of the Scots, on whose assistance they relied very much, though, as I before observed, without any foundation.

## **They Determine to Conclude a Treaty With The King**

Meanwhile, the Presbyterians were greatly embarrassed. The Scotch army was not yet come, and they were in no less danger from the King's successes, than from the army's. They could therefore join with neither of the parties, without labouring their own ruin. The designs of all three were so opposite, that which soever should prevail, the other two would be infallibly ruined.

The Presbyterians therefore resolved at length to take advantage of the army's absence, of the number of their voices in the Parliament, and of the assistance of the city, to conclude a peace with the King. But in order to this peace, it was necessary, the King should consent to three conditions, without which they could not resolve to be reconciled to him. The first was:—



**That** the Militia of the Kingdom should, for such a number of years, be put into the hands of both Houses.

This point having been the immediate cause, or at least the pretence of the war, they could not depart from it, without evidently shewing, the war had been undertaken without an absolute necessity, which would have rendered them odious to the whole Kingdom.

For to what purpose had so much blood been spilt, and so much treasure consumed, if a peace could be made without this security? Besides, in neglecting this article, they would, as I may say, have put themselves in the King's mercy, whom they had mortally offended. The second condition was,

**That** the Presbyterian Government should be established by authority of King and Parliament,

This condition was no less necessary. It was one of the strongest motives of their undertaking and continuing the war, wherein they had been crowned with success, the advantages of which they were not disposed to relinquish. What would they have gained by the war, if by a peace they were to be liable again to the jurisdiction of the Bishops, and episcopal Clergy, their mortal enemies; The third condition was,

**That** the King should call in all his proclamations and declarations against the two Houses.

The necessity of this condition is evident, for the King having declared the members of both Houses rebels, they could not treat with him as such, without renouncing all their rights and pretensions.

## **The London Address to Parliament**

The resolution of treating with the King being taken by the leading Presbyterians, the question was, to put it in execution. General Fairfax departing from Windsor the 2nd of May, to march into the North, though within a few days he was forced to take the Kentish rout, the next day, the Common Council of London presented a petition to both Houses of Parliament, wherein they said:—

**That** they thankfully acknowledged the favour of the House, in granting their desires concerning the Tower, and Militia of London and in communicating to them several votes of both Houses of Parliament, wherein it was resolved, not to alter the fundamental Government of the Kingdom, by King, Lords, and Commons; to preserve inviolably the solemn League and Covenant, and the treaties between the Kingdom of England and Scotland; and to be ready to join with the Kingdom of Scotland, in the proportions agreed upon by both Kingdoms.

**They further desired,**

**That** the Aldermen, the Recorder, and the rest of their fellow citizens, then in the Tower, might be discharged and restored;

**And That** in prosecution of their said votes, they would be pleased to improve all good opportunities in perfecting the speed, settlement of the peace of both Kingdoms.

This petition was the first step taken by the City of London, to give the Parliament occasion to endeavour a peace. The members, as I said, were for the most part Presbyterians, and yet the Independents prevailed, because they were supported by the army. So, from the 6th of August

1647, to the end of May 1648, the Parliament must be considered as Independent, because the votes were directed by that party.

### **Remark on The Change in Parliament**

But since the army's removal from London, the Presbyterians had exerted themselves, and no longer fearing the army, passed such votes as were most agreeable to their interest. From that time, therefore, the Parliament is not to be considered as Independent, but rather as Presbyterian.

This remark is absolutely necessary for understanding the reason of the difference between the proceedings of this Parliament, of which we are going to speak, and those from the 6th of August the last year.

The petition abovementioned being read in both Houses, they ordered the Recorder, and all the other prisoners to be released, except the three Aldermen, who had been impeached in form, but who nevertheless were also discharged after some days. They farther ordered, that the soldiers posted in the Tower to reinforce the garrison, should return to their regiments.

On the morrow, the Commons voted, notwithstanding the opposition of the Independent members, That, after his Majesty's ascent to the three bills, which should be offered to him, a treaty should be had with him upon the rest of the propositions presented to him at Hampton-Court. These three bills were for settling the Militia, the Presbyterian government, and recalling all his declarations against the two Houses. These bills were ready the 30th of May, and sent to the Lords for their concurrence.

The same day, the General having drawn out the troops that were in the Tower, at Whitehall, and the Meuse, to employ them in his expedition against the Kentishmen, the House empowered the Militia of London, to send guards to the Parliament, from time to time as occasion should require.

### **The Proceedings of Parliament to Unite With Scotland**

The Presbyterians were very much at ease, since they were no longer curbed by the army. But they still wanted one thing, of which they resolved to take care. Whilst the two Houses were governed by the Independents, the Scots thought to have cause to complain, and on that pretence they were levying an army to march into England. For this reason, the Parliament, now become Presbyterian, believed it necessary to remove all occasion of complaint, by giving them satisfaction, and to shew, they meant to proceed in a different manner from what they had done, whilst checked by the Independents.

They now declared, they intended to maintain the Covenant, and the treaties between the two Kingdoms; and to convince the Scots, the House of Commons voted, that the three bills to be presented to his Majesty, should be communicated to the Parliament of Scotland for their approbation. It is easy to perceive, that the aim of the two Houses was to secure the assistance of Scotland, and indeed it seems to have been in Scotland's interest to unite with the Parliament of England, since it was become Presbyterian.

But, as I observed, those by whom the Parliament of Scotland was then managed, sought not so much the good of the Kingdom, as the King's advantage; but of this the Parliament of England was yet ignorant, or perhaps would hardly believe. There was moreover in the forementioned resolution, one great inconvenience, namely, loss of time. It was the Presbyterians interest to hasten the treaty with the King, whilst the event of what was preparing, was yet doubtful. But on the contrary, delay was advantageous to the Independents, who, as will hereafter appear, failed not to use that method to break their enemies measures.

## **The Accused Members are Discharged**

The next day, the Commons ordered, that the eleven members of their House, and the seven Peers accused by the army, should be fully discharged and Glyn<sup>[312]</sup> member for Westminster, who had been expelled, was received into the House.

## **Resolution to Raise Forces**

As the two Houses perceived, that the several insurrections in the Kingdom were wholly in favour of the King, they prohibited, on pain of death, to take arms without, their authority. They imagined to have no farther occasion for such friends to defend them against the Independents.

Meanwhile, as they had no army to protect their adherents against the attempts of the Cavaliers, it was moved to raise forces, and oblige the officers to take the Covenant. But after some debates, this last point was ordered to be laid aside for the present. It was also proposed to remove the King to Windsor. But nothing was determined. Probably, the House knew not how to compel Hammond, in case he refused to deliver the King.

## **Petition From London for a Personal Treaty With The King**

Though the vote to present the three bills to the King passed the 2nd of June, it was the 26th before the two Houses appointed a committee to debate upon the manner and place of treaty with the King, and their report was made the 30th. In the mean time, the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of London, presented a petition to the two Houses, desiring:—

**That** a personal treaty might be obtained betwixt his Majesty and both Houses, in the city of London, or some other convenient place.

**That** the Scots might be invited to the treaty.

**That**, so according to the duty of their allegiance protestation, solemn League and Covenant, his Majesty's royal person, honour, and estate might be preserved, the power and privilege of Parliament maintained, the just rights and liberties of the subjects restored, religion, and government of the Church in purity established, all differences might be the better composed and a firm and lasting peace concluded, &c.

To this it was answered by both Houses, that they were now employed in considerations of peace, and doubted not, but what they had done, and should do therein, would be satisfactory to the City of London, and all others, that desired to see the troubles of the Kingdom ended in a safe and just peace.

## **Report of The Committee in Favour of The King**

The report of the Committee appointed to consider of a personal treaty with the King, was:—

1. That the vote of the 3rd of January 1647, forbidding any addresses to be made to, or received from his Majesty, should be made null;
2. That the three propositions sent into the Kingdom of Scotland, and to be presented to his Majesty before a personal treaty be had, should not be insisted upon.
3. That his Majesty be removed to some of his houses within ten miles of London.

## The Lords Desire The Commons not to Insist on The Three Bills

The same day, the Lords acquainted the Commons, that they approved of the propositions reported by the committee, and desired their concurrence. But the Commons were not so expeditious as the Lords. They could not resolve to begin a negotiation with the King, without being first secure of the three conditions which were to be the foundation of the peace. I have already mentioned the reasons. Meanwhile, both Houses continuing in their respective opinions, it was almost a month before this dispute was ended.

### The Lords' Reasons

The Lords urged, at a conference, that the three bills should not be insisted on:—.

1. That there may be no delay in the thing, a speedy personal treaty being so much; desired and petitioned for.
2. Because it is the desire of the Parliament of Scotland.
3. The agreement upon the treaty will be the more authentic.
4. It is probable, the King, having no army in being, will condescend to that which at Uxbridge and Oxford he refused.
5. It is not the way of treaty to confirm any particular, before all is agreed, especially those of most concern, and which will be chiefly insisted upon.

### The Commons Reasons

The Commons answered:—

**That** the dissatisfied party, in or near London is so great, that if the King grants not the Militia before he comes, there will be no safety for the Parliament, nor is the treaty likely to proceed for many will endeavour to bring in the King without any agreement, and even with destruction to the Parliament.

**2. If the Presbyterian-government** be not decreed, all things will grow into confusion in the Churches, and the present Ministers be great sufferers.

**3. If the declarations be not recalled**, the Parliament is not in capacity to treat, having been declared rebels and traitors, and no Parliament, but a pretended one, which was never done by any of the Kings of England. And whereas it may be objected, these things need debate; it is answered, the King is not ignorant of the full demand of these particulars, they having been over and over presented to him; and to the two first he hath declared a willingness; nor yet is he obliged to pass them as bills, unless all other things are agreed upon; and if no agreement, (he being at liberty) a new war is likely to ensue.

### The Lords' Reply

To these reasons the Lords replied:—

**That** they could not imagine, nor was it probable, that the party about London who had petitioned for a treaty, would put it on to the disadvantage of the Parliament.

**2. They did not** apprehend any prejudice to the Parliament's party during the treaty.

**3.** His Majesty had declared, he would consent to all together; and not to any before all was agreed. And that in case there were no agreement, they were in state as before.

## The Commons Answer

The Commons being by no means satisfied with these reasons, answered:—[313]

**There was no doubt** but those in the parts about London, would put forward the treaty, to the disadvantage of the Parliament and Kingdom being such who had not only petitioned the reestablishment of the King without conditions, but had taken up arms, and were now in arms for no less (as they say at Colchester) than to cudgel the Parliament into a treaty.

**2. For his Majesty's saying,** he would not pass any before all were agreed; it seems not; for he pretends to be willing to pass these only upon conditions, or in any way, as that *de facto*, he will; and *de jure*, the power shall be declared in him; which were, for the Parliament to part with that, which will be their irreparable loss and definition. And besides, as to security, what appears, unless the grant of these propositions? For it is supposed the treaty will be in or near London.

**And what is said,** how his Majesty shall be? Who shall be with him? How the disaffected shall be ordered? Moreover if this be not, why may not things settled by law be revived? Episcopacy again set on foot? All the Ministers turned out for scandal reenter? Others of honest life put to seek their livings? How then, in case no accord be made, can it be thought that the Parliament will be in state as before?

This dispute held till the 28th of July, the Independent members heartily joining with the Presbyterians in whatever could retard or obstruct the treaty. But it was not upon this point only that they endeavoured to spend the time to no purpose.

## Another Delay Upon The Means of Treating at London

Whilst this contest between the two Houses still lasted, a the city of London having presented a petition, declaring, they did concur with the desire of a personal treaty contained in another petition of the military officers, it was ordered that a committee of Parliament, and another of the Common-Council should meet together and examine this affair.

In the frequent conferences between these committees, the Independents used several artifices to prolong matters. The Presbyterians concurred with them in the same design, for, as I said, they were against treating with the King before he had consented to the three Bills. The committee of Parliament put several questions to the committee of the Common Council, which these last were not prepared to answer; and as they had no instructions about them, they were forced to desire time to consult those by whom they were appointed.

By this means the conferences were multiplied without any thing done, for no sooner was one demand answered, but another was made, and so the time passed in vain.

## The Common Council Attempts to Force The Parliament to Treat

At last, the Common Council perceiving, these questions were designed only to amuse them, ordered it to be declared to the committee of Parliament, that it was the for desire of the city, that a treaty should be entered into with all expedition. They ordered likewise, that the engage-

ment last year [(to guard the King and Parliament against all force) which had brought the army to London, should, be subscribed by all the inhabitants, either by calling them together, or by carrying it from house to house to be signed.

## **The Commons Order Skippon to Raise Forces**

They were not contented with this, for they so managed, that the watermen and others presented also petitions, that the personal treaty might be hastened. In short, they plainly showed, what they could not obtain by fair means, they would have by force. Whereupon Major General Skippon was privately ordered by the Commons, to list soldiers in the city, and be ready to guard the Parliament in case of any violence.

## **The House Tries to Appease The Common Council**

The Common Council complained of these levies which were making in the city, without the privity of the committee of Militia. But the House approved of them, under colour the city was in danger from the Cavaliers. Nay, they imparted to the Common Council, certain intercepted letters, in one of which was enclosed a declaration from the Prince of Wales. Another was writ from London to one at Edinburgh, intimating that the King's party was very powerful in London:

**That** there was no danger from any but Skippon, who was raising troops; but however they were nothing in comparison of those who were secretly listed for the King.

**That** it should be so ordered, that Skippon should soon be deprived of his post, and expelled the City.

## **Several Royalists Mix With Presbyterians**

It is certain, in the present situation of affairs, the Royalists conceived great hopes. Nay, many Cavaliers scrupled not to pass for Presbyterians, and mixed with them, to strengthen the party of those who intended to force the Parliament to a peace. Hence arose this sort of contest between the Commons and city of London.

Among the Presbyterians many were apprehensive, that by a too long delay, the opportunity of treating advantageously with the King would be lost. They flattered themselves, that in such a juncture, the King would refuse nothing of what should be desired, and they did not see the necessity of losing time in requiring things beforehand, which in their opinion could not but be granted in a treaty.

This opinion, entertained by the Lords and Common Council of London, was solely founded in a false imagination, that the King could not but think his case desperate, if the Scotch army should once enter England, and consequently would grant every thing to get out of this difficulty; wherein they were much mistaken, as we have seen. But the Commons still insisted upon the three Bills, as absolutely necessary for the security of the Kingdom.

Whilst the Presbyterians thus differed among themselves, the time passed away without any effectual endeavours for a peace. The blockade of Colchester was just at an end; Cromwell was upon the point of finishing the siege of Pembroke castle, and going to join Lambert; and Fairfax, after the taking of Colchester, was about to come once more and awe the Parliament.

Besides this, the King's party was daily increasing in the North, where Langdale whose forces were now above four thousand men, was preparing to join Duke Hamilton.

## **The Uncertain State of Affairs**

The affairs of England were then in a terrible confusion. The wisest and most experienced could not form any probable conjecture on what was to happen, each of the parties having almost equal reason both to hope and to fear.

## **Interests of The Independents**

Indeed the Independents were no longer masters in the Parliament, but were however sufficiently numerous, to obstruct, by sundry artifices, or at least to retard, the peace, or prolong the negotiation.

Moreover they were supported by three armies, which, though remote from London, inspired their enemies with terror. Nevertheless they saw, it was intended to take advantage of the absence of these armies to conclude a peace with the King, which could not but ruin them, if made before their forces were rejoined. They knew themselves to be equally hated by the Scots, the Presbyterians, and the Royalists.

They were therefore in danger that these three parties would unite against them, as indeed it was projected, and then the Independents would have been too weak to resist so many enemies at once. It was therefore their interest to hinder this union as much as possible, till the events of the war which was going to rekindle, should unravel the affairs of the Kingdom.

They confided much in Cromwell's valour and capacity, and impatiently expected, that the end of the siege he had undertaken, would enable him to join Lambert in the north, and oppose the Scots, who were ready to enter England.

## **The Error of The Presbyterians**

The Presbyterians had no army at all. Their whole reliance was on the city of London: but their leaders were extremely troubled to see the magistrates pursuing wrong methods, whether by the artifices of the Cavaliers, or by a too earnest desire of peace. They hoped however, the King, in his present circumstances, would immediately grant their demands, in order to free himself out of the hands of the Independents, and unite the whole Kingdom against them. But they built upon no solid foundation.

Had there been a treaty at the time I am speaking of, the King, who knew the Scotch army was not designed against him, would have granted at most but what he was obliged to by his treaty with the Scotch commissioners, which would not have been sufficient to content the Presbyterians, as the sequel will show.

## **Refuge of The King's Party**

As for the Royalists, the leading men being informed of Duke Hamilton's intentions, they must have entertained great hopes. They flattered themselves, that the Scots and Presbyterians would equally assist in delivering the King from captivity, and that when he should be free, and the Independent party subdued, he would be able to withstand the Presbyterians and renew the war, in case unreasonable terms were insisted upon.

They saw however with great concern their designs ruined in Kent, in Essex, and by the ill success of the Earl of Holland's and Duke of Buckingham's attempt. Certainly they were in an ill situation, between the Presbyterians and the Independents, what hopes soever they had entertained of deceiving the Presbyterians, and engaging them to serve the King, under colour of acting against the Independents.

Their whole refuge therefore lay in the progress to be made by Duke Hamilton and Langdale, and in the expectation of inducing the city to force the Parliament to conclude a hasty peace to the King's advantage.

## **The Duke of Hamilton's Behaviour When He Entered England**

At last the so long expected army of Scotland entered England, as hath been said, about the beginning of July. When the raising it was believed, it was designed against the Parliament of England, then under the direction of the army and Independents. But when the Scots came into England, the face of affairs was changed, and the Parliament not only become Presbyterian, but had taken several steps to show, they intended to preserve an union and good correspondence between the two Kingdoms.

Meanwhile, though the Committee of the Parliament of Scotland was not ignorant of what passed in England, they had not given new instructions to Duke Hamilton, or expressed any desire to join with the Parliament, now freed from the Dominion of the army.

### **He Writes to Lambert**

Thus Duke Hamilton entered England as enemy to the Parliament, since there was no alteration in his orders. He pretended, indeed, a design to maintain the Covenant. But the Parliament had also declared, they had the same intention. What then could hinder the Duke from making some advances to the Parliament, to demonstrate, he was sent into England to promote that design? At least, when he entered a foreign Kingdom with an army, he should, one would think, have published a Manifesto to declare the intentions of his masters. But he only writ to Major-General Lambert:—

**That** the Committee of the Estates of Parliament had commanded him to enter England with an army, for maintaining the Covenant, settling religion, delivering the King from his imprisonment, freeing the Parliament from the constraints put upon them, disbanding the armies, whereby the subjects might be free from the intolerable taxes and quarter which they had so long groaned under, and for procuring a solemn peace and firm union betwixt the Kingdoms under his Majesty's Government.

## **Proof That The Scotch Army Was Solely Intended for The King's Service**

But if what passed before he considered, it will be easy to perceive, this army was designed to restore the King without conditions, or at least upon terms very different from those that were pretended to be laid on him. Though I have touched upon this subject in several places, I believe it will not be amiss briefly to sum up the reasons, which invincibly prove that the Scotch army was solely intended for the King's service:—

**1. The Scotch Commissioners** had treated with the King without being authorized by their Parliament. They had treated for the affairs of England without receiving any power from the English.

**2. They had engaged to endeavour to restore the King to the Throne of England**, without any other condition than the confirmation of the Presbyterian Government for only three years. As for the Covenant, they had indeed obliged the King to promise, he would confirm it, for the security of those who had taken it; that is, that they might not be prosecuted on that account: but with full liberty to every one not to subscribe it. They had engaged to maintain the rights of the King



and Crown with respect to the Militia, the Great-Seal, nomination to offices, choice of Privy-Counsellors, negative voice in the Parliament. Moreover, they had concealed the contents of this treaty from the leading Presbyterians, and at the same time communicated them to the King's principal friends.

**3. These same Commissioners** had engaged Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Philip Musgrave to raise forces for the King and seize Berwick and Carlisle.

**4. These two Gentlemen had repaired to Edinburgh**, where they had often conferred with Duke Hamilton and others of the King's party, and when the Commissioners of England complained of their being suffered at Edinburgh, they were only concealed, and the conferences with them continued.

**5. Duke Hamilton**, before his departure from London, had declared, he would do the King signal service, and this Duke was placed at the head of the army.

**6. The same Duke had entered into an engagement with Langdale**, that as soon as the Scotch army was in England, there should be no more mention of the Covenant, and all the King's friends should be received into the army without distinction. It is true, he was afterwards restrained by a decree of the Parliament of Scotland. But he found means to evade it, by causing Langdale to march one day before him, as if Langdale had not acted by his orders. But the contrary plainly appeared, when he was defeated by Cromwell.

**7. The Parliament of Scotland** was called by the credit of Duke Hamilton and the Commissioners who had treated with the King, and the members were elected by the cabals of the same party.

**8. When the levying an army came to be debated in the Parliament**, it was strongly opposed, as well by several Lords, as by the General Assembly of the Kirk. It was solidly proved, that at least the grounds of the war ought to be declared before it was resolved. Protestations were also made against it; but they were evaded, of which there can be no other reason given, but that the army was designed for the King's service, though it was not thought proper to declare it.

**9. Finally, when the Duke had entered England**, he took not the least step to intimate he was come to support the Presbyterian party. Instead of marching directly to London, whilst Cromwell was at a distance, though he might be sure the Parliament and City were very desirous to join him, he spent above a month in the northern counties without any necessity. This conduct therefore shows, his design was not to assist the Presbyterians, though he intended to act against the Independents.

What has been said clearly proves, the Scotch army came into England with design to restore the King without terms, under colour of delivering him from the Independents. It is no wonder, that the Parliament, where the King had few friends, should declare this army enemies of the Kingdom, as soon as their entrance was known. Nevertheless, as the Presbyterians were yet persuaded, the Scots were come to support them, it was with great struggle that this Declaration passed the House of Commons.

### **The Independents Retard The Treaty By Sundry Devises**

Fourscore and ten Presbyterian Members opposed it to the utmost of their power, so far were they from imagining, the Scots had taken arms for the King's interest. But it was not long before they were undeceived.

The 28th of July the Commons agreed at last, that the King should be treated with, upon the Hampton Court propositions, without being obliged to sign the three Bills before mentioned. In all likelihood the Presbyterians were at length sensible, that by deferring the treaty, they were, labouring for the Independents, who sought only to waste the time, till Cromwell, who was in the midst of his march, should have joined Lambert.

But it was not possible to advance so far as would have been necessary to finish or even begin the treaty, before the revolution caused by Duke Hamilton's defeat. The formalities which must be observed in a Parliament, several unexpected affairs, the arrival of the Prince of Wales before Yarmouth, and afterwards in the Thames, afforded the Independent Members frequent occasions to prolong the treaty.

On all these occasions, they affected to make tedious speeches, which wasted many days sitting. When they saw it was not in their power to set aside the treaty, or oblige the House to insist upon the three bills, they feigned to consent freely to the negotiation: but withal, perpetually found means to delay it. In a word, to know what were the fruits of these artifices, it need only be considered, that the Commons first resolution to treat with the King was on the 24th of May; but they did not desist from the three bills till the 28th of July, that it was the 18th of September before the negotiation began, and consequently this affair held four months, without reckoning the time spent in the treaty.

So, before the conferences began, Cromwell had defeated Duke Hamilton, and was marching into Scotland to hinder the Scots from returning to disturb England. On the other hand, General Fairfax having taken Colchester, was posted with his army within twenty miles of London to awe the Parliament. It is therefore certain, when the negotiation begun, affairs were far from being in the same state as when the treaty was resolved.

The good success of the army made the Presbyterians more timorous, and the Independents more bold. But on the other side, the King, losing all hopes of assistance both from the Scots and the Royalists, found himself indispensably obliged to yield in a treaty what he would never have granted, if the face of his affairs had not been changed. These are considerations which I thought requisite, before I proceeded to what passed the five last months of the year 1648.

Since the Commons had consented to treat with the King, without obliging him to sign the three Bills, five days more had passed before the manner, place and time of the treaty could be settled[314]

## The King's Demands

The King required that all persons might have access to him as when at Hampton Court:—

**That** the Scots should be invited to assist at the treaty, and appointed the town of Newport in the Isle of Wight for the place of conference. The Commissioners who had been sent to him, having reported his desires to the Houses, the Lords, who were willing to dispatch this affair, two days after passed the following votes:—

1. **That** the votes of both Houses of Parliament, against no farther addresses and application to his Majesty, be recalled.
2. **That** such persons as his Majesty shall send for, as of necessary use to him in the treaty, be admitted to wait on him: And that his Majesty be in the same estate of freedom, as he was last in at Hampton Court.
3. **That** such servants as his Majesty shall appoint, be sent to wait on him.

4. **That** the place for the Treaty be in Newport, in the Isle of Wight.
5. **That** the Scots be invited to treat with his Majesty.
6. **That** his Majesty be admitted to invite them.
7. **That** the instructions given from both Houses of u Parliament, to Colonel Hammond Governor of the Isle Wight, be recalled.
8. **That** five Lords and ten Commoners be chosen Commissioners, to treat with the King.
9. **That** it be referred to the Committee of Lords and Commons for peace, to prepare all things in readiness for the speeding of the treaty.

These votes being sent to the Commons, they did not think proper to pass them without some amendments.

**The first was admitted.** As to the second, the Commons ordered:—

**That** his Majesty should be desired to send to the Houses the names of such persons as he should conceive to be of necessary use about him during the treaty; they not being persons excepted against by both Houses of Parliament from pardon, or that were then under restraint, or in actual wars against the Parliament by sea or land; or in such numbers, as might draw any just cause of suspicion; and that his Majesty should be in the same freedom, honour, and safety, as he was in when he was at Hampton Court.

**Upon the third,** they concurred in the vote for his Majesty's attendants, provided they were such as were not in any of the former qualifications.

**The fourth was approved of.**

**As to the fifth and sixth,** the question, whether the Scots should be invited by the Parliament, to send commissioners to treat with his Majesty upon the propositions presented to him at Hampton Court, it was carried in the negative. But it was ordered however,

**That if the King should think fit to send for any of the Scottish nation,** to advise with him concerning the affairs of the Kingdom of Scotland only, the Houses would give him a safe-conduct.

**Concerning the seventh,** it was resolved:—

**That before the recalling of Colonel Hammond's instructions,** they should send again to his Majesty, to let him know, how far they had proceeded, as to a treaty, and to have his Majesty's approbation.

**The eighth and ninth were admitted** without any difficulty.

The next day the Commons ordered new instructions to Colonel Hammond, viz.

**That the King be removed to Newport,** and be in the same condition and freedom there, as he was at Hampton Court.

**That no person** in the first exception out of mercy, nor under restraints of the Parliament, nor of late actually in arms against the Parliament, be admitted to the King.

**That no person** that hath been in arms against the Parliament, &c. or of whom there is just cause of suspicion, be admitted into any fort or tower in the Isle of Wight;

**That no person** of any foreign nation be admitted to come into the same Isle, without leave of the Parliament.

**If the Kingdom of Scotland** send any to treat with his Majesty, they shall have a pass from both Houses, and be admitted.

**That his Majesty pass his royal word**, not to go out of the Island during the treaty, nor twenty-eight days after, without the advice of both Houses of Parliament.

### **The Defeat of The Scots Puts no Stop to The Treaty**

The next day, advice was brought of Duke Hamilton's defeat. The Independents thence hoped, they should hinder the conclusion of the treaty[315], and the Presbyterians, that the King would grant everything, since he had lost the alliance he depended upon, and was without any resource. Thus, this event, though of the greatest importance, caused no alteration in the disposition of the parties to treat. A few days after they received also news of the taking of Colchester.

The King having sent a list of the persons he desired to have about him, the Parliament excepted against three, namely, Ashburnham, Legg and Dowcet, who were then in custody.

It was not only upon this point, but several others, where difficulties occurred, that they were forced to send expresses to the King. It suffices to say, that the Parliament's commissioners departed not from London for Newport, till the 13th of September, and the conferences began not till the 18th. It was agreed, they should continue forty days only.

Whilst preparations were making for the treaty, the Prince of Wales, who lay in the Downs with his fleet, sent a letter to the House of Peers, wherein he took notice of the progress made as to a personal treaty, and farther expressed his desire:—

### **Letter From The Prince of Wales to The Lords**

**1. That** the treaty should be in such place and manner, as might consist with the honour, freedom, and safety of his Majesty his father; so that the agreement might not be blemished with any face of restraint.

**2. That** the treaty might be between the King, and his two Kingdoms of England and Scotland.

**3. That** during the treaty, there should be a general cessation of arms.

**4. That** a moderate subsistence, during the treaty, might be agreed upon, for all armies and forces then on foot, and particularly the Scots army in England.

**5. That** a course might be taken to content him, and his ships in the Downs, with money and provision.

It does not appear, the Lords took any notice of this letter, and the rather, as the Prince made no mention, that it should be communicated to the Commons.

## **Petition From The Common Council**

The same day the Lords received this letter, a petition was presented to both Houses from the Common Council of London. Desiring:—

1. **That** the King's Majesty might be free from restraint.
2. **Invited** to a treaty.
3. **That** all acts of hostility by sea and land, might by command of King and Parliament, cease.
4. **That** the government of the Church might be settled according to the Covenant.
5. **That** distressed Ireland might be relieved.
6. **The people** of England, by disbanding all armies, eased; the liberty of the subjects restored; the laws of the land established.
7. **The members** of both Houses enjoined to attend the House for the service of the Kingdom.
8. **That** the self-denying ordinance might be effectually observed. And,
9. **Speedy consideration** had of the condition of such merchants, whose ships and goods were stayed by those with the Prince; and that some expedient might be thought of, for discharge of all ships, that trade be not destroyed.

## **Another From The Reformado Officers**

The Reformado officers presented the same day a petition of the like import, praying moreover, that all officers and soldiers (without exception) might be paid their arrears.

## **Answer to The City**

The Commons returned in answer to the Common Council of London, that it was their intention to treat with the King, that they had acquainted his Majesty with it, and that there was no room to question but the King was in the same disposition. Then they communicated to the Council the votes that were passed in the House on that occasion.

## **The Independents Begin to Stir**

All this passed before the defeat of the Scotch army. But after the news of that great event, and the taking of Colchester, the Independents in and about London, who had been quiet since the removal of the army, and before any decision, began to hold up their heads.

## **They Present A Petition**

The 11th of September, two days before the departure of the commissioners for the Isle of Wight they presented a petition to the Parliament, subscribed by several thousands, openly complain-

ing of the Commons proceedings, which, they said, flowed from the corruption of most of the members.

They also gave them the reasons, why they first assisted them in this war with their persons and purses, and let them know, they expected other ways from them than a treaty with the King, and particularly:—

1. **That** they would make good the Supremacy of the people from all pretences of negative voices either in the King or Lords.
2. That they would have made laws for election of representatives yearly, and of course, without writ or summons.
3. **That** their time of sitting exceed not forty or fifty days at the most, and to have fixed an expressed time for the ending of this present Parliament.
4. **That** they would have exempted matters of religion and God's worship from the compulsive or restrictive power of any authority.
5. **That** none be forced or pressed to serve in war.
6. **That** they would have made both Kings, Queens, Princes, Dukes, Earls, Lords, and all persons, alike liable to every law of the land.
7. **That** all Commoners be freed from the jurisdiction of the Lords in all cases; and to have taken care, that all trials be only of twelve sworn men; and no conviction but upon two or more sufficiently known witnesses.
8. **That** none be examined against themselves, nor be punished for doing of that, against which no law hath been provided.
9. **That** the proceedings in law be abbreviated, mitigated and made certain, the charge thereof in all particulars.
10. **That** all trade and merchandising be made free from all monopolizing and engrossing, by companies or otherwise.
11. **That** the excise and all kind of taxes, except subsidies, be taken of.
12. **That** you would have laid open all late enclosures of fens, and other commons, or have enclosed them only or chiefly to the benefit of the poor.
13. **That** they would have considered the many thousands that are ruined by perpetual imprisonment for debt and provided to their enlargement.
14. **Have** ordered some effectual course to keep people from begging and beggary, in so fruitful a nation, as through God's blessing this is.
15. **That** they would have proportioned punishments more equal to offences, that so men's lives and estates might not be forfeited upon trivial and slight occasions,
16. **Have** removed the tedious burthen of tithes, satisfying all impropiators, and providing a more equal way of maintenance for our poor ministers.

**17. Have** raised a stock of money out of confiscated estates, for payment of those who contributed voluntarily above their abilities, before those that distributed out of their superfluities.

**18. Bound** themselves and all future Parliaments from abolishing propriety, leveling men's estates or making all things common.

**19. That** they would have declared, what the duty or business of the Kingly office is, and what not; and ascertained the revenue that increase or diminution; that so there might never be more quarrels about the same.

**20. That** they would have rectified the election of public officers for the city of London, of every particular company therein; restoring the commonalty thereof to their just rights, most unjustly withheld from them, to the producing and maintaining corrupt interest, opposite to common freedom, and exceedingly prejudicial to the trade and manufactures of this nation.

**21. That** they would have made full and ample reparations to all persons that had been oppressed, by sentences in High Commission, Star-Chamber, and Council Board; or by any kind of monopolisers or projectors, and that out of the estates of those that were authors, actors, or promoters of so intolerable mischiefs; and that without much attendance.

**22. That** they would have abolished all Committees, and have conveyed all businesses into the true method of the usual trials of the Commonwealth,

**23. That** they would not have followed the example of former tyrannous and superstitious Parliaments, in making orders, ordinances, or laws, or in appointing punishments concerning opinions, or things supernatural, styling some blasphemies, others heresies.

**24. That** they would have declared what the business of the Lords is, and ascertain their condition, not derogating from the liberties of other men; that so there might be an end of striving about the same.

**25. That** they would have done justice upon the capital authors and promoters of the former or late wars.

**26. That** they would have provided constant pay for the army, and given rules to all Judges, and all other public officers throughout the land, for their indemnity; and for the saving harmless all that have any ways assisted them.

**27. That** they would have laid to heart the abundance of innocent blood that hath been spilt, and the infinite spoil and havoc that hath been made of peaceable, harmless people, by express commission from the King; and seriously to have considered, whether the justice of God be likely to be satisfied, or is his yet continuing wrath appeased by an act of oblivion.

Though the petitioners did not call themselves Independents, the principles of that party were but too visible in these articles to doubt from what quarter they came.

## **Another From Masters of Ships**

The same day the masters and commanders of ships presented the like petition, complaining of the tyranny of the Parliament. The Parliament thought not proper to answer these petitions[316]

though two days after, the first presented another to desire an answer, to every part of their Petition. It was no proper juncture to provoke the Independents, by such an answer as this petition deserved.

Before I enter upon the particulars of the treaty at Newport, it is absolutely necessary to relate what passed in the North of England, and in Scotland.

### **Cromwell Marches Against Monroe**

Monroe who was leading from Scotland three or four thousand men<sup>[317]</sup> to Duke Hamilton, had entered a good way into England, when the Scotch army was vanquished and dispersed. After this story, Cromwell, without losing time in pursuing the rest of the army which was not in condition to do any mischief, left Lambert with some troops to finish their destruction, and immediately marched in quest of Monroe.

The English that were with this Scotch General used their utmost endeavours to persuade him to give Cromwell battle: But it was not possible to prevail with him. He chose rather to retire northward, and always kept at so great distance, that there was no overtaking him. Nevertheless Cromwell continued his march, and hearing that Lambert had entirely destroyed the Scotch army, sent him orders to march to Carlisle, where Musgrave still remained with some troops, and after clearing those parts, to come and join him in order to enter Scotland together.

When Cromwell came near Berwick, he writ to the Committee of Estates to require them to call home Monroe, and deliver Berwick and Carlisle, otherwise they were to expect a war. A few days alter he pursued his march towards Scotland, having left some regiments to block up Berwick.

### **Argyle Raises Forces Against Monroe**

Duke Hamilton's defeat, and Cromwell's threats, entirely changed the face of affairs in Scotland. The Marquis of Argyle, who had not been able to prevent the raising of an army, and had been forced to submit to the opposite party, became superior again, and was supported by all who were against the war.

The Committee of Estates daily lost their authority, and were seconded only by Monroe, who was at length returned into Scotland. So, the Marquis of Argyle being assured of the approbation of most of the people, levied three or four thousand men to oppose Monroe, whom the Earl of Lanerick had joined, with some new raised troops.

### **Cromwell Marches to Edinburgh**

They had secured Sterling bridge, which hindered the Marquis of Argyle from making any progress, though his forces had been more numerous. But Cromwell broke all their measures, by not staying at Berwick, but marching directly to Edinburgh. He thereby forced the Committee of Estates to fly from thence, and disperse, for fear of being enclosed between the English, and the Marquis of Argyle's forces. Then the Earl of Lanerick, and Monroe, being unable to continue the war, came to an agreement upon the following terms:—

### **Articles Between The Earl of Argyle and Monroe**

1. **That** both the armies should be disbanded.
2. **That** a Parliament should be called to sit before the 20th of January.



**3. That** the settling of religion be referred to the determination of the General Assembly, and all civil questions to the determination of Parliament.

**4. That** a new Committee of Estates be appointed, to consist only of such members as protested in Parliament against the late engagement: And in case any of the forces under Monroe should continue in arms, that then the said Committee should raise forces to suppress the same.

**5. That** none who had been accessory to the late engagement, should be challenged to take away their lives and estates, &c. provided they did declare under their hand-writing, to the Lord-Chancellor, or President of the Committee of Estates, that they accepted of, and submitted to the present engagement.

**6. That** all persons taken in war, since the second of August, be released.

## **Cromwell is Received into Edinburgh**

The face of affairs being thus changed, and the King's party dispersed, Cromwell repaired to Edinburgh, where he was received with great respect. He obtained the restitution of Berwick and Carlisle, and having concerted proper measures with the Marquis of Argyle, returned triumphantly into England, He left Lambert, however, Scotland, with three or four regiments, at the request of the Scots, who believed they should want them, to awe those who might desire to raise new commotions.

## **Conference for Peace at Newport**

Whilst Cromwell was in quest of Monroe in Scotland, and three days before General Fairfax came to St. Albans, the conferences for peace began at Newport[318]. Though the two Houses had desisted from the condition, that the King should sign the three bills before the treaty, they had not relinquished the thing itself. The very first day, the Commissioners presented to the King, the draughts of the three bills.

**By the first,** the Presbyterian government was established for ever in the Church of England, Episcopacy abolished, with the whole Hierarchy, and the sale of Bishops lands appointed.

**By the second,** the King left the power of the Militia for thirty years in the hands of both Houses.

**By the third,** all the King's proclamations and declarations against the Parliament, or their adherents, were recalled.

**The last** of these bills began with these words, Whereas the Parliament have been necessitated to make and prosecute a war in their just and lawful defence, &c.

## **Dispute About The Preamble to One of These Bills**

The King scrupled not to agree to the substance of the bill, but objected against the preamble, which charged him indirectly with having made war upon the Parliament, and desired it might be omitted, to which the Commissioners would never consent, because they were, by their instructions, not to depart from a tittle of what was contained in the three bills.

This dispute held seven days, and it was the 25th of September, before the King consented at last to pass the bill, with the preamble. But it was on condition, that nothing should be binding,

unless the whole were agreed on, and the treaty signed. This article being thus dispatched, they proceeded to the rest, on which were great debates, and particularly concerning religion. As the King saw the Commissioners would not, or could not yield any thing, he hoped to shorten the negotiation, by shewing the two Houses, how far he could comply with regard to the most important articles. He sent therefore a message to explain his intentions, and make them the following offers.

## **A Message From The King to Both Houses With His Offers**

**1. Concerning religion.** His Majesty will consent, that the calling and sitting of the assembly of Divines at Westminster be confirmed for three years by act of Parliament, and confirms for three years the Directory, and the form of Church government, to be used for the Churches of England and Ireland, and Dominion of Wales; provided that his Majesty, and those of his judgment, or any other, who cannot in confidence submit thereunto, be not in the meantime obliged to comply with the same; and that a free confutation and debate, be had with the Assembly of Divines at Westminster in the mean time, twenty of his Majesty's nomination being added to them, whereby it may be determined by his Majesty, and his two Houses of Parliament, how the said Church government, and form of public worship, after the said time, and how religion may be settled, and the articles determined, and care taken for the ease of tender confidences.

**2. Concerning the Bishops lands and revenue.** His Majesty will consent to an act or acts of Parliament, whereby legal estates for lives, or for years, not exceeding ninety-nine, shall be made for those lands, towards the satisfaction of the purchasers, and to others to whom they are engaged, whereby they may receive satisfaction; provided that the propriety and inheritance of those lands, may still remain to the Church, and the rest that shall be reserved to be for their maintenance.

**3. His Majesty will give his royal assent for the better observation of the Lord's Day,** for suppressing of innovations in Churches and Chapels, in and about the worship of God, and for the better advancing of the preaching of God's holy word in all parts of this Kingdom; and to an act against enjoying pluralities of benefices by spiritual persons, and non-residency; for regulating and reforming both Universities, and the Colleges of Westminster, Winchester, and Eaton; for the better discovery, and speedy conviction of popish recusants, for the education of the children of Papists, by Protestants, in the Protestant religion, for levying penalties against Papists: To an act to prevent the practices of Papists against the State, and for putting the laws in execution, and for a stricter course to prevent hearing, and saying of Mass.

**4. As to the Covenant,** his Majesty is not yet therein satisfied, that he can sign or swear it, or consent to impose it on the consciences of others; nor doth conceive it proper, or useful, at this time, to be insisted on[319].

**5. Touching the militia,** his Majesty will consent to an act of Parliament, to be in the Parliament's hands for ten years.

**6. Touching Ireland,** after advice with his two Houses, he will leave it to their determination, and give his consent accordingly.

**7. Touching public debts,** His Majesty will give his consent to such an act, or raising of moneys by general and equal taxation.

**8. He proposeth**, that he may have liberty forthwith to come to Westminster, and be restored to a condition of freedom and safety, a thing which he shall never deny to any of his subjects, and to the possession of his lands and revenues; and that an act of oblivion and indemnity may pass, to extend to all persons, for all matters relating to the late differences, which being agreed by his two Houses of Parliament, his Majesty will be ready to make these his concessions binding, by giving them the force of laws by his royal assent[320].

### **Remark on These Concessions**

If these offers concerning religion are considered, with respect to the King's private opinion, they may be said to be great condescensions, perhaps greater than his conscience allowed, since it was his real belief, there was no true Church without Bishops. But if these same offers are considered, with regard to the Presbyterians and Independents, of whom the Parliament consisted, they will be found to be by no means satisfactory. They were only a sort of interim, which tended to make them lose the present opportunity to abolish Episcopacy entirely.

### **Another Remark**

I cannot forbear making another remark on this occasion. The King artfully endeavoured, so to order it, that his own propositions should be treated upon, which the Parliament had ever refused, so apprehensive were they of the usual ambiguities and restrictions in the King's papers, and of which there is even here a fresh instance, in the first article concerning religion. But he was disappointed now, as well as before.

### **The Offers are Rejected**

The Parliament, without taking notice of his offers[321], ordered the Commissioners to proceed solely according to their instructions. Whereupon the King delivered a paper to the Commissioners, containing the reasons why he could not consent to the abolition of Episcopacy, which, he said, he conceived to be of Apostolical institution. That as to the sale of Church lands, he affirmed it to be real sacrilege, besides, that at his Coronation, he had sworn to maintain the rights of the clergy.

All these reasons, with many more that might have been added, signified nothing to the Commissioners, who had no power to relax on any point. All they could do, was to send them to the Parliament, and expect their orders. But, this delayed the conclusion of the treaty, and consumed the time which the King and Parliament ought equally to have improved.

### **The King Consents to The Article About The Militia**

Some days after, the King being desirous to gain the good-will of both Houses, and some concession in favour of Episcopacy, which was the principal, and, as I may say, the only point that hindered the conclusion of the treaty, declared to the Commissioners:—

**That** he consented for the settling the militia by sea and land, in the Parliament's hands for twenty years, and for confirming for three years by act of Parliament, the form of Church government, and directory for worship presented to him. But he added, that he was not satisfied in his conscience, or could be content to the utter abolishing of Episcopacy; the substance whereof he conceived to consist in the power of ordination and jurisdiction, as they were exercised by the Apostles themselves, and others, by authority derived from them, superior to Presbyters and Deacons in the primitive times. His resolution being to comply with his two Houses, for the alteration and regulating of his present hierarchy and Government, so as

Episcopacy reduced to the primitive usage, might be settled and continued in the Church of England, and if his two Houses should so advise, his Majesty would be content to lessen the extent, and multiply the number of the Dioceses.

**As to the exception**, that his Majesty had not expressed his consent for settling of Bishops lands upon trustees, and for the sale of those lands; it was true he had, not to alienate the inheritance of those lands, and herein he believed he had the concurrent opinions of many Divines, that in other points differed much among themselves: But his former answer containing a large offer of satisfaction to all those that had purchased or disbursed monies upon those lands, he hoped that answer would be satisfactory to his two Houses.

**For the calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines**, his-Majesty would assent as was desired,

**That his Majesty** would confirm the public use of the Directory in all Churches and Chapels, as was desired in the proposition, and would consent to the repeal of so much of all Statutes, as only concerned the book of Common Prayer, and also the taking the same away out of all Churches and Chapels, provided that the use thereof might be continued in his Majesty's Chapel for himself and his household:

**And that the same** should be confirmed by Act of Parliament for three years, provided only that a consultation in the meantime be had with the Assembly of Divines in such a manner, and for the purposes as were in his former answer expressed.

**Touching the articles of religion**, his Majesty professed, he had not had time since they were delivered unto him, to look into them with that deliberation which was requisite, before he bound himself up and his subjects in matter of Faith and Doctrine; and therefore desired, that part of the proposition might be respected by his two Houses. But he would consent to an act for better observation of the Lord's Day; as also to prevent the saying of mass.

**Lastly, concerning the Covenant**, and the ordinance concerning the same, his Majesty's answer, was, that he not being satisfied to take it or impose it on others, he conceived his two Houses would not insist upon it at that time, and the rather, because the ends thereof would be obtained by the agreement if happily concluded.

Some days after, the two Houses received advice from their Commissioners, that the King had fully consented to the proposition concerning Ireland.

By a letter which came the 17th of October, they heard, the King had agreed to the propositions concerning the public debts, and for taking away all honours and titles conferred since the 20th of May 1642.

By another of the 18th, that concerning delinquents, his Majesty offered:—

**That** all persons who had any hand in the plotting, designing, or assisting the rebellion in Ireland, should expect no pardon, as was expressed in the first branch of the proposition. As to all the rest of the propositions, his Majesty could not consent thereunto, as was proposed, otherwise than in the following manner: viz,

As for all other persons comprised in the said first branch, his Majesty, for satisfaction of his two Houses, would give way, that they might moderately compound for their estates, and desired they might be

admitted to the same; and for removing of distrust and interruptions of the public settlements, his Majesty would consent as followeth.

**That** such of them as the two Houses of Parliament would insist on, should not be admitted to his councils, and be restrained from coming to Court, at such distance as both Houses should think fit, and should not have any office and employment in the Commonwealth, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament; or should absent themselves out of the Kingdom for some time, if both Houses of Parliament should think fit.

**That** all other persons in that proposition should submit to a moderate composition, and for the pace of three years should not sit, or serve as members, or assist in either House of Parliament, without consent of both Houses.

## **The Conferences are Prolonged a Week**

The time fixed for the continuance of the treaty being almost expired, and nothing settled on the article of Episcopacy, which was properly the only point on which difficulties occurred, the two Houses found an expedient to prolong the negotiation a week, by ordering, that the Sundays and Fast days should not be accounted part of the forty days allowed for the conferences.

## **New Offers From The King**

The 21st of October the King sent a fresh message to both Houses concerning Episcopacy. Cromwell was on the road to join the army, and it was to be feared, if the treaty was not concluded before his arrival, he would raise invincible obstacles to it. The King sufficiently knew him, to believe there was no good to be expected from him. He believed therefore, that to hasten the conclusion of the treaty, to which the affair of Episcopacy was the grand obstacle, he ought to make some farther concessions on that point.

Wherefore he acquainted the two Houses, by this message:—

- 1. That** he consented to the abolishing of Archbishops, Chancellors, Deans and Chapters, &c.. and the whole hierarchy, except Bishops.
- 2. That** for three years no other but Presbyterian Government should be used, and the exercise of episcopal Government should be wholly suspended during that time.
- 3. Whereas** episcopal jurisdiction, if no other had been agreed upon in the meantime; might have risen up after the three years, he now expressed his consent, that none should be exercised after that time other than ordination, which was restrained to the counsel and assistance of Presbyters, but such, and in such manner as should be agreed by him and his two Houses; whereby until such agreement, or if it were not otherwise agreed, episcopal jurisdiction was wholly laid aside.

## **The King Consents to The Nomination of Great Officers of State**

His Majesty also that day consented to the following propositions:—

**To that** for nomination of the great officers of the Kingdom, to be by both Houses during the term of ten years.

**To those** concerning the city of London, and the Great Seal.

**To that** concerning the Court of Wards, &c. a recompense being assured to his Majesty of one hundred thousand pounds per Annum to him, his heirs and successors, in lieu of the Court of Wards.

## **He Refuses to Give up Episcopacy**

The Commissioners acquainting the King that his answer concerning Episcopacy would not be satisfactory to the two Houses, and earnestly pressing him to give them further consideration, he told them in writing, he could not absolutely relinquish Episcopacy. He repeated his offers on that head, adding only, that if in the space of three years he was convinced, that the function of Bishops was not agreeable to the word of God, or that Christ commanded any other Government, he would most cheerfully embrace it: but till he was so convinced, he believed himself bound in confidence to maintain Episcopacy.

## **The Parliament is Not Satisfied With The King's Offers**

The Commons spent four or five days in debates upon the King's offers and answers, and voted them unsatisfactory, as to the point of Episcopacy, the Lords concurring with them.

The same was voted concerning the King's answer about taking the Covenant, and abolishing Popery, for that he desired to have it tolerated in the Queen's Chapel and family.

The Houses were likewise dissatisfied with the answers about alienating Bishops' lands, and sale of Deans and Chapters, and concerning delinquents. Thus, the peace seemed more remote than ever, especially, as the Lords concurred with the Commons in the alienation of Church-lands.

## **New Demand to The King About Ireland**

As the time limited for the conferences was about to expire, these resolutions were speedily sent to the commissioners, with orders to demand the King's final and positive answer, and by a special message the Commons also desired of the King, that his Majesty would be pleased to declare expressly against the Irish rebellion, and the cessation concluded with the rebels, and forbid the junction of the Marquis of Ormond's forces with the Irish papists to make war upon the Protestants.

But as there remained only three days, which was not a sufficient time to receive the King's answer, the Lords prevailed with the Commons to prolong the treaty a fortnight, and the rather, as the King had desired to confer with Dr. Usher Archbishop of Armagh, and the Bishops of Worcester and Rochester, upon the affairs of the Church. But as much was not to be expected from this delay, the commissioners were allowed to return to the Parliament, leaving three of their number to receive the King's final answer[322].

## **The Commissioners Report of The King's Last Answer**

Twelve of the commissioners coming to London, reported to the Parliament the King's final answer, which had been delivered to them the 9th of November, and was to this effect:—

**That** his concessions had been misapprehended, and that he did not intend to make any more new Bishops during the term of three years.

**That** whereas it might be objected,

**That** in the end of three years the power of ordination should be practised in the old manner as formerly, that is, the Bishops should be at liberty to call what Presbyters they would to assist in ordaining, but were not bound to their counsel or consent, his Majesty did now intend and consent, that Bishops should not receive any into holy Orders without consent of a limited number of Presbyterians to be chosen in such manner as should be agreed on by his Majesty and his two Houses for that purpose.

**That** his Majesty did not intend, that after the end of three years no certain way should be settled concerning Ecclesiastical Government, for that his Majesty did purpose during the three years, to have a consultation with the Assembly of Divines, twenty being added of his nomination, which if his two Houses should resolve to entertain, it could not well be doubted, but upon the debate, such a Government would be agreed on by his Majesty and his two Houses, as should be best for the peace of the Church, and most proper to prevent those distractions which his two Houses apprehended might ensue.

**As** to that part of the proposition concerning the book of Common Prayer; for the satisfaction of his two Houses, that he would not infill upon any provision for continuance of the same in his Majesty's chapel for himself and his household: Nevertheless his Majesty declared, that he intended to use some other set form of Divine Service.

**As** to their request, that an Act be passed for a stricter course to prevent the saying and hearing of mass in the Court, or any part of the Kingdom, or in Ireland, his Majesty would consent thereunto.

**As** to all other particulars mentioned in the Parliament's paper, he referred himself to his former answers.

**Concluding**, that since he had by his concessions brought all differences concerning the Church into so narrow a compass, that the chief visible obstruction was, that wherein really in conscience he was not satisfied, he hoped his two Houses would not put farther pressures of so tender a nature upon him.

## **The Parliament is Not Satisfied With it**

All this was not capable to induce the Common's to desist from the least of their pretensions. They voted, that his Majesty's answers concerning the Church, form of prayer, hearing and saying Mass, were unsatisfactory; and ordered the three Commissioners attending the King to inform him of these votes, and press him for his final answer.

## **Votes Upon The King's Desires**

As the Parliament had not hitherto taken any notice of the King's propositions or desires, the House of Commons at length took them into consideration, and passed the following votes:—

- 1. That** his Majesty's coming to London shall be with freedom, safety and honour, so soon as the concessions of the treaty are concluded and agreed.
- 2. That** his Majesty shall have his lands and revenues, what is legally his, made good to him, according to the laws of the Kingdom.
- 3. What** his Majesty shall pass away of his legal rights, he shall have allowance in compensation thereof.

**4. That** an Act of Oblivion be presented to his Majesty, to be passed with such limitations as shall be agreed on by both Houses of Parliament.

It is certain, there was never any difficulty either about the King's return, or the restitution of his revenues, or the abolition of the Court of Wards, instead of which he was to have a hundred thousand pounds a year. These three articles were considered as a natural consequence of the conclusion of the treaty. But as to the act of oblivion, the King and Parliament. did not agree.

The Parliament insisted upon excepting from pardon such a number of delinquents, that is, of those who had served the King, and were considered as the authors of the troubles. They intended to confiscate their estates, and banish them the realm. In short, after long debates, the number of excepted persons was reduced to seven, about whom the two Houses did not agree[323].

Nay, as to those that were to be included in the pardon, the Parliament pretended to inflict a pecuniary punishment on them, and had ranked them under several classes, according to which, some were to forfeit one half of their estates, others a third, others a fourth, and had assigned the money thence arising towards the payment of the public debts.

The King, on the contrary, pretended, that all without exception should have the benefit of the act of oblivion. He consented only that some of those whom the Parliament termed delinquents, that is, his faithful servants, should be liable to a moderate composition, a general expression, on which there would have been many disputes, had it come to be discussed.

However it be, this article, which was considerable, was not yet settled: but it was not impossible to find expedients to satisfy the King and the Parliament, if the difficulties concerning religion had not hindered the conclusion of the treaty, upon which I cannot forbear making two remarks.

### **Remarks on Difficulties as to Religion**

The first is, that if the Commons insisted so long upon the signing the three bills, it was because they knew how inflexible the King was in the point of Episcopacy, and despaired of concluding a treaty with him, unless he previously granted this article, upon which they were no less inflexible than he, as plainly appeared in the conferences. This was the principal point, without which perhaps there would have been no war, and from which the Presbyterians could not depart without losing the fruit of all their labours and successes against the King.

My second observation is, that the rigid Episcopalians had room to see in these conferences, what prejudice their former excessive severity against Presbyterianism now brought them, since it was not possible to find any other way to content the Presbyterians than the abolition of Episcopacy.

The Presbyterians, knowing by long experience the King's ill-intentions towards them, thought they could not trust to concessions extorted from him by necessity, and were not to be satisfied so long as the name of Bishop subsisted. They were apprehensive, and perhaps very justly, that the function of Bishops, though reduced almost to nothing by the King's offers, would be a foundation on which the King intended to raise the superstructure of the hierarchy, or a tothing, which shewed that he meant not to leave the building in its present condition.

The example of what had happened in Scotland farther confirmed their jealousies and fears. In that Kingdom, all the Epifcopal functions had been abolished. The Bishops had retained only the bare name, with some temporal privileges, entirely destitute of authority or jurisdiction. But even this had sufficed to give King James occasion to restore them to all the rights they had enjoyed before the Reformation. Charles I. might intend to do the same thing in England and the Presbyterians but too well remembered, that at the very time he granted the Scots the extirpation



of Episcopacy, he writ to the Scotch Bishops that it was only through compulsion, and till he should have opportunity to restore the Church to her former splendour. Without this prejudice of the Presbyterians, without this want of confidence, of which the King may be said to be himself the cause, it is certain his offers with regard to Episcopacy might have served for foundation to a peace, as the Parliament acknowledged when it was too late. Meanwhile, the two Houses not despairing entirely, to bring the King to their terms, continued the treaty a week longer.

## **Another Prolongation of The Treaty**

Whilst both Houses were employed in the affairs of the treaty, the officers of the army, whose head-quarters were then at Windsor, met in a council of war, to endeavour to obstruct the peace. They knew what had passed at Newport, and that the conclusion of the treaty depended but on a single point, which they did not question, the King would at last grant. Wherefore they resolved to hinder the conclusion by force.

## **The Army Prepares to Obstruct The Peace**

Cromwell was not yet come to the army, but remained about Pontefract, to order the siege of that place, which had been surprised by the King's party, and the garrison whereof kept the whole Country in awe, and committed great violence. Colonel Rainsborough had been detached from the army, to command at the siege; but had been surprised in a neighbouring town by a party of the garrison, who had killed him, not having been able to carry him off [324].

## **Cromwell Stays Before Pontefract**

Cromwell had ever loved and esteemed him, and therefore earnestly wished to revenge his death, besides that he was importuned by the committee of Yorkshire, to employ the forces he was leading from Scotland, for the reduction of this place. This had detained him some time in those parts. But as he wanted not all his troops for that siege, because he had there already a detachment of the army, he sent part of his forces before, to join General Fairfax.

This reinforcement being arrived, the army believed themselves able to execute what had been resolved. To that purpose, the 18th of November, which would have been the last day of the Newport conferences, if the Parliament had not continued them a week longer, Colonel Ewers, attended with some officers, presented to the Commons, from the army, a remonstrance, which plainly discovered the intentions of the Independent party.

## **Remonstrance of The Army**

The substance of the army's desires, was to this effect:—

- 1. That** the King be brought to justice, as the capital cause of all the evils in the Kingdom, and of so much blood being shed.
- 2. That** a timely and peremptory day be set for the Prince of Wales, and Duke of York, to come in and surrender themselves; if not, that they be declared incapable of Government, or any right in England, and stand exiled for ever as traitors; and if they render themselves by the time, then the Prince to be proceeded against or remitted, as he shall give satisfaction, and the Duke the like, and that the revenue of the Crown be sequestered. Also the £10,000 to be added, be disposed to public use.
- 3. That** public justice may be done upon some capital causers or actors in the war.

4. **That** the rest upon submission may have mercy for their lives.
5. **That** the soldiers have their arrears.
6. **That** public debts be paid, chiefly to those who voluntarily laid out their estates, and ventured their lives, and this to be done by fines of delinquents, and the estates of those excluded from pardon.
7. **After** public justice thus done, then that a reasonable certain period be put to this Parliament.
8. **That** there be a certain succession of future Parliaments, annual or biennial, with secure provision,

(1) **For** the certainty of meeting.

(2) **For** equal distribution of elections, to render the Commons House an equal representative.

(3) **For** certainty of the people's meeting, and that none who have engaged in the late war, or shall engage against the right of Parliament and Kingdom, or adhere to the enemies thereof, be capable of electing, or being elected during some years, nor those who shall not join with them, but oppose this settlement.

(4) **For** clearing the power of this representative, it be declared to have the supreme power, as to the governing and preservation of the whole, as to the people of England and to altering, repealing, or abolishing of laws, the making war or peace, the highest or final judgment in all civil things; and all ministers or officers of State shall be accountable to them, bound and concluded thereby; provided, first:

**They** may not censure or question any man after the end of this Parliament, for any thing said or done in reference to the late war.

**Secondly,** They may not render up, give or take away any right, liberty, or safety, contained in this settlement or agreement. That there be a liberty of entering dissents in the said representative; in case of corruption in these highest truths, the people may know who are free, and who guilty, that so they may not trust such for the future, but with further penalty to any for their future judgment there.

9. **That** no King be hereafter admitted, but upon election of, and as upon trust from the people, by such their representative, not without first declaiming and disavowing all pretence to a negative voice against the determination of the said representative, or Commons in Parliament, and that to be done in such form more clear than heretofore in the Coronation oath.

**These matters** of a general settlement are propounded to be done by this Parliament, and to be further established by a general contract or agreement of the people, with subscriptions thereunto; also that it be provided, that none be capable of benefit by this agreement, who shall not consent and subscribe thereunto, nor any King be

admitted to the Crown, or other person to any other office or place of public trust, without express accord and subscription to the same.

## **The Parliament Returns no Answer**

The Parliament returned no answer to this remonstrance as well as to some others of the like nature, presented to them during the treaty. I have already mentioned that of the 11th of September, from thousands of the inhabitants in and about London, and that of the masters and commanders of ships.

## **Several Petitions Demanding Justice Upon The King**

The 30th of the same month they received another, in the name of many thousands of the County of Oxon. The 10th of October, a petition was presented to the Commons, signed by the Newcastle men desiring that speedy justice might be executed upon the greatest delinquents.

The same day, the inhabitants of Yorkshire petitioned for the same thing, saying:-

His Majesty had confessed himself and his party, to be guilty of the blood that had been shed.

The 30th of the same month, the officers of Ingoldsby's regiment, garrisoned at Oxford, presented a petition to the general, desiring,

**That** immediate care be taken, that justice be done upon the principal invaders of their liberties, namely, the King and his party, and sufficient caution given to future Kings for preventing the enslaving the people hereafter. Adding, that being apprehensive the issue of the treaty now in hand, could neither be just nor safe, they prayed his excellency to re-establish a General council of the army, to consider of some effectual remedies to this evil, either by representing the same to the House of Commons, as the petitioners of London, or by some other way.

On the other hand, whilst Cromwell was at Pontefract, every regiment of his army presented petitions to him, demanding justice upon the King; which were all sent to the General[325]. Hence it appears, that the army's remonstrance was an effect of the plots laid by the Independents, who in several parts of the Kingdom infused these violent resolutions into the people and officers, to hinder the conclusion of a treaty which could not but ruin their party. Very likely, the Presbyterians fully perceived the designs of the Independents, and these petitions were but too apt to convince them of the same. But they hoped to amuse them till the treaty was ended, not doubting, the King would at last consent to the abolition of Episcopacy.

As for the other articles which were not yet settled, probably, they would have chosen rather to yield them to the King, than retard the conclusion of the treaty, which to them was so necessary. Affairs being in this situation, it was not properest still more to provoke the Independents, by answers which would not have pleased them.

## **The Parliament Tries to Amuse The Army**

On the other side, they could not think of agreeing with the King, without obtaining the abolition of Episcopacy, not thinking themselves safe so long as the very name of Bishop subsisted. In short, it was not proper to attempt a refinance of the army by force. In all appearance, their preparations would but have hastened the execution of the army's resolutions, whereas it was their interest to amuse them only for some days. All their hopes therefore were grounded upon the King's compliance, which they hardly questioned, considering the manifest danger to which

his obstinacy would expose him. For it is not likely, he was ignorant of the petitions presented against him, or was not soon informed of the army's remonstrance, since every one had free access to him.

## **The King Rejects The last Proposition Concerning Ireland**

Three days after the Parliament had received the remonstrance, letters came from the Commissioners at Newport, with his Majesty's answer concerning the Marquis of Ormond, and the Bishops' lands; namely, that he could not give any orders to the Marquis before the treaty was signed, but then would do as both Houses desired; and if the Marquis refused to obey, would take such measures against him as should be satisfactory to the two Houses. That as to the Bishops' lands, he persisted in his former offers.

This answer afforded no great hopes of a speedy accommodation. However, as it was delivered the 16th of the month, two days before the presenting of the army's remonstrance, it was hoped, the next news from Newport would be more satisfactory. But on the 25th, the Parliament was informed, by letters from the Commissioners, that the King had positively refused to add any thing to his former answers<sup>[326]</sup>.

## **Hammond is Recalled to The Army and Ewers Sent in His Room**

This was not all. They were acquainted at the same time, that the General had required Colonel Hammond to attend him at the head quarters, and sent Colonel Ewers to take the command of his Majesty in the Isle of Wight, who kept the King under very strict custody.

Thus the precautions taken by the Parliament, to hinder the King from coming to treat in person at London, for fear he should meet with too many friends, were the cause that they could not be master of his person, when it would have been most necessary.

## **Fruitless Vote of The Commons**

Two days after, the Commons received a letter from Colonel Hammond, with the General's order to him to repair to the army, and resign his command to Colonel Ewers. Whereupon the Commons voted, that Colonel Hammond should be required to stay in the Isle of Wight, and the General be acquainted with this vote.

## **Consideration of The Remonstrance Put Off**

But Hammond was now gone to the army, and had resigned the custody of the King to Colonel Ewers. Notwithstanding all this, the Parliament seems not to have despaired of agreeing with the King, since the Commons deferred the consideration of the army's remonstrance, till the first of December, in order to be better able to answer it when they should know the King's final resolution. The same day, the General received petitions from the forces in the North, and in Wales, agreeable to the army's remonstrance.

## **Letter and Orders to The General From The Commons**

After the General had thus made himself master of the King's person, without the privity of the two Houses, it was not very likely, he should be disposed to receive their orders. Nevertheless, the Commons told him in a letter from their Speaker, that his orders to Colonel Ewers were contrary to their resolutions, and Colonel Hammond's instructions, and that it was the pleasure of the House, he should recall his orders, and suffer Colonel Hammond to attend his charge in the Isle of Wight. But the General, and council of war, took no notice of this order.

## The King is Removed to Hurst Castle

The next day, the King, by command of the General, was removed, by Lieutenant Colonel Gobbet, to Hurst Castle in Hampshire, situated on a narrow piece of land, running into the sea, over against the Isle of Wight, and the Parliament was not informed of it till three days after[327].

## The Army's Declaration

Meanwhile, the army was not idle, being resolved to run all hazards to prevent the conclusion of the treaty.

The same day, November the 30th, they published a declaration or manifesto, wherein they clearly discovered their designs, and which was to this effect:—

**That** the army being full of sad apprehensions concerning the danger and evil of the treaty with the King, and of any accommodation with him, or restitution of him thereupon, they did, by a remonstrance, make their application thereby to the House of Commons.

**That** they took this course out of an earnest desire, that those matters of highest concernment to the public interest of the nation might be pursued and provided for if possible, by those whose proper work and trust it was:

**But to their** grief they found, that instead of any satisfaction, or reasonable answer thereunto, they were wholly rejected, without any consideration of them. For they were laid aside till the Monday following, by which time the treaty, as then supposed, would have been concluded; but that failing, and two days more being added to the treaty, the consideration of their remonstrance in the day appointed was waived and laid aside the treaty; the meanwhile going on in the former way and terms, and likely to be concluded the very next day.

**The** army therefore having received no answer to their former proposals, they could not but remain confident, that the prevailing part of those to whom they did apply, had as it were their eyes wilfully shut, and ears stopped, against anything of light or reason offered to them, so as not to discern the dangers wherewith the Kingdom was threatened.

**The army** then seeing nothing left, to which the Parliament's engaging and persisting in such ways, could rationally be attributed, less than a treacherous or corrupt neglect of, and apostasy from the public trust reposed in them, they thought fit to appeal to the common judgments of indifferent and uncorrupted men, and to the more righteous judgment of God above all.

After justifying this extraordinary appeal in the best manner they could, they admonished such members as were upright, and had a just sense of those things, to protest against the resolutions of the House, and withdraw, promising to look upon them as persons that had the chief trust of the Kingdom remaining in them, and to adhere to them, and be guided by them, till the introducing of a more formal power, in a just representative, were speedily endeavoured.

Then they declared, that they were ready to lay down their arms, if their remonstrance were answered, but that the little notice taken of their propositions, made them sensible there was nothing to be hoped. And therefore the case being so extraordinary, and the danger so pressing, they were drawing up with their army to London, there to follow providence, as God should clear their way.

## **The General's letter to The City of London**

The first of December, the General writ to the city, to inform them of the army's advance towards London, on account of the Parliament's contempt of their remonstrance:—

**That** they had no thought of plunder or other wrong to the City or so much as troubling the inhabitants with quartering any soldiers:

**But that** for prevention of all violence, he desired forty thousand pounds might be provided by the next day[328].

The House of Commons agreed, that the city should send this sum to the army, and acquainted the General, that it was the House's pleasure he should not remove nearer London.

## **The General Comes to London**

The second of this month, the House took the King's offers into consideration, but without coming to any conclusion. Whilst they were debating, the General, with several regiments came and took up their quarters in Whitehall, St. James's the Meuse, and other places in the skirts of the city, which he judged convenient for his designs.

## **Vote Upon The King being Removed to Hurst Castle**

The 3rd being Sunday, the Parliament did not sit. But on the 4th, the Commons resumed the debate of the King's concessions, which was interrupted by the news of the King's removal to Hurst Castle. Whereupon they voted immediately, that the carrying the King prisoner to Hurst Castle, was without the advice and consent of the House.

After that, they debated again the King's offers, and sat all the day and night, till five o'clock in the morning. At last, it was proposed, whether the question should be put, and carried by a hundred and forty, against a hundred and four. Then the main question being put, it was voted, that his Majesty's concessions to the propositions of Parliament upon the treaty, were sufficient grounds for settling the peace of the Kingdom. But I cannot think it was unanimously, as the Lord Clarendon affirms[329].

What has been just seen seems to show rather, there were many members not content with this resolution.

## **Committee to Confer With The General**

Immediately after, the House appointed a Committee to confer with the General, for the better procuring a good correspondence between the Parliament and the army, and then adjourned to Wednesday. The same day, several other regiments came and quartered in the suburbs of London, and the General caused a proclamation to be made, requiring all delinquents, who had not perfected their compositions, to depart ten miles from London, for a month, on pain of being proceeded against as prisoners of war.

## **The General Becomes Master of The Old Palace**

Wednesday, the 6th of December, the General sent two regiments to Westminster and the City trained-bands were discharged, who had been set there some months since, for guards to the Parliament. After the soldiers were drawn up in the Court of Requests, on the stairs, and in the lobby before the House, when the Members offered to go in, Colonel Pride, having a paper of

names in his hand, seized upon one and forty, and sent them into the Court of Wards, where they were kept under guard.

The House having notice thereof, sent their Serjeant at Arms to acquaint these Members, that they should forthwith attend the service of the House. But the officer of the guard answered, he had order to secure them, which order he was to obey before any other command[330].

## **The Army's Proposals Presented to The House of Commons**

Not long after, Colonel Whaley, with other officers, presented to the House a Paper entitled, *Proposals and Desires of the Army in Vindication of their Conduct*, the substance whereof was to this effect:—

**1. Whereas** several Members of your House[331], were in the year 1647, impeached by yourselves for treason, or for high crimes and misdemeanours, in relation to the treasonable engagement in the City of London; the violence then done upon the Parliament, the levying of a new war, and other evils, in maintenance and prosecution thereof; and upon clear proofs against them, were by your censure expelled the House, and disabled from farther trust therein, and upon new writs issued out, new members were chosen and returned in some of their rooms; and yet by the prevalence of their faction, when in the last summer's wars, divers faithful members were engaged abroad upon necessary public service, and others through malignant tumults and disturbances could not safely attend the House, the same persons were afterwards re-admitted to sit in the House, and vote as formerly, without any trial or satisfaction in the things whereof they were accused.

**2. Whereas** by the confederacy of Major-General Brown, now Sheriff of London, with the said impeached members and others, the Scots were invited and drawn in to invade this Kingdom the last summer, insomuch as when upon their actual invasion the House proceeded to declare them enemies, and those that adhered to them, traitors; yet the said Confederates, and other treacherous members, to the number of ninety and odd, as upon the division of the House appeared, did by their counsels and votes endeavour to hinder the House from declaring against their confederate invaders:

**We desire**, that the said Major General Brown may be also secured and brought to judgment, and that the rest of the ninety and odd persons dissenting against the said vote, may be excluded the House.

**3. Whereas** in a continued series of your proceeding for many months together, we have seen the prevalence of the same treacherous, corrupt, and divided counsels, through factions and private interests, opposing or obstructing justice in all kinds, diverting your counsels from any thing of public good, hindering any proceedings to any such settlement, as would consist with security to the public interest, or put a real end to the troubles, burdens, or hazards of the Kingdom, and precipitating into treacherous and destructive compliance and conjunctions with the acknowledged enemies thereof, as in the votes of no more addresses to the King, &c. the justness and necessity whereof you had once so cleared to the world; also in the votes for entertaining or seeking after all that personal treaty:

**And lastly**, in the votes declaring the King's past concessions to be a ground for the House to proceed upon for the settlement of the peace of the Kingdom, notwithstanding the visible insufficiency and defects of them in things essentially concerning the public interest and liberties of the Kingdom, as those propounded in our late Remonstrance are, and in

other matters both religious and civil. We therefore most earnestly desire, that all such faithful members who are innocent in these things, would immediately, by protestation and public declaration, acquit themselves from any guilt of, or concurrence in the several votes or counsels here before particularly mentioned, as corrupt or destructive, that the Kingdom may know who they are that have kept their trust and distinguish themselves from the rest that have thus falsified the same; and that all such as cannot or shall not so acquit themselves particularly, may be immediately excluded or suspended the House, and not readmitted until they have given clear satisfaction therein, to the judgment of those who now so acquit themselves, and the grounds of such satisfaction be published to the Kingdom.

**4. Thus,** such as by faithfulness have retained their trust, being set in a condition to pursue and perform the same, without such interruptions, diversions, and depravations of counsels as formerly: We shall desire, and hope you will speedily and vigorously proceed to take order for the execution of justice, to set a short period to your own power, to provide for a speedy succession of equal representatives, according to our late Remonstrance, wherein differences in the Kingdom may be ended, and we and others may comfortably acquiesce, as for our parts, we hereby engage and assure you we shall.

It would be needless to make any remarks and observations upon this paper, the injustice and violence whereof are so very obvious. But it was necessary to inform the reader of the contents for the following reason. There are historians whose partiality has caused them either to omit, or but just mention it, without relating the substance, for fear of convincing their readers, that the Presbyterians were not concerned in what was afterwards transacted, and that the Independents were the true and sole authors thereof.

## **A Hundred Members are Excluded The House by The Soldiers**

December the 7th, the Commons as they were repairing to their House, found the door within and without guarded by soldiers, who hindered many from going in[332]. The Lord Clarendon says, near one hundred were denied entrance. This makes me think that the ninety mentioned in the Remonstrance were of this number.

## **The House Wholly Consist of Independents**

So from this day, the House of Commons is to be considered as consisting entirely of Independents. Very likely from that day, very few or no Presbyterian members were admitted any more. However this be, the state of the House was once more changed by this new revolution. The Presbyterians had been superior from the beginning of the war, to the 6th of August 1647.

The Independents had prevailed from that day, till about the end of the year 1648, when the army was forced to remove from London, after which the Presbyterians were masters again. At last, on the 6th and 7th of December this same year, the Independents entirely expelled the Presbyterians, or at least disabled them from supporting their party. This must be carefully remembered, if we desire to have a clear idea of this history.

## **Cromwell Comes to London**

The same day, December the 7th, Cromwell, who came to London the night before[333], sat in the House, and received thanks for his great services.



## **The General Seizes The Money in Weavers Hall**

Though the General had promised the city not to quarter the soldiers upon the inhabitants, as this promise was only conditional, in case the sum demanded were paid, and as the city had not furnished the money, he ordered two regiments into the city, and on the morrow, a third, after which, he took away twenty thousand pounds from Weavers Hall, assuring the Treasurer he should be reimbursed out of the assessments of the city due to the army.

## **Plan For Settling The Government**

About the same time, was presented to the General, a plan, entitled, **A new Representative, or, an Agreement of the People**, for settling the Government[334]. This plan was wholly founded upon Independent principles, and agreeable to the army's Remonstrance, except that it was more large on each article.

This agreement was propounded as a rule for future Government, and to be subscribed throughout the Kingdom. But as this plan was not executed, though it was drawn with great pains by the council of war, and even seemed to be approved by the Parliament, I do not think it necessary to insert it[335].

## **Protestation of The Secluded Members Voted Scandalous**

The secluded members having published a protection against the violence put upon them, both Houses declared the protestation to be false, scandalous and seditious, and tending to destroy the fundamental Government of the Kingdom, and ordered, that all persons who had any hand in framing or publishing it, should be incapable to bear any office, or to sit as members of either House.

They further ordained, that all absent members, upon their coming to the House, should disclaim their being concerned in, or giving consent to the contriving or publishing the protestation.

## **Order Concerning The Election of The Lord Mayor &c.**

After that, both Houses passed an ordinance, that no persons who had been delinquents, or assisted the King against the Parliament in the first or second wars, (or been aiding in bringing in the Scots army, or subscribed to the treasonable engagement in 1647, for a personal treaty) or abetted the late tumults within the cities of London and Westminster, or the counties of Essex, Kent, Middlesex, or Surrey, should not be elected, or give their voice for electing the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council men, or any other officers.

## **Representation of The Common Council**

But within a few days, a committee of the Common Council acquainted the House, that the city was so generally concerned in the engagement for a personal treaty, that there would not be a sufficient number of persons to supply the necessary offices of the city, if that restriction in the late ordinance should stand.

## **Some of The Members That were Arrested are Released**

The 20th of December, the General ordered fifteen or sixteen of the members secured by the army to be released, with liberty to resume their places in the House if they pleased. We have just seen how much the face of affairs was altered, by the great turn on the 6th and 7th of December. The Commons were now all Independents, openly supported by the army, and their

design was to destroy equally, King, Monarchy, Episcopacy, and Presbytery. As for the House of Lords, who had used their endeavour, though in vain, to hasten the peace, they saw themselves, since this revolution, obliged to follow the stream, which was too rapid to be opposed.

## **Observation on The House of Lords**

There were in the House but few Peers, most of them indeed Presbyterians, but too weak, in their present situation, to assert their negative voice, and the rest of their privileges. Whilst the King was able to protect such as applied to him, the Lords retained some authority, because they were not without a resource, in case they were disregarded by the Commons. But after the battle of Naseby it was not the same.

The Commons affirmed such a superiority, that the Lords had no other way to support themselves, but by approving, or feigning to approve, whatever was done by the other House, for fear of producing a breach which must have been fatal to them, since they would not have known what to do. If they were forced to behave in this manner, whilst their own party prevailed in the Lower-House, it is no wonder, they did not dare to swerve from this policy, when the Independents had gained the advantage.

To what purpose would it have been to resist the torrent? We shall see presently, their first opposition to a material point irrecoverably ruined them. They therefore who blame them for a too great compliance with the transactions since the 6th of December 1648, ought to remember, that this is not an occasion, where we are to reason upon the general ideas of the constitution of the Parliament, but rather upon the particular idea of the situation the Parliament was in at that time.

## **Several Petitions for Justice Against The King**

Since the Independents were masters of the Parliament, petitions against the King multiplied so fast, that scarce a day passed without some one being presented to the Commons, especially from the garrisons, which were part of the army. Lambert being returned from Scotland, the regiments under his command failed not to present a petition agreeable to the remonstrance of the army.

Somersetshire, where the King had formerly many adherents, distinguished itself on this occasion above all the rest, by presenting a petition, desiring that speedy and effectual justice might be executed upon the chief delinquents, that is, upon the King. The Commons were so pleased with such a petition from a whole county, that to encourage the rest to present the like, the petitioners were called in and received the thanks of the House, and the petition with the order of thanks were forthwith printed and published.

It does not however appear that the other Counties followed this example. Only Norfolk, a few days after, desired by a petition, that the King himself might be brought to impartial justice.

## **Committee Appointed to Draw up Charges Against The King**

At length, the 23rd of December, the House of Commons having resolved, pursuant to the desires of the army, to bring the chief delinquents to a trial, and intending to begin with the King, appointed a committee of thirty-eight to draw up a charge, and for that purpose to receive all information and examinations of witnesses for the matters of fact against him.

## **The Fleet Adheres to The Army**

The same day, the fleet under the command of the Earl of Warwick sent a declaration to the General, that they concurred with the army in their remonstrance.

This did not much redound to the Earl of Warwick's honour, who having been one of the Presbyterian-leaders, was the first that quitted his party to join with the Independents.

The resolution to try the King being taken, (a resolution projected by several officers of the army, when he first retired to the Isle of Wight), Colonel Harrison was commanded to remove him from Hurst Castle to Windsor. All the time the King was in the Isle of Wight, he kept a private correspondence with the Lord Newburgh. Since his being at Hurst, that Lord had found means to acquaint him, he was to be removed to Windsor, and as his house to was in the road[336], sent him word, to endeavour to dine with him, and complain of the going of his horse, promising to supply him with one of the fleetest in England, by means of which he might attempt to escape.

### **Stratagem for The King's Escape Comes to Nothing**

Accordingly, the King complained all the morning, that his horse was very uneasy, and so artfully managed, that he was conduced to dine with the Lord Newburgh. But when his Majesty came there, he was quickly told, that the horse he much depended upon, was the day before lamed with a kick. This stratagem failing, the King was conveyed to Windsor, where he was kept till the 19th of January 1648-9, when he was carried to St. James's.

### **The King is Brought to Windsor and from Thence to St. James's**

He was no sooner at Windsor, than the council of war ordered all the usual ceremonies to the King to be laid aside, as serving him upon the knee, and the like, and most of his domestics to be dismissed. For though the council of war had no right to take this upon them, yet they daily encroached upon the privileges of the Parliament, which acted entirely by their orders.

### **Ordinance Touching The Election of Lord Mayor &c.**

I have before spoken of the representation of the Common-council of London, concerning the election of the Lord Mayor, and other officers of the city. The House of Commons having heard the report of the committee appointed for that purpose, ordered, that their former ordinance should be punctually executed, not regarding, that the Magistrates of London should be chosen out of the ablest and most substantial citizens, provided they were of the reigning party. They further ordered, that freemen, for the future, should not be obliged to take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy.

The same day, being the 28th of December, the committee appointed to consider of drawing up a charge against the King, reported an ordinance for attainting him of high treason, and for trying him by such commissioners as should be named in the ordinance, which being read the first time, was ordered to be read again the next morning. But as the House knew, the ordinance would be approved at the third reading, they passed an act for erecting a High Court of Justice, with power to try the King. The preface to which extraordinary act was as follows:—

### **Preface of The Ordinance for The Erecting of a Court of Justice**

**W**HEREAS it is notorious, That Charles Stuart, the now King of England, not content with those many encroachments which his predecessors had made upon the people in their rights and freedoms, hath had a wicked design, totally to subvert the antient and fundamental laws and liberties of this nation, and in their trade to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical Government; and that besides all other evil ways and means to bring this design to pass, he hath prosecuted it with fire and sword, levied and maintained a cruel war in the land against the Parliament and Kingdom, whereby the country hath been miserably

wasted, the public treasure exhausted, trade decayed, thousands of people murdered, and infinite other mischiefs committed; for all which high and treasonable offences, the said Charles Stuart might long since justly have been brought to exemplary and condign punishment:

**Whereas also the Parliament**, well hoping, that the restraint and imprisonment of his person, after it had pleased God to deliver him into their hands, would have quieted the distempers of the Kingdom, did forbear to proceed judicially against him; but found by sad experience, that such their remissness served only to encourage him and his complices in the continuance of their evil practice, and in raising of new commotions, rebellions, and invasions.

**For prevention therefore** of the like or greater inconveniences, and to the end no chief officer, or Magistrate whatsoever may hereafter presume, traitorously and maliciously to imagine or contrive, the enslaving or destroying of the English nation, and to expect impunity for so doing:

**Be it ordained and enabled**, by the Commons in Parliament, and it is hereby ordained and enacted by the authority thereof. That Thomas Lord Fairfax, Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, Esquires, Sir Hardress Waller Knight, Philip Skippon, (and a hundred and forty-five others) shall be, and are hereby appointed and required to be Commissioners and Judges for the hearing, trying, and adjudging of the said Charles Stuart, &c.[337]

## **The Lords Reject it**

**1648-9 AD]** The ordinance for trial of the King passed in the House of Commons the second of January, and was sent up the same day to the Lords for their concurrence. Since the sixth of December, the Upper-House had consisted only of nine Peers, the rest having absented themselves, that they might not be obliged to countenance the outrageous proceedings of the Commons.

But upon notice that the ordinance would that day be sent up to the Lords, there came more Peers than usual, as the Earls of Northumberland, Manchester, Rutland, the Lords North, Rochford, Maynard, Dacres, in all fifteen, and the Lord Denbigh Speaker. The ordinance being read, was unanimously rejected.

## **Vote of The Commons That The Concurrence of The Lords Was Not Necessary**

However, to gain time, if possible, the Lords agreed to acquaint the Commons, that they would send answer by messengers of their own; and at the same time adjourned for ten days. This artifice was fruitless. The Commons having ordered the Journal of the House of Lords to be examined, and finding the ordinance was rejected, voted,

**That** all members of the House of Commons, and others, appointed to act in any ordinance wherein the Lords were joined, shall be empowered to sit, act, and execute, in the said several committees, of themselves, notwithstanding the House of Peers join not with them.

## **Other Votes**

And therefore they ordered the names of six Lords, who had been appointed for Judges, to be left out of the commission, and others to be nominated in their room. Among these last was

Serjeant Bradshaw, who was afterwards chosen President of the High Court of Justice. Then, the House voted:—

1. **That** the people under God, are the original of all just power.
2. **That** the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, being chosen by, and representing the people, have the supreme authority of this nation.
3. **That** whatever is enacted and declared law by the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament, hath the force of law, and all the people of this nation are included thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the King, and House of Peers, be not had thereunto[338].

These principles, though directly contrary to the true constitution of the English Government, were however very agreeable to those of the Independents, whose intention was to turn the Monarchy into a Republic.

The ordinance for trial of the King, with the amendments that were forced to be made, for want of the Lords concurrence, passed the House of Commons the 6th of January.

## **The Most Material Particulars of The Trial of The King**

The following days to the 20th, were employed in preparations for the trial, the like whereof had never yet been seen in the world. I intend not to swell this history with the circumstances of this famous trial. They are to be found in a little book, entitled, *A true account of the Trial of Charles Stuart, &c.* published at London in 1650, and translated into French, wherein nothing is omitted. I imagine I shall do the reader no injury, to refer him to this little book, which is not scarce, and which will inform him of all particulars[339]. I shall content myself therefore with briefly observing, what I think most material in this affair:—

- I. The High Court of Justice observed the same rule: in trying the King, as in judging a common malefactor there being no precedent of such a trial.
- II. The principal article of the accusation was, that the King had levied war against the Parliament, which was undeniable. The sieges and battles were evident proofs of it. But this ought not to have been the principal point. I should have been proved, that he was the beginner and author of the war.

**For** it is manifest, if this war had been only defensive on his part, he was not to be blamed. And yet, in the charge, he was supposed to have put the Parliament under a necessity of defending themselves, and this point, which was the chief, not only was not proved, but even not attempted to be so.

## **Concerning The Charge of His Living War Against Parliament**

**The depositions of the witnesses** tended not to shew, that the King had forced the Parliament to take arms, but only that he had been seen sword in hand against the Parliament, and giving orders to levy war. The question, which of the two, either the King or the Parliament, had begun the war, ought to have been fully cleared. But though it had been so, to the King's disadvantage, who does not know, that the beginner of a war, is not always the aggressor?

**This** was a point of great discussion, and which impartial judges would have found difficult to decide. For if what has been said in the History of this reign be remembered, it will be observed, that though it is evident the King governed in an arbitrary manner for some years, the ground of the war he undertook, was not in maintenance of this arbitrary power.

**He** had fully consented to the annulling of his usurpations. But the ground of the war, on his part, was the defence of the power the King enjoys by the laws of the Land. On the Parliament's side, the ground of the war was, That in a supposition, the King could not be trusted any more, they would have diverted him of the power his legal prerogatives afforded him to return to his former courses, and govern for the future as he had governed before.

**The King** was unwilling to be curbed, and the Parliament would set bounds to his power. This was the true ground of the war. It was not therefore easy to determine who was the first author of it. The King refused to give other security for the future than his word; and the Parliament pretended to have very strong reasons to suspect the word of a Prince, who had so often broke it. To determine which side justice and reason lay, the King's heart must have been dived into, to know whether he was sincere, or intended to deceive the Parliament.

**On the other hand**, it was necessary to know, whether the director of the Parliament had not some other end than the public good, and whether private interests were not concealed under that pretence. But all these things could be known only to God. And yet, the Parliament, being judge and party, supposed, without alleging any proof, that the King was the aggressor and sole author of the war.

## **Of The Parliament Making Them Judges of The King**

**III. There** are frequent instances in History of Kings of assassinated by their subjects, in consequence either of the public hatred, or of private revenge, or of the interest of some faction. The English history furnishes, even since the Conquest, examples of two Kings solemnly deposed and imprisoned. But till Charles I. it nowhere appears, that any King was ever tried for his life, before his own subjects as Judges. shall say nothing here of other Sovereigns, who are possessed of a greater authority over their subjects than the Kings of England; for there may be a wide difference between Sovereigns in that respect. But confining myself wholly to the Kingdom of England and supposing the constitution of the Government such as it was from the Conquest to Charles I. shall briefly set forth what has been said for and against so extraordinary a trial.

**In the first place**, it is demanded; On what Law, natural or positive, was founded the right assumed by the Parliament of England to try the King? The most plausible answer in vindication of the Parliament's proceedings, is as follows:-

### **Reason For The Parliament**

**According to the constitution** of the English Government, the King is no less bound than the subject, to observe the Laws, to which himself, or predecessors

assented, which is the principal clause of the Coronation oath. If this obligation be equal on both sides, there must be therefore equally means to cause them to discharge it, in case they neglect it.

**As for the subject**, there is no manner of difficulty. The penalties against offenders are universally known, and the Courts of Justice are appointed to inflict them. It is true, the Laws have ordained no penalty upon the Kings who discharge not their duty, as well out of respect to the regal dignity, as because it cannot be supposed, that the King, to whom the execution of the Laws is committed, should be the first to break them? and betray the trust lodged in him by the people. He is nevertheless bound to observe them himself, and cause them to be observed by the subject.

**This is a principle** generally acknowledged. But what is this obligation, if the observance of the Laws depends solely on his will, and there be no just means to compel him to observe them, or punish him when he breaks them? Will it not be an empty sound without any meaning? And will not the English Government be as arbitrary as that of any other country in the world? Since, therefore, the Laws have not decreed any penalty against a King that should neglect his duty, or the manner to constrain him to discharge it, and as, nevertheless, he is bound by the same Laws to procure the observance thereof, and to observe them himself, the Nation's representative in Parliament is of course to call him to an account, since it is not possible to imagine any other way.

**Supposing the King** has violated the most fundamental Laws of the realm, shall foreigners be applied to, for to bring him to justice? Can it be supposed, contrary to experience, that the King is under an impossibility of breaking the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, of endeavouring to subvert them, and of establishing an arbitrary Government? Will it be maintained, that he may do it with impunity? But if he is assured of impunity, what difference is there between the English Government and the most despotic, since its preservation will solely depend on the King's probity and will? If he runs no hazard in trying to alter the constitution, after ten attempts, he will try again, even till he succeeds.

**As to the objection**, That less violent means than war may be used to oblige the King to the observance of the Laws, and less unjust and extraordinary, than the taking away his life, to punish him for the breach of them; it is answered, This is true, and the Parliament had accordingly tried to secure the Government by other methods, as by demanding of the King that the power of the militia might be lodged in both Houses. If the King had agreed to it, the realm would have been in peace, and the people's jealousies have ceased. But he had taken arms to prevent the Parliament's using these means, a clear evidence that his design was to maintain himself in a condition to alter the Government when he should have opportunity.

**This unjust war** had been the occasion of infinite mischiefs, of the death of thousands of his subjects, and the ruin of the rest; and if he was brought to a trial, it was not so much to punish him for violating the Laws, as for preferring the unjust and violent way of arms, before the expedients offered him to prevent his breaking them for the future.

## **Reasons Against The Parliament**

The advocates for the King say,

- 1. Though the Kings of England** have not so much authority in their realm as some other Kings, it does not follow, that they may be put upon a level with subjects, and made equally accountable for their actions.

**2. The principle laid down for foundation**, that there is an equal obligation upon the King and the subjects to observe the Law, is false, and consequently the whole reasoning founded thereon, of no force. For, private persons being entrusted only with their own conduct, nothing can exempt them from the observance of the Laws. But the King being entrusted with the Government of the State, and the execution of the Laws, he has consequently power to qualify them on certain occasions, otherwise this trust would be to no purpose. The Laws could not foresee every thing, and there are occasions where it is absolutely necessary for the public good to act contrary to them, or at least, to suspend the observance of them, and therefore the obligation of the King and the subject is not equal.

**3. Supposing the King** had violated some of the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and levied war against the Parliament after the most unjust manner, it did not follow that he might be punished with death, by reason he has neither superior nor equal in the Kingdom, and he could have none, but subjects for his Judges. Besides, he was the fountain of justice, and it was absurd to make him liable to justice, from whom it flows and derives its whole authority.

**4. According to this supposition**, the chance of war having put him in the power of his enemies, he might have been detained in prison, and prevented from doing mischief, till he was prevailed with to grant all the securities required. But there was a wide difference between imprisonment and death; as the first could be considered as a reasonable and necessary precaution, and the other as a punishment. Subjects were not empowered to inflict on their Sovereign, as indeed, the like had never been heard of.

**5. But the supposition** that the King had violated the Laws, and levied unjust war against his Parliament, was very far from being well grounded. In the first place, as to the Laws, if the King, misled by evil counsels, had, on some occasions, carried his power too far, when the Parliament made him sensible of the ill consequences of this conduct, he had cheerfully and willingly renounced the exorbitant power which he believed himself before to be justly entitled to. He had, without delay, consented to all the acts presented to him on that subject, and agreed that his most intimate counsellors should be brought to justice. The Parliament had accepted this reparation, without expressing the least desire of causing him to suffer for his past faults. After that, it was absurd to allege these same faults, so amply repaired, as a motive of the justice pretended to be executed upon him.

**6. As for the war** he had levied against; his Parliament, it was wrongfully asserted, and without the least proof, that the King had raised and begun it on purpose to avoid giving his people security. And under colour of defining security for the future, a desire wholly founded upon mere suspicions and bare possibilities, that the King might abuse his power, it was pretended to strip him of all his prerogatives, in a word, of the regal authority, and leave him only a shadow of Royalty. Thus, supposing it true that the King had begun the war, which was by no means evinced, it would also be true, that the Parliament had excited it, by attempting, under a vain pretence of peace and concord, to reduce the King to the most melancholy state a Sovereign can possibly be in.



**7. The justice**, pretended to be executed upon the King, was founded entirely on two suppositions, supported with no proof. The first, that the King had undertaken the war, only to free himself from giving security. The second, that there was reason to fear he would employ the power that should be left him, in altering the constitution. All reasonable persons were therefore left to judge, whether there was justice in trampling upon all Laws divine and human, and inflicting upon their Sovereign a capital punishment on two such rash suppositions.

**8. As for the plunder**, ruin, murder, and other mischiefs occasioned by the wars, before they could be charged to the King's account, it ought at least to have been well proved that he was the author of the war. But if this point were fully examined, it would doubtless be found, that the complainers themselves could alone be charged with it.

**9. The King was proceeded against** for intending to change the Government, and make it arbitrary and tyrannical. But every Englishman was convinced, that the Government had never been more despotic, more tyrannical, and more arbitrary than since the meeting of this Parliament. There was scarce a Law but what had been violated. The two Houses had, for several years, usurped the supreme authority contrary to the known Laws. And lately the Commons had voted, that all power was lodged in them, without the concurrence of King and Peers, a maxim unknown to the English from the foundation of the Monarchy.

**10. The Commons in establishing**, by a bare vote, that it belonged to them alone to try the King, had plainly declared, they owned neither superior nor equal, which was really introducing an arbitrary Government.

**11. Lastly, till 1643**, the Parliament had only suspected the King's intention to alter the Government, but after the Parliament had assumed the direction, the Government was really and truly changed. The King was moreover suspected of designing to alter the established religion: but the Parliament had indeed changed it, and reduced it to a deplorable confusion, and the project of this unfortunate change had been the true cause of the war, and of all the subsequent calamities.

**IV. The fourth circumstance** I intend to observe, is, that the King was brought three times before the High Court of Justice, and as often called upon to answer the charge entered against him, which was read in his hearing. But he constantly refused to own the authority of the Court, and of those who erected it. On the other hand, the Court would never hear his reasons for declining their jurisdiction. They always took for granted, that the authority by which the Court was established, was sufficient; which was the very thing the King would have combated, but was never suffered. At last, seeing he could not prevail to be heard on that subject, he left his reasons in writing to this effect:—

### **His Reasons For It**

**That no earthly power** could justly call him (who was their King) in question as a delinquent.

**That there were no proceedings** just against any man, but what were warranted, either by God's Laws, or the municipal laws of the country where he lives. As for the proceedings against him, they could not be warranted by God's laws. For on the contrary, it is there said, where the word of a King is, there is power; and who may say unto him, what dost thou? **Ecclesiastes; VIII: 4.**

**Then for the law of the land,** no impeachment can be against the King, they all going in his name:

**And one of their maxims is,** That the King can do no wrong. Besides, the law upon which they grounded their proceedings, must either be old or new: If old, they ought to shew it; if new, they should tell what authority, warranted by the fundamental laws of the land, had made it, and when.

**How the House of Commons** could erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one itself, he left to God and the world to judge.

**And it was full as strange,** that they should pretend to make laws without King, or Lords House, to any that had heard speak of the laws of England. And admitting, that the people of England's commission could grant their pretended power, he saw nothing they could shew for that; for certainly they never asked the question of the tenth man in the Kingdom.

**That having concluded,** as much as in him lay, a treaty at Newport, and expecting the House's agreement thereunto, he was suddenly surprised and hurried from thence as a prisoner; that the higher House, for any thing he could see, was totally excluded; and for the House of Commons it was too well known, that the major part of them were detained or deterred from sitting: So as if he had no other, this would have been a sufficient reason for him to protest against the lawfulness of their pretended Court.

**That** the arms he took up, were only to defend the fundamental laws of the Kingdom, against those who had supposed his power had totally changed the antient Government[340]

## **Remarkable Dispositions Against The King**

**V. Of all the witnesses,** as I said, examined against the King[341], there was not one which proved the King to be author of the war. But among the depositions, there were two which must not pass unobserved, supposing they were neither forged nor altered. The first shows, the King was much less incensed against the Independents than against the Presbyterians, though afterwards he had but too much cause to perceive, that the principles of the former, were more destructive to him, than those of the latter. The second seems to prove, that the King did not act with sincerity, even in the treaty of Newport.

**Richard Price,** a scrivener of London deposed, that the committee of safety being informed, that the King was privately negotiating with the Independents, sent the deponent to Oxford, under colour of carrying proposals to the King, from the Independents:

**That** he was introduced to the King by the Earl of Bristol, and received orders to say to the leading Independents, from his Majesty, that if they would take his part against the Parliament, he would grant them whatever freedom they desired.

**The second deposition** was of Henry Gooche of Grey's Inn, who said:

**That on the 30th of September** last, having access to, and discourse with, the King at Newport, he told him, that since his Majesty had justified the Parliament's taking up arms, by consenting to the preface of the bill, he did not question, but most of the Presbyterian party, both soldiers and others, would stick close to him.

**To which the King answered,**

**That** he would have all his old friends know, that though for the present he was contented to give the Parliament leave to call their own war what they pleased, yet that he neither did then, nor ever should decline the justice of his own cause. Moreover, upon the deponent's saying, That his business was much retarded through want of commissions.

**The King made answer,**

**That** being upon a treaty he would not dishonour himself, but if the deponent would go over to the Prince his son (who had full authority from him), he, or any for him should receive whatever commissions should be desired:

**That,** besides, he expressed much joy, that his good subjects would engage themselves for his restoration.

## **Sentence is Pronounced upon The King and He is Refused to be Heard**

The King refusing to answer before the High Court of Justice, his refusal was taken, according to the laws of England, for a confession, and sentence of death was passed upon him the 27th of January[342]. A little before his sentence was pronounced, he earnestly desired to be heard before the two Houses, saying, he had something of great importance to offer them. But his desire was rejected. It is generally believed, he intended to propose to the Parliament, that he would abdicate the Crown in favour of his eldest son.

The sentence was executed the 30th of January 1648-9 on a scaffold erected in the street at the windows of the Banqueting House at Whitehall[343]. The King suffered death with great constancy, and without showing the least signs of weakness or amazement. His body, after having been for some days exposed to view, in one of the rooms at Whitehall, was carried to Windsor, and buried without any pomp in St. George's Chapel[344].

It is no easy thing to give a just and exact character of Charles I, amidst the excessive commendations bestowed on him by some, and the calumnies wherewith others have endeavoured to blacken his reputation. If the parties born in his reign, had died with him, we might find in the histories of that time, composed after the troubles were over, an impartiality which might

help to form a true judgment of this Prince's character. But the same parties continuing in the following reigns, with a mutual animosity, it may be said, there is not an impartial English historian upon this subject.

Some had no other view than to vindicate the King, and others, whose aim was to justify the Parliament, could not do it without loading the King, and rendering him odious. We must therefore proceed with the utmost caution when we are in search of this Prince's character, for fear of being misled, and drawn into error by the different representations given their readers by the Historians. Notwithstanding these difficulties, I shall briefly speak my thoughts, free from all party passion and prejudice.

I do not find, the commendations bestowed on Charles I, with regard to sobriety, temperance, and chastity, were ever contested. All agree likewise, that he was a good; husband, a good father, and a good master. But some accuse him, and perhaps not unjustly, of suffering his Queen to have too great an influence over him, and too large a share in State-affairs[345].

The Kingdom being Protestant, and the Queen a very zealous Catholic, her power, which she greatly abused, in causing the most important offices to be conferred on Papists, must have been looked upon with a jealous eye. This was the chief ground of the opinion spread about the Kingdom, that the Court intended to restore the Catholic religion in England.

He was so great a lover of justice, that no temptation, could dispose him to a wrongful action, except it was so disguised to him, that he believed it to be just.

These are the Lord Clarendon's own words, which may be very true, if applied to the concerns of particular persons. But besides the justice which a King ought to administer impartially to private persons, there is another kind of justice due from him, to all his people in general. With respect to this last, it may justly be doubted, that the Lord Clarendon's encomium is inconsistent with the project of altering the Constitution, and assuming a power, which certainly was illegal. Nay, I do not believe, that this was one of the things disguised to him, and I should rather think, it was by him, that his Ministers and Courtiers framed their conduct, and adapted their notions to his, in order to make their court, and advance their fortune.

Never was King perhaps so punctual and regular in his devotions both public and private. This was of some use to him, to repel the charge of his not being well affected to the Protestant religion, and he knew how to improve it on occasion.

He abhorred all debauchery, and could not endure an obscene or profane word. His Court was very different from his Father's, where oaths, profane jests, and obscene discourse were but too much in vogue. It is hard to conceive, how the Duke of Buckingham, who was used to King James's ways, could accommodate himself to the gravity and severity of Charles I, or how King Charles could adapt himself to the Duke of Buckingham's manners.

James I, was lavish, and his Son Charles inclined towards avarice. But this failing may be excused by the consideration, that he never abounded with money, from the beginning to the end of his reign.

His enemies would represent him as a cruel and bloody Prince; but as they have not been able to reproach him with any particular action denoting such a disposition, it is easy to perceive, this charge is founded on the supposition act of his having been author of a war wherein so much blood was spilt.

Sincerity, as appears in his history, was not his favourite virtue. He made frequent use of mental reservations, concealed in ambiguous terms, and general expressions, of which he reserved the explication at a proper time and on place. For this reason, the Parliament could never confide in

his promises, wherein there was always either some ambiguous term, or some restriction that rendered them useless. This may be said to be one of the principal causes of his ruin, because giving thereby occasion of distrust, it was not possible to find any expedient for a peace with the Parliament.

He was thought to act with so little sincerity in his engagements, that it was believed there was no dependence on his word. The Parliament could not even resolve to debate on the King's propositions, so convinced were they of his ability to hide his real intentions under ambiguous expressions. But they sent their own propositions to the King, with the liberty only of saying content or not content, so apprehensive were they of his explications. But as I may be accused of loading the King too much upon the point of sincerity, I think it incumbent on me, to justify what I have said, by an unexceptionable evidence. I mean the Earl of Clarendon.

### Clarendon

A Law enacted by violence and force, says that illustrious historian, is not rightfully enabled, was one of those positions of Aristotle, which hath never been since contradicted, and was an advantage, that being well managed, and stoutly insisted upon, would, in spite of all their machinations have brought his Majesty's enemies to a temper of being treated with. But I have some cause to believe, that even this argument which was unanswerable for the rejecting the bill, for taking away the Bishops votes, was applied for the confirming it; and an opinion, that the violence and force used in procuring it, rendered it absolutely invalid and void, made the confirmation of it less considered, as not being of strength to make that act good, which was in it self null. And I doubt this logic had an influence upon other acts of no less moment than these.

Let the reader judge after this, if we may boast of King Charles's sincerity, since even in passing Acts of Parliament, which is the most authentic and solemn promise a King of England can make, he gave his assent, merely in an opinion, that they were void in themselves, and consequently he was not bound by this engagement.

I pass over in silence the manifest breach of the Petition of Right, perhaps upon the same principle, and of his many assurances to his Parliament of his intention to maintain that privilege, which he violated within a few days, because these things have been sufficiently spoken of in the History of his Reign.

Some accuse him of an inclination for the Roman Catholic religion, nay, there are who carry this charge so far as to say, he intended to restore it in England. These imputations are groundless. But it cannot be denied, that he gave occasion for them by his conduct, though contrary to his intention. During the first fifteen years of his reign, the Roman Catholics were not only screened from the rigour of the Law, but even encouraged and countenanced to such a degree, that he made them Privy Counsellors, Secretaries of State, and Lords Lieutenants of Counties.

Two things induced him to this condescension.

**The first**, the Queen's importunities, who was extremely zealous for her religion.

**The second**, his project to render himself absolute, for the execution of which, he believed the assistance of the Catholics, as well English as foreigners, to be necessary.

But I will not affirm, that the Queen, and some of the Ministry had not formed with regard to religion, more extensive projects, which they did not think proper to impart to the King. The assistance of the Catholics, whom the King had managed for another occasion, became necessary for his own defence, after his breach with the Parliament. How unwilling soever he seemed to receive any aid from the Papists, it is certain, many were entertained in his service, and that

he was privately assisted by the Catholics on sundry important occasions. Though it cannot be proved that he excited the Irish rebellion, it may however be affirmed, it was not against him that the Irish took arms, since they never had less cause to complain, than in this and the late reign. Besides, the Papists, both Irish and English, always looked upon this Prince as their protector, and were ever ready to assist him.

Had he succeeded in his designs, very likely, the condition of the Catholics in England and Ireland would have been much more happy, and the penal Laws in great measure repealed. But it does not follow, that the King himself had any inclination to popery, or intended to establish the Romish Religion. In short, that he was a sincere member of the Church of England, can hardly be doubted, since he affirmed it on the scaffold, at a time when it could be of no service to him to dissemble his belief.

1. Many people give him the surname of Martyr, pretending, he suffered death in maintenance of the truth of the protestant religion, against the Presbyterians and Independents, and call the day of his death, which is solemnised yearly on the 30th of January, the day of his Martyrdom. But in the first place, there was too great a complication of causes which brought him to this tragical end to ascribe his death solely to religion.

2. Though it were true that Religion was the sole cause of his death, it would not be universally agreed that he died for defending the truth of the Protestant religion, since, among Protestants, the English alone, or rather a great part of the English hold Episcopacy to be a doctrine of faith.

3. Though dying for Episcopacy were really Martyrdom, the King in his last proposals at Newport, agreed to reduce Episcopacy to a very small matter.

4. Had he been condemned by the Presbyterians, he might in some manner be said to suffer for Episcopacy. But it is evident the Presbyterians had no share in this sentence, nor ever thought of bringing him to a tryal. The Independents were the men that condemned and executed him, and surely, it was not on any religious account, but to turn the monarchy into a republic.

5. If the scrivener's evidence be true, King Charles cannot be said to suffer death for supporting religion against the Independents, since, according to the deposition, he offered to grant them all the freedom they should desire, if they would but take his part. However this be, the Church of England having recovered, in the reign of Charles II, the advantage he had lost in that of Charles I, appointed the day of his death to be kept every year with fasting and humiliation, which has caused some to give him the glorious title of Martyr.

**To conclude**, Charles I, was endued with many virtues, and noble qualities. There is even room to believe, that his failings flowed entirely from his design to enslave England, and if, on some occasions, he followed not exactly the rules of sincerity, it was only the more easily to execute what he had undertaken. Without this unfortunate project, he might be reckoned one of the most accomplished Princes that has ever been on the English Throne[346].

The Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Strafford, Archbishop Laud, and the Queen herself used to a very different Government from that of England, were the persons that ruined this unhappy Prince, whom they so passionately desired to raise higher than his predecessors. But who can forbear making a very natural reflection on this subject? I mean, upon the punishment of those evil counsellors, and of the King himself.

The Duke of Buckingham lost his life by the hands of an assassin; Laud, Strafford, and the King himself died on the scaffold, and the Queen spent the residue of her days in a melancholy widowhood, being even slighted by her nearest relations. She lived however long enough to see the Prince her son's restoration; but found not with him, all the satisfaction she expected, which doubtless was the cause of her return to France where she died in the year 1669.



## The Execution of Charles I



## Notes to Chapter 1

- 1) It is judiciously observed by a modern author, That those on whom the Parliament's representations prevailed, were generally people of the Midland Counties, and the traders in the southern parts of the Kingdom, who had smarted most by the arbitrary acts of power, such as seizures of goods, prosecutions for ship-money, loans, tunnage, and poundage, illegal imprisonment, &c. Those on whom the King's representations prevailed, were generally his subjects in the farthest parts of the nation, in Wales, Cornwall, Cumberland, &c. who were the least sensible, and had been the least affected with the late pressures and sufferings, after the King's departing from the known laws. Acberley, p. 535.
- 2) This supposes the Standard was set up the 22nd of August, as indeed Whitelock and Rushworth both say. Though Rapin, after the Lord Clarendon, said it was erected the 25th. See above, p. 457.
- 3) The Earl of Dorset, and Sir William Uvedal, Knight.
- 4) Sir John Culpepper, by reason of the penalty of a hundred pounds to be paid by all members who were not at the House by such a day, did not take his place, but sent in for leave, which was denied him, Clarendon, Tom. II. p. 8.
- 5) He marched from Nottingham to Derby, Stafford, Leicester; and so to Shrewsbury, where he set up a mint. Rushworth, Tom. 5. p. 20.
- 6) The Author says, just by Derby, as there are an abundance of these little geographical mistakes in the French, care will be taken to correct them all in the translation, without troubling the reader every time with a note.
- 7) The Earl says in his letter, the King gave Errington a warrant to fetch the horses, which he executed without his knowledge or consent. See the letter in Rushworth. Tom., 5, p. 13--15.
- 8) Which was September 20. Clarendon Tom., II., p. 14.
- 9) The Lord Clarendon says, though the horse were ready, the foot were quartered at such a distance, that many regiments marched seven or eight miles to the rendezvous, so that it was one a clock before the King's forces moved. Tom. II. p. 35.
- 10) The left wing was commanded by Commissary general Wilmot assisted by Sir Arthur Aston. The Earl of Lindsey led the foot, and next to him was his son the Lord Willoughby, with the King's Regiment. On the Parliament's side: Their right wing, which consisted of three Regiments of horse, was commanded by Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Balfour, and the Lord Fielding. Sir John Medrum's brigade led the van, Colonel Essex was in the middle, and Colonel Ballard, and Hollis, and the Lord Brooke, in the rear, in the left wing were twenty-four troops of horse, commanded by Sir James Ramsey. Clarendon, Tom. II. p. 35. Rushworth, Tom. V. p. 36.
- 11) Sir Faithful Fortescue was come from Ireland, to hasten supplies, and had a troop of horse raised for him for that service, but his troop was disposed into the Parliament's army, and he was now major to Sir William Waller. Clarendon, Tom. II. p. 36.
- 12) It was rescued by Captain John Smith, Lieutenant of the Lord John Steward's troop, newly returned from the execution of the runaways. He was knighted for it, and made Standard-Bearer. Whitelock's Mem. p. 84. Ludlow, Tom. I. p. 49.



- 13) Some of the Earl of Essex's friends advised him rather to pursue the King, and to make a fresh attack upon him. But Colonel Dalbier, and some others, dissuaded him from it. Whitelock. p. 64.
  
- 14) In this battle were killed on the King's side, Robert Bartu, Earl of Lindsey, the Lord Stewart, the Lord Aubigney, Son to the Duke of Lennox, Sir Edmund Verney, &c. On the Parliament's side, perished the Lord St. John of Bletzo, and Colonel Charles Essex. The Lord Wiloughby was taken prisoner, in endeavouring to rescue his father the Earl of Lindsey. Upon the news of this battle (says Whitelock, p. 64.) all counties were alarmed and frightened, being a strange thing in England, Clarendon, Tom. II. p. 40, 41. T. May. Some say, there were but about a thousand killed. See Manley, p. 48, &c.—With relation to this battle, Dcnzil Lord Hollis tells a remarkable story, from his own knowledge, concerning the famous Oliver Cromwell and that shews, (as he observes) he was as errand a coward, as he was notoriously perfidious, ambitious, and hypocritical. This was his base keeping out of the field at Keinton battle; where he, with his troop of horse came not in, impudently and ridiculously affirming, the day after, That he had been all that day seeking the army and place of fight, though his quarters were but at a village near at hand, whence he could not find his way, nor be directed by his ear, when the ordinance was heard twenty or thirty miles off. Hollis's Mem. p. 17.
  
- 15) Salmonet also owns. That there were some popish Priests found among the persons slain on the Parliament's side, Tom. I., p. 165.
  
- 16) The King's answer in Rushworth is dated September 17, at Chester, Tom. V, p. 50
  
- 17) This Committee consisted of Algernoon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Philip Herbert Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Wenman, Mr, Pierrepont, Sir John Hippersty. Rushworth, Tom., 5. p. 57.
  
- 18) Part of Colonel Hollis's Regiment were quartered there, who made a vigorous defence, but would, in all probability, have been most of them cut off if the Lord Brook and Colonel Hampden's regiment had not come to their relief, and maintained a fierce and bloody fight till night, wherein many were slain, others driven into the river, and many taken prisoners. So that they quitted the town in the night, and the King possessed it, Rushworth, Tom 5, p. 59. Whitelock, p. 65.
  
- 19) The whole army, of horse and foot, consisted of about twenty four thousand men. Idem. p. 66,
  
- 20) Among whom were Warnford and Fetty-Place, (two Gentlemen of good quality and fortune near that town) and Mr. George, who served for that Borough. Above two hundred were slain, Clarendon, Tom. 2, p. 97.
  
- 21) This battle was fought on Bradoc Down near Leskard. The chief of the Cornish, Gentlemen that helped Sir Ralph Hopton to raise his forces were Sir Bevil Greenvil, Sir Nicholas Stanning, John Arundel, and John Trevannion, all four Members of Parliament. Clarendon, Tom. 2. p. 100, 102.
  
- 22) And by these means, says the Lord Clarendon, the King was able to pay his foot, though it amounted to above £3000 weekly. Tom. 2. p. 67.
  
- 23) According to some authors, the Parliament raised in all upon the nation, during the course of the civil war and afterwards, above ninety five millions, five hundred and twelve thousand pounds. And, according to Mr. Walker there was levied, from the year 1641 to 1647, above forty millions in money, and money worth. See *History of Taxes*, p. 289, 297. In March 1642, they

made an Ordinance for raising thirty four thousand, one hundred and eight pounds, thirteen shillings per week. Rushworth, Tom. 5. p. 150.

24) These were afterwards generally called the associated counties. Whitelock, p, 66,

25) Van Foulk and Manwaring, are named by the King

26) The Earl says, in one of his papers, that the parliament had had, for many months, great numbers under their pay, both English, French, and other nations, whom, at the time of their enrolment, and ever since they did not know them to have been professed papists: whereas, it was notoriously known that before this course was taken on the other party, his Majesty and his ministers did not submit to, nor continue any soldiers in pay, who were suspected to be that way inclined, or did refuse the oath of allegiance and supremacy. Rushworth, Tom V p. 80.

27) Six thousand arms. Warwick's Mem. p. 237.

28) The day after her Majesty's landing, four of the Parliament ships came into the Road, and firing upon the vessels that were landing the ammunition; the balls reached the town, near the place where the Queen was resting herself after her voyage. Whereupon, she was forced to remove to an obscure lodging behind a hill. The Marquis of Montrose, and the Lord Ogilby, with two troops of horse, conduced her to the Earl of Newcastle, who entertained her at York. Rushworth, Tom. V, p. 156, Commons War, p. 24.

29) The Commissioners on this occasion, were Algernoon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, William Cecil Earl of Salisbury, and Henry Rich, Earl of Holland; with the Viscounts Wenman and Dungarnon; and Sir John Holland, and Sir William Litten, Knights; William Pierrepont, Bulstrade Whitelock, Edmund Waller, and Richard Winwood, Esquires. They had their first access to the King in Christ-Church Garden, where he was walking with the Prince, and divers of the Lords attending him. All kissed his hand, and Waller approaching the last, his Majesty said, Though you are the last, yet you are not the worst, nor the least in my favour. The discovery of a plot then in hand in London to betray the Parliament; wherein Waller was concerned, did. manifest the King's courtship to Waller, to be for that service. Whitelock, p. 67.

30) The Earl of Northumberland read the proportions to the King with a sober and stout courage, and being interrupted by him, said smartly, your Majesty will give me leave to proceed? The King answered, Ay, ay. So the Earl read them all through. Whitelock's Mem. p. 67. Rushworth, Tom. V. p. 165.

31) Sir John Brampton for Chief-Justice of the King's bench, William Lenthal the Speaker, Master of the Rolls, and to continue the Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas, and make Sergeant Wilde Chief Baron of the Exchequer, And that Mr. Justice Bacon be continued, and the Sergeants, Rolls and Atkins made Justices of the King's Bench, Reeves and Foster continued; Serjeant Pheasant made one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, Serjeant Creswel, Mr. Samuel Brown, and Sir John Pulleston, be made Baron of the Exchequer Rushworth,, Tom. V. p. 167.

32) Mr. Pierrepont, Sir William Ermyn, Sir John Holland, and Mr. Whiteloch. Whiteloch, p. 68.

33) But he told them, in case they thought fit to send any other in his room not liable to the same exception, he should enjoy safe-conduct, as well, if particularly named. But they did not send any in his stead, so only five went. Rushworth, Tom, V. p. 173.

34) Whitelock observes farther upon this treaty, that their instructions were very strict, and tied them up to treat with none but the King himself, who he says, manifested on this occasion, his

great parts and abilities, strength of reason, and quickness of apprehension, with much patience in hearing what was objected against him, wherein he allowed all freedom, and would himself sum up the arguments, and give a most clear judgment upon them. He says also concerning the Commissioners, the Earl of Northumberland demeaned himself with much courage and wisdom. Mr. Pierpoint acted his part with deep insight and prudence, Sir William Ermyn was a Gentleman of good understanding and conversation, and would give his opinion upon good reason. Sir John Holland, a Gentleman of excellent parts as well as prison, shewed a very good judgment and testimony of his abilities. Mr. Whitelock (that is, himself) was put upon very much labour, being employed in drawing up all the papers to the King, which were transcribed afterwards by the Secretaries. Whitelock. p. 63, 69.

**35)** The Lord Clarendon says, the Town had in it a troop of horse belonging to the garrison of Lichfield. Tom. II. p. 181,

**36)** In the too eager pursuit of the troop of horse, William Fielding Earl of Denbigh, who from the beginning of the war had been a volunteer in Prince Rupert's troop, was wounded, so that he died within two or three days. Ibid.

**37)** Caversham Bridge, defended by the Lord Roberts's and Berkley's Regiments.

**38)** For same such, he had received in this agitation, says the Lord Clarendon, which he hid not precisely observe. Tom. 2. p. 187.

**39)** The Lord Clarendon says, that the design of his marching thither, was rather to secure Buckinghamshire, which was now infested by the King's horse, than to disquiet Oxford. Tom. 2. p. 212.

**40)** With near two hundred prisoners, seven coronets of horse, and four ensigns of foot. among other persons of note, Colonel Gunter was slain. Clarendon, Tom 2, p. 203, 204.

**41)** He lost two battles, the battle of Lonsdown, July 5, wherein Sir Bevil Greenvil was slain and the battle of Roundwey Down July 13, as will be seen hereafter. Rushworth, Tom. 5, p. 227.

**42)** The Garrison consisted of two thousand five hundred foot, and a regiment of Horse and Dragoons. Clarendon, Tom. 2. p. 227.

**43)** Sir Nicholas Slanning, Colonel Trivannion, the Lord Grandison, Major Kendal were slain, and about five hundred men besides. Idem, p. 230.

**44)** The Lord Clarendon does not say, the King sent a messenger, but that Colonel Leg, under whom Massy had served in the King's army, sent him a letter of kindness and overture, as was proper in such a case from one friend to another. To which letter Massy returned an answer in a high style, but told the messenger in private as above. Tom. 2. p. 212.

**45)** Whitelock has a particular not mentioned by the Lord Clarendon, viz. his Majesty understanding that Essex advanced apace to the relief of Gloucester, sent a trumpet to him, with some propositions to be treated on. But Essex, much acquainted with such small designs to hinder his march, returned a speedy answer, That he had no commission to treat, but to relieve Gloucester, which he was resolved to do, or to lose his life there. And his soldiers hearing of a trumpeter come with propositions to treat, cried out for a lung time together, with loud acclamations, No propositions, no propositions, So their Trumpeter was dismissed. Whitelock, p. 72.

**46)** Their whole strength of soldiers, horse, foot, and dragoons, together with the trained bands, did not at first consist of above fourteen hundred; forty, or at the most, fifty barrels of powder was all their store, and a mean and slender artillery. Rushworth, Tom. 5. p. 287.

**47)** And in that time, says the Lord Clarendon, which was as wonderful as any part of the story, caused all necessary provisions to be brought in to them, of those very quarters in which the King's army had been sustained, and which they conceived to be entirely spent: So solicitatous were the people to conceal what they had, and to reserve it for them. Tom. II. p. 265

**48)** And took forty loads of provisions, six standards, three hundred common soldiers, and four hundred horses, the said forces being designed for Kent, to raise an army there for the King, and Sir Nicholas Crispe to command them. Rushworth, Tom. 5. p. 292, Rapin, by mistake, says Chichester, instead of Cirencester.

**49)** He had attended the Queen out of Holland, Clarendon, Tom. 2. P. 266.

**50)** Essex had been forced to lodge in the field all night. Idem. p. 267.

**51)** Being dissuaded by his friends to go into the fight, he said, He was weary of the times, and foresaw much misery to his country, and did believe he should be out of it ere night. His death, says Whitelock, was lamented by all that knew or heard of him; being a Gentleman of great parts, ingenuity and honour, courteous and just to all, and a passionate promoter of all endeavours of peace betwixt the King and Parliament. He was slain in the 34th year of his age. Whitelock, p, 73.

**52)** Whitelock's account of the Newbury fight is briefly this: Essex finding his soldiers full of mettle, and resolved to force their way, he led them in person and first charged the enemy with his own regiment and the Lord Roberts's Brigade of horse; the fight began about six a-clock in the morning, Sept, 20, and held with very hot service till ten or eleven at night. The Parliament's forces beat the enemy from all their advantages, got the hill from them on which they were posted, pursued them to Newbury, and out of the town again, but the night coming on, they could pursue them no further; and though the King's forces (especially the horse consisting most of Gentlemen) made a gallant resistance, yet this place not being proper for their fight, their fight were thus beaten, and in the night marched away, leaving Essex master of the field, whose soldiers had the pillage of the dead bodies, Whitelock, p. 73. This battle lasted from seven o'clock in. the morning, till seven or eight at night, Rushworth, Tom. 5. p. 295.

**53)** The four divisions of the little army were led on the first by the Lord Mobun and Sir Ralph Hopton; the second by Sir John Berkley and Sir Bevil General; the third by Sir Nicholas Slanning and Colonel Trevannion; the fourth by Colonel Basset and Colonel William Godolphin. In memory of this battle, Sir Ralph Hopton was afterwards created Lord Hopton of Stratton. As for the twelve hundred horse sent to Bodmin, under the command of Sir George Chudleigh, father to the Major-General, upon the news of the defeat, Sir George, with as many as he could keep together, got into Plymouth. Clarendon, Tom. 2. p. 208.

**54)** Rushworth says, that by letters afterwards intercepted to his father Sir George, it appeared to have been a designed thing, whereupon his father, to prevent any suspicion on himself, surrendered his Commission: And shortly after, published a sort of declaration, which is to be seen in Rushworth, Tom. 5. p. 272.

**55)** By Mr. Lutterel the owner, who thereupon was made Governor of it by the Marquis. Sir John Stowel was made Governor of Taunton, and Edmund Windham of Bridgwater, Clarendon, Tom. 2. p. 213.

**56)** These forces consisted not only of new raised men, but also the remains of those horse and dragoons that escaped out of Cornwall, after the battle of Stratton, and the soldiers that fled from Taunton, &c. Clarendon, Tom. 2. p 215.

57) In this battle, as was before observed, fell Sir Basil Greenvil. This was the first time the King's horse had turned from an enemy, occasioned, it seems, by a regiment of Cuirassiers commanded by Sir Arthur Haslerig, which were so completely armed, that they were called the regiment of lobsters. Just after the battle, Sir Ralph Hopton. was miserably hurt by the accidental blowing up of some powder. Idem. p. 220.

58) Who was now past danger, and could hear and speak, though he could not see or stir, with him were left the Earl of Marlborough, General of the Artillery, and the Lord Mobun, Clarendon, Tom. 2. p. 221.

59) This was the Regiment of lobsters before mentioned, which, according to Rushworth, rashly led on by Sir Arthur Haslerig, leaving the foot, charged the King's forces very disadvantageously, and so were presently routed. Whitelock says, Waller's horse, upon a panic of fear, fled, and left the foot to the mercy of the enemy. Rushworth, Tom- 5. p. 185. Whitelock, p. 70.

60) He was beheaded on Tower Hill, December 23, 1644.

61) With about 1500 men, and 27 colours of foot. Rushworth. Tom 5, p. 269, 271.

62) And therein Sir John Savil the owner.

63) Eighteen Lords and one Knight. Rushworth, Tom. V, p. 466.

64) Whereupon Hamilton and his party withdrew, and would sit in the Convention no more. Ibid.

65) The Commissioners appointed were, John Mannors, Earl of Rutland, (who, upon indisposition of health procured a release) and the Lords; and the Lords Grey of York, (who refusing to go on account of his inability to bear so long a journey, was sent to tower, but soon after released) for the Lords and for the Commons. Sir William Armyne, Sir Henry Vane the younger, Mr. Hatcher, and Mr. Darley, with two Divines, Marshal and Nye, to attend them. Rushworth, Tom. V, p, 466. Clarendon} Tom, II. p. 132.

66) The manner of taking it was thus: The Covenant was read, and then notice was given that each person should immediately, by swearing thereunto, worship the great name of God, and testify so much outwardly, by lifting up their hands, and then they went up into the Chancel (of St.. Margaret's, Westminster) and there subscribed their names in a roll of parchment, in which this Covenant was fairly written. It was taken that day by two hundred and twenty two Members of Parliament, whose names see in Rushworth, Tom. V, p. 480.

67) They earned with them £20,030, in ready money, three hundred Barrels of Powder, ten tun of match, and other ammunition. Rushworth, Tom., 5, P 530.

68) See the Declaration hereafter of both Houses, concerning the affairs of Ireland, Rapin,

69) They complained, that they had no victuals, clothes, or other provisions requisites towards their sustenance; no money to provide them of anything they wanted; no arms, and not above 40 barrels of powder in his Majesty's stores. Rushworth, Tom, 5 page 538.

70) The House refused to receive the letter, because not directed as usual, but referred it to a committee to open it, and report the contents. Whitelock.

71) The adventurers were to have such and such towns, with so many acres of land for security, upon advancing such a sum upon each town. The sum proposed to be raised, was £300,000. Rushworth, Tom. 5. Pages 540 and 542.

**72)** The commissioners appointed by the Catholic party to treat with the Marquis of Ormond, were Donnogh Viscount Musberry, Sir Lucas Dillon, Nicolas Plunkett, Sir Robert Talbot, Sir Richard Barnwell, Ferlough O'Neill, Geoffrey Brown, Ever-Mac-Gennis and John Walsh. Rushworth, Tom. 5. p. 548.

**73)** There are no such words in the remonstrance; they say indeed, they are brought to so great exigency, that they are ready to rob and spoil one another. Rushworth, Tom. 5. Page 537.

**74)** Whitelock says, 20,000 English and Scots in the North of Ireland, failed to live and die together in opposition to the cessation. Mem.

**75)** Namely, Boston Castle, Northwich, Crewe House, Dedington House, and Acton church. Rushworth, Tom. 5. Pages 300 and 301.

**76)** Sir John Barr Baron, was made Lord Byron of Rochdale, 24 October, 19, Cor. I., And his brother Richard Lord Vaughn of Emlyn, the day following. Dugdale's Baron. Tom. 2, page 469.

**77)** Among the prisoners were taken 120 Irish women with long knives, wherewith they said to have done mischief. This fight was reputed to be as sharp for the time, as any that had that happened before in those wars. Rushworth, Tom. 5. Page 302.

**78)** This Lady, with the consent of both Houses, went to Oxford, to transact her own affairs with the King, upon the death of her husband, who was killed at Edge Hill, and having done her business, and being ready to return, she desired by the King to carry a small box (in which was put the Commission) to London, and deliver it to one that should come for it with such a token, which she did accordingly, not knowing what she carried. Clarendon, Tom. 2. p. 195. Ludlow says, She brought the commission made up in the hairs of her head. T. I. P. 82.

**79)** This does not appear. He is said only to be a popular Citizen, and had been an Officer in the trained bands. Clarendon, Ibid. p. 194.

**80)** Tompkins was hanged at the end of Fetter Lane in Holbourn, and Challoner over against the Royal Exchange, July 5<sup>th</sup>, Rushworth, Tom. 5. p. 326. T. May says, that none but those two were executed. B. 3. p. 45.

**81)** Adding, "We desire all our good subjects, who have really wished us well, now God has done such wonderful things for us, vigorously to endeavour to put an end to all these miseries, by bringing in men, money, plate, horses, or arms, to our aid, that so we being not wanting to ourselves, may with confidence expect the continuance of God's favour, so restore us all to that blessed harmony of affection, which may establish a firm peace.

**82)** Rushworth says, she was shot by the Centinels, who, upon the brickbats flying about their ears, were forced to fire ball, Tom. V. p. 355.

**83)** Rushworth says, they were generally of the meaner sort. It is a little strange, Whitelock should say nothing of this tumult, who is so particular in every thing relating to the House of Commons,

**84)** Jerom Weston, son to the Lord Treasurer Weston, who was created Earl of Portland, 8 Car. L.

**85)** Rapin, by mistake, says Dorset. The names of these three Earls, were, John Holles, Francis Russell, and Henry Rich.

**86)** Whitelock observes, that Hotham was as high and morose, as Fairfax was meek and courteous, p. 70.

**87)** The Son was secured, but the father, upon the first notice of what was doing, got out at Beverley Gate, there having been no orders to stop him. Rushworth, Tom, V, p. 276.

**88)** The son was beheaded on Tower-hill, January 1 and the father January 2, both denying they ever intended to deliver up Hull. Idem, p. 749.

**89)** The half of his fine was abated, and upon payment of the other half, he had his liberty. Clarendon, Tom. II., Page, 290.

**90)** Or rather, as they word it, “for the good of his Majesty, and the Commonwealth,” See Rushworth, Tom. V. p. 364.

**91)** The Lord Clarendon says, he expected to be restored to his places of Lord Chamberlain and Privy Counsellor, of which he had assurance before he came from the Queen; at least from Mr. Jermyn, who, no doubt, exceeded his commission. This disappointment was the occasion of his return. Clarendon, Tom. II. P. 279.

**92)** Whitelock says, the Earl of Holland being examined by the Parliament, said, that after he heard of the cessation in Ireland, his conscience would not give him leave to stay any longer with him at Oxford. The young Earl of Caernarvon came also from Oxford to the Parliament, and was committed to the care of his grandfather the Earl of Pembroke. Whitelock, p. 77. The Lord Clarendon observes, upon this occasion, that the ill reception of these Lords, made the King, and all about him, looked upon as implacable and so diverted all men from any thoughts of returning to their duty, and chose rather to stay where they were, than expose themselves by unseasonable and unwelcome addresses. Tom. II. p. 283.

**93)** It was said in drollery, that these three Earls had much confirmed others to continue with the Parliament, for they having tried both Parties, found it by experience, that this was the best to be in, and adhere to. Whitelock, p. 71.

**94)** The Author having confounded these two reasons for making a new Great-Seal, they are placed in order in the translation.

**95)** There was engraven on one side the picture of the House or Commons, with the Members sitting; and on the other, the arms of England and Ireland, Whitelock p. 70.

**96)** The day the Lord Keeper Littleton left the House, and went with the Seal to the King at York.

**97)** Two Lords and four Commoners, who thereupon took the oaths for the due execution of their places; the Speaker of the Peers swearing the Lords, and Mr. Brown, the Clerk of the Lords House, the four Commoners. The Seal was ordered to remain at the said Mr. Brown’s House, in an iron chest, with three different locks, and not to be removed thence, but in the presence of three Commissioner's. The two Lords were, first, the Earls of Rutland and Bullingbrook, but the Earl of Rutland alleging himself not qualified for such a charge, the Earl of Kent was nominated in his room. Whitelock says, the Lords were Manchester and Bullingbrook, p. 71. The four Commoners were, St. John, Wilde, Brown and Prideaux, all Lawyers. Rushworth, Tom. V. p. 342.

**98)** And as the executive power is lodged in his hands.

**99)** Whilst Count Harcourt was in England, he had two affronts put upon him. 1. He had not been landed four and twenty hours, before Walter Montague of his train, was apprehended and

committed to the tower. This man was an agent of the King in the court of France and thought, by disguising himself, to get a safe passage to Oxford, in the ambassador's retinue. 2. As count Harcourt was going from London to Oxford, his coach was searched for letters though he had a safe conduct. For both which indignities, he could get no redress. Clarendon, Tom. II, pages 307 and 308.

**100)** He died June 23, 1644. Besides his former papers he left behind him a learned discourse (published about a week before his death) concerning the proper sacrifice, wherein he solidly and eloquently confutes Popish transubstantiation. Rushworth, Tom, V. Page 384.

**101)** The Lord Clarendon will have it, that he died of the *Morbus Pediculosus*, or lowsy distemper, Tom, II. Page 353. And the same is affirmed in *Mercurius Rusticus*. Whereas Rushworth says, there was such a report, but the same was not true; and for public satisfaction, his body was viewed by many hundreds of people; the true cause of his death seeming to be the great pains he took, joined with a competent old age, and that best, but an infirm constitution. Whitelock says the same thing, but makes him die in May, page 69. Some time before his death, he calls to be printed a vindication of himself, which the reader may see in Rushworth, Tom. V. Page 376. He is said to be the best versed in Parliamentary affairs of any man then in England. See, Ludlow, Tom. I. Page 80.

**102)** The King had published several proclamations for the adjournment of the term to Oxford, which had been fruitless, for want of the necessary legal form of having the Writs read in court. So Carpenter was to deliver these writs of adjournment into the hands of the sworn judges then remaining at Westminster, who were Bacon in the King's bench, Reeve in the Common Pleas, and Trevor in the Exchequer. Accordingly, he delivered the Writs to Reeve and Trevor, who immediately caused him to be apprehended. Clarendon, Tom. II. Page 313.

**103)** From whence he escaped some time after, and returned to Oxford. Idem. Page 314.

**104)** Divers members of both Houses, to a great number, sat in this assembly, and had the same liberty with the hundred and twenty Divines, to debate and give their votes in any matter. Selden, who was a member, spoke admirably (says Whitelock, who was also a member, page 71) in these debates, and sometimes, when the divines had cited the text to improve their assertion, he would tell them, perhaps in your little pocket bibles, with guilt leaves, (which they would often pull out and read) the translation may be thus, but the Greek and Hebrew signifies thus and thus, and so confuting them in their own learning. Not that there were many famous divines among them, as Twisse their prolocutor, Edward Reynolds, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, Arrowsmith, Lightfoot, Gataker, &c. their first meeting, pursuant to the ordinance of both houses, was 1 July 1643, in Henry VIII's Chapel. Rushworth, Tom. V. Page 339.

**105)** The same day the Parliament at Westminster called the Houses, and there appeared two hundred and eighty of their Members, besides a hundred more in the service of the Parliament, in the several Counties, and now they expelled by vote forty Members, who had deserted the Parliament. Whitelock, p. 80. In the House of Peers, remained only the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Essex, Kent, Lincoln, Rutland, Salisbury, Suffolk, Warwick, Manchester, Mulgrave, Denbigh, Stamford, Bullingbrooke. The Lords, Say, Dacres, Wharton, Grey of Werk, Willoughby of Parham, Howard of Escrick, Rochfort, and Roberts. Clarendon Tom. II. p. 340. —The Lords at Oxford, in a letter (subscribed by fifty two of them,) say. There were not above twenty five Peers at Westminster, and the Earls of Arundel and Thanet, the Lords Stafford, Stanhope, Coventry, Goring, and Craven, were beyond the Seas; and the Earls of Chesterfield, Westmoreland and the Lord Montague of Boughton, under restraint at London. They add, the House of Peers consisted in all of above an hundred, besides members and recusant Lords. Rushworth, Tom. V. p. 561.

**106)** Not calling or allowing them to be the Parliament.



**107)** This letter was directed to the Earl of Forth the King's General. With this letter he sent a copy of the Covenant, and the Declaration of both Kingdoms. Rushworth, Tom. V. P, 567.

**108)** The Proclamation to summon the Members to meet at Oxford. Rapin.

**109)** The Letters were subscribed thus: By the advice of the Members of both Houses assembled at Oxford, Speakers: **Edward Littleton and Samuel Eure**,

**110)** The Parliament's ordinance for the excise, bears date July 22, 1643. It was laid upon Liquors, grocery-wares, silks, linen, cloths furs, and almost all other sort of commodities, imported. That the reader may have a notion of it, it will be proper to mention some of the particulars. Every pound of tobacco, not of the English plantation, was to pay, over and above all customs, 4s, and that of English plantation, 2s. Every tun of wine retailed, 6s, and for private use 3s. Malaga raisins, one farthing, per pound. Currants, 1d. loaf-sugar, 4d. per pound. Cloth of Gold and silver 3s, and tissue 10s a yard. Damask, Table-linen, 1s. a yard, &c, it is somewhat strange, that Rushworth has not inserted this curious ordinance in *his Collections*.

**111)** This army consisted of eighteen thousand foot, three thousand horse, and between five and six hundred dragoons. Alexander Lesly, Earl of Leuen was General; John Bailly, Lieutenant General of the Foot, and David Lesley, Major General of the horse. Rushworth, Tom. p 603. 604

**112)** The day before the approach of the Scots. Idem. p. 613.

**113)** At the three several fords of Ovingham, Bydwell, and Altrincham. Idem. p. 614.

**114)** Son to the Lord Falconhridge,

**115)** Rapin is mistaken here in the time, but the error is corrected in the translation. Rushworth, Tom. 5. Pages 618, 620.

**116)** The case was this: The Marquis having a great strength of horse, and the advantage of a bridge over the river, could easily transport him to either side in a short time: So that if the besiegers divided their forces, the river being betwixt them, he might fall on the weaker, and the rest would not be able to relieve them. The river Ouse; runs north and south quite through the City, divided into two parts, which are joined by a stone bridge. Idem p. 620.

**117)** Rapin has confounded here two bridges. The Bridge that was attacked was a bridge of boats, over which Meldrum's horse were drawn by his order into the island. This bridge Prince Rupert endeavoured to recover, but was repulsed. The other was Muscove bridge, over which he designed to retreat, but the guard deserting broke it down. Idem p. 307.

**118)** In a sally, May 6, the besieged slew near three hundred of the besiegers. Mercurus. Rustic.

**119)** Rushworth says, the Prince's soldiers, (consisting of ten thousand, or upwards) rushed into the town, and put great numbers to the sword, (twelve hundred, by their own confession) destroying for some miles round, and spoiling all they met, denying quarters, (as the townsmen alleged afterwards) and using other violence, besides totally plundering the town, and slaying four Ministers. Colonel Rigby escaped to Bradford. Rushworth, Tom. 5. p. 623.

**120)** With his best ordinance, Arms, and Ammunition. Idem. p. 624.

**121)** On Essex, the weekly sum of £1687 10s, On Suffolk, £1875, On Norfolk, and the City of Norwich, £1875, on Hertfordshire £675, on Cambridgeshire £562 10s, On Huntingdonshire, £330, On Lincolnshire, £1218. 15s. On the Isle of Ely, £221. 5s. Rapin, by mistake, calls it a monthly sum. Idem. p. 621.

**122)** His army, by Ordinance, was to consist of seven regiments of foot, each of a thousand foot soldiers, divided in to eight companies; and the General's own regiment of fifteen hundred, divided into twelve Companies; and of six Regiments of horse, each of five hundred and fifty troopers, divided into six troops. Whitelock p. 85. Rushworth, Tom. 5. p. 653. The maintaining of this army cost, in the year 1644, above a million of money. And the charge of the Navy had been £240,000, the year past. *Dugdale's View*. p. 123.

**123)** With about six hundred foot, a hundred horse, and twelve field pieces. Rushworth, Tom. 5. p. 622

**124)** Ludlow observes, That if the Prince could have been contented with relieving York, and retreated, as he might have done, without fighting, the reputation he had gained, would have caused his army to increase like the rolling of a snow ball. Tom. I. p. 123.

**125)** Rushworth says, the Prince led the right wing, and Sir Charles Lucas the left: And that the Earl of Manchester and Cromwell commanded the left of the enemy. The King's forces consisted of fourteen thousand foot, nine, thousand horse, and about twenty five pieces of Ordnance. The Parliament's army did not exceed that number. Oliver Cromwell was hard pressed by the Prince's horse, and wounded above the shoulders, but at length he broke through. Rushworth, Tom. 5. p. 633, 634. The Lord Holies affirms, that Oliver behaved in this battle, in a very cowardly manner; and that those who did them most service, were, the Major-Generals Lesley and Crawford, and Sir Thomas Fairfax. Mem. p. 15.

**126)** Sir Charles Lucas, Major General Porter, Major General Tilyard, and the Lord Goring's son, were among the prisoners. There were about a hundred other officers taken, and fifteen hundred soldiers, twenty five pieces of ordnance, a hundred and thirty barrels of powder, several thousands of arms, and about a hundred colours. Whitelock, p. 94. Others Say, there were about four thousand taken prisoners, and as many slain on the King's party; the whole of both armies amounted to near nine thousand men. *Commons War*, p. 50. Among the colours were Prince Rupert's Standard, with the aims the Palatinate, and a red cross in the middle, a yellow coronet, in the middle a Lion Couchant, and behind him a mastiff, seeming to snatch at him, and in a label from his mouth written, Kimbolton, at his feet little beagles, and before their mouths written, Pym, Pym, Pym and out of the Lion's mouth these words proceeded,— — *Quousque tandem abutcrè Patientiâ nostrâ?* Rushworth, Tom. 5. p. 635.

**127)** With him went his two sons, Charles Viscount Mansfield, and Henry Lord Cavendish his brother Sir Charles Cavendish; Dr. Broombal Bishop of Londonderry; the Lord Falconbridge; the Lord Withrington; the Earl of Ehtyne; the Lord Cornwarth; and Sir William Carnaby. On the 8th or July, Marquis arrived at Hamburg. The Marquis came no more to England, till after the reparation of Charles II, Idem. p. 657.

**128)** This letter was produced only to his friends, and after the King's death. Clarendon, Tom. 2. p. 390.

**129)** It was taken by storm, October 19. Rushworth, Tom. 5. p. 650. Idem. p. 642. The Earl of Manchester took also Sheffield Castle, and some other places. Idem. P. 642.

**130)** For the maintenance of this army, and a suitable train of artillery, with other incident charges, there was to be monthly and raised and paid out monthly out of the excise, the sum of thirty thousand five hundred and four pounds, and besides the money arising from forfeited estates in Hampshire and Sussex, the weekly sum of £2638, was to be levied in the four associated counties for Waller's army. Rushworth, Tom. 5, p. 643.

**131)** Sir Ralph Hopton was created Lord Hopton of Stratton, September 4. 1643, at Oxford, though by mistake. Rapin still calls him Chevalier Hopton.

**132)** Under the command of Sir Charles Vavafar and Sir John Pawlet. Clarendon, Tom. 2, p. 641.

**133)** Rushworth says, says, that he and the Earl of Forth had drawn together an army of thirteen or fourteen thousand men. Tom. 5 p. 654.

**134)** The Colonel had retired with his men into the Church, but had not time to barricade the doors, so the enemy entering with him his soldiers threw down their arms, and asked quarter, which was also offered to the Colonel, who refusing it, was killed. Clarendon, Tom, 2, p. 761

**135)** Lately made Earl of Brentford.

**136)** In this battle, on the King's side, fell the Lord John Stuart, brother to the Duke of Richmond and Sir John Smith, brother to the Lord Carrington. Clarendon, Tom. 2. p. 367.

**137)** The Lord Clarendon says, he might: have brought over all his army, and fallen upon the King's rear; not, that he did. Tom. II. p. 375.

**138)** He went that night to Mr. Parret's at Northlye, where next morning he drew up his army, and went that afternoon to Burton on the water, where he lodged at Dr. Temple's the Prince's Chaplain. On the 5th he marched to Evesham, and on the Friday the 6th to the City of Worcester. Rushworth, Tom. V. p. 671.

**139)** There was a Committee of both Kingdoms residing at London, for the carrying on the war. There was usually a Committee of the Parliament in the armies likewise.

**140)** She desired at first a safe-conduct, to go to Bath for her health. Rushworth, Tom. V. p. 684.

**141)** One of the Clothiers breaking his halter, desired, that what he had suffered might be accepted, or else, that he might fight against any two for his life. But he was hanged up again Ludlow, Tom. I. p. 120.

**142)** They were led on by Sir Robert Pye, and Colonel Blake. Rushworth, Tom. V. p. 685.

**143)** June 12, he marched from Worcester to Bewdley; the 15th, he advanced along the Severn towards Bridgenorth, but returned the same day to Worcester; the 16th, he marched through Evesham to Broadway, and the next day came to Burford. Idem. p. 674, 675.

**144)** On the King's side were slain Sir William Boteler, and Sir William Clark, two Kentish Knights and the Lord Wilmot was wounded. Rushworth, Tom. V. p. 676. Whitelock says, Colonel Middleton being dismounted, the Royalists taking him to be one of the Commanders, mounted him again, wishing him to make haste and kill a Round-head, by which means he escaped. Mem. p. 93;

**145)** Rushworth and Whitelock both say the King drew off first, and then Waller marched over Cropedy bridge. Rapin follows the Lord Clarendon's account.

**146)** The Author being obscure in this place, and having mistaken the direction of the message as in Rushworth, the translation is according to Rushworth.

**147)** So made in 14th Jan. I, The Duke of Buckingham (as is said in the 9th Article of the impeachment against him) knowing him to be rich, forced him him to take the honour, and pay him £10,000 for it. The Lord Clarendon says, He was a man of an impetuous disposition, full of contradiction in his temper, and of parts so much superior to any in the company, that he could too well maintain and justify all those contradictions, Tom. II. p. 395. Ludlow adds. He persuaded

the Earl to march into Cornwall that he might have an opportunity to collect his rents in those parts. Tom. I. p. 116.

**148)** Where he found his young daughter under the care of the Lady Dalkeith, Clarendon, Tom. II. p. 396.

**149)** Whitelock says, that he was sent with three thousand horse; and four thousand were ordered to be sent speedily after him, p. 98.

**150)** The Lord Goring was just come from Prince Rupert, with letters to the King, requesting that Goring might be made General of the horse in his room. So that Rapin is mistaken, in saying, he had Wilmot's post given him. For his Majesty, the day after his arresting him, told the officers of horse, he had justly restrained Wilmot for the present, but had not taken away from him his command in the army. However, Wilmot, when he saw his mortal enemy Goring put in the command over him, thought himself incapable of reparation, or full vindication, so desired leave to retire into France, and had a pass sent him for that purpose. It seems, the Earl of Brentford being grown old, the King designed to make Prince Rupert General. Clarendon, Tom. II. p. 398.

**151)** The King lay about Liskard, and Essex at Losswithiel, from whence the River Rurs to Foy, of which place Essex was master.

**152)** Others say, that they broke through the King's quarters. Ludlow, Tom. I. p. 117. Manley, p. 74.

**153)** Whitelock, who pretends to give an impartial relation of this affair, says, That the Earl of Essex did not send to parley, but that after he was gone, some came by design to the Parliament forces, intimating, that the King was willing to admit of a treaty with them, which was great wisdom and gallantry in the King, chusing rather to defeat them with their own consents, than hazard the doubtful trial of a battle. Upon this, Skippon calls his officers together to a Council of War, and declares, he was for fighting his way through the enemy, as the horse had done. But few of the Council did concur with him, so the abovementioned articles were agreed upon. Some of the soldiers, as they were marching forth, being pillaged by the King's soldiers, Skippon rode up to the King, who stood to see them pass by, and told him, "It was against his honour and justice, that the soldiers should be pillaged, contrary to the articles, and desired his Majesty to give order to restrain them, which the King did. There were delivered up forty pieces of brass ordnance, two hundred barrels of powder, and nine thousand arms for horse and foot. See, says Whitelock, the uncertain issues of war! A few weeks before, Essex and Waller, with two great armies, were in pursuit of the King, who could scarce find a way to avoid them; and now the Parliament's army is defeated, disarmed, and dispersed, and the King becomes victorious. Whitelock, p. 102.

**154)** Where the Lord Roberts, who went thither with the Earl of Essex, was made Governor, to whom the Lord Digby writ, to persuade him to surrender the town to the King. Rushworth, Tom. V. Page 713.

**155)** He had, before his coming, sent two letters to the Parliament, declaring in the first, his satisfaction in the covenant, wishing them success, and in the other, the great straits he and his mother were in, for want of the stipend they formerly had, bemoaning the courses his brother Prince Rupert took, infighting against the Parliament. Upon his landing at Gravesend, a Committee of the Commons attended him, and in May 1645, the Commons ordered him an allowance of £8000 a year, £2000. whereof out of the King's revenue, and the rest out of the Estates of the Lord Cottington, and Sir Nicholas Crisp. Whitelock, p. 85, 101, 145.

**156)** When the King marched from Chard, his army consisted but of five thousand five hundred foot, and about four thousand horse. Clarendon, Tom. II. p 17.

**157)** Commanded by Sir James Harrington, being the red and blue regiments of Trained bands of London, the red regiment of Westminster, the yellow regiment of Southwark, and the yellow regiment of auxiliaries of the Tower Hamlets. Rushworth, Tom. V, p. 719.

**158)** All the General's horse and foot; part of Manchester's horse, and most of Waller's forces, with the City brigade, marched to Speen Hill!; and the Earl of Manchester's foot, and part of his horse, continued in the field near Shaw. The horse were commanded by Sir William Waller, and Sir William Balfour; the foot by Serjeant Major General Skippon. Rushworth Tom. 5. p 721.

**159)** After a king and hot dispute (Says Whitelock} the Parliamentarians beat the King's forces from their works, and then from their ordnance, nine in number, in which achievement they lost a few men, Mem. p. 109.—The Parliament's army, according to the Lord Clarendon, consisted of above sixteen thousand horse and foot; and the King had not half that number, Tom. 2. p. 420. Whitelock says, he had eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse. Thomas Wentworth Earl of Cleveland, of the King's side, was taken prisoner. p. 108. The King lost three thousand men, and the Parliament two thousand five hundred. Manley, p. 76, 77.

**160)** Whitelock, upon this occasion, says, the Houses being informed the Lord General was not well, and stayed behind the army, sent a Committee of Lords and Commons to visit him, and express his affections of both Houses to him. This was not (as was given out) a piece of courtship, but I think real. There were some however, who were jealous that he was too much inclined to peace, and favouring of the King and his party. I think I knew as much of his mind as others did, and always observed him to wish for peace, yet not upon dishonourable or unjust terms. He was a lover of Monarchy and Nobility, which he suspected some designed to destroy; which humour then beginning to boil up, he resolved to suppress. But the jealousies upon him (who was a faithful and gallant man, and servant to the public) gave him great trouble in his thoughts. Mem. p. 109. See Holies: Mem. p. 21, &c.

**161)** Colonel Cromwell followed, the body of the enemy two hours before day. Whitelock, p. 109. See Ludlow, Tom. 1. p. 131.

**162)** Threatening not to leave one stone upon another. To which the Governor, Sir John Boys, made no other reply, Than that he was not bound to repair it, but however, would, by God's help, keep the ground afterwards. Clarendon, Tom 2, p. 424.

**163)** The reason was, because divers of the Committee, especially the Commons, were apprehended not to be so much the General's friends at others who were desired to the brought in, and this caused fume piques among them, Whitelock, p. 87.

**164)** This petition, says Whitelock, was suspected by the General's friends, to be set on foot by his enemies, and jealousy grew among the grandees of the Parliament, p. 83.

**165)** On June the 6th, the Dutch Ambassadors addressed themselves to the two Houses in such terms as were acceptable, and it was resolved, they should be admitted to audience, which was done, July the 12th, in each House apart. Being brought into the House of Peers, and chairs prepared tor them, they delivered their Embassy first in French, and then a copy thereof in English. Then they were conduced by the Serjeant at Arms, with two Members, into the House of Commons: When they came in, the Speaker and all the Members stood up in their places uncovered, and the Ambassadors saluted, them as they passed by them; they sat down in chairs set for them, and the members sat down likewise; and when the Ambassadors were covered. the Speaker and House were covered also. They made a short speech, of the affection of their Masters to these Kingdoms, and their desire to mediate an agreement between the King and his

Parliament; and after their speech ended, they returned with the some ceremonies as at their coming thither. During the time of their being in the House, there lay upon the table, in their view, forty eight colours, taken from the King's forces in the battle of Marston Moor. Rushworth, Tom. 5. p. 716. Whitelock, p. 94.

**166)** Hugh Oge MacMabone was hanged at Tyburn, November. 22, and the Lord Macguire, Feb. 20, 1644-5. Rushworth, Tom. 5, p. 731, 735.

**167)** His trial lasted twenty days; beginning March 12<sup>th</sup>, 1643-4 and ending July 29. See *State Tryals*.

**168)** The managers at his tryal were, Mr. Maynard, Mr. Brown, Serjeant Wild, Mr. Nicholas, for the Commons; and his Council were, Mr. Herne, and Mr. Chute. The sum of his charge was, that he had traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental Laws and Government of the Kingdom of England, and instead thereof, to introduce an arbitrary Government. The Chaplains he desired to have with him, were, Stern, Haywood, and Martin, those sent by the Commons, were, Stern, Marshal, and Palmer. He called his last speech a sermon, and began with a text, Heb. xii. 1, 2. In his printed defence which he left behind him, he excuses himself in most particulars, by saying. That he was but one of many, who either in Council, Star-Chamber, or High Commission, voted illegal things. His diary shows him to be superstitious, and a regarder of dreams. He was, in the main, a learned, sincere, and zealous man, humble in his private deportment; but withal, hot and indiscreet, eagerly pursuing trifles, as bowing to the Communion Table, sports on the Lord's day, (See. Rushworth, Burnet, Whitelock. Among other works of piety and magnificence, this great prelate built a Court at St. John's College Oxon: Procured King Charles to give to the Clergy in Ireland, all the impropriations then remaining in the crown; Settled the impropriation of Cudsden on the Bishopric of Oxon: Got commendams annexed to the Bishoprics of the new foundation: obtained very ample Charters for the Universities of Oxford and Dublin, and regulated the statutes of the former: Founded an Arabic Lecture at Oxford, and an hospital in Reading: Set up a Greek press in London, &c. He designed other great things, of which see an account in Rushworth, Tom. 2. p. 74, 75. The translator has received in a letter, the following remarks on this famous Archbishop: The author of the letter thanks Rapin worthy of animadversion, for seeming to grant (in his character, above) most of the fine qualities ascribed to him by his admirers, namely, wisdom, learning, and good sense. For (continues he) unless giving a series of the most violent and tyrannical counsels, be a proof of wisdom, it does not appear, wherein his wisdom consisted. He had, with a good share of school divinity, languages and antiquities, but these, of themselves, are but slender accomplishments, affording the mind to show, rather than the substance of knowledge, rather than the substance of knowledge, and tending to fortify men, In their prejudices, than to enlarge their understanding. And for his good sense, let his own speeches in the Star Chamber, as everlasting proofs of it; particularly his arguments to excuse the painter for representing God like an old Man, drawn from his being called the Ancient of days. Examine either his actions or speeches, there can be hardly anything that looks like good sense, or even common discretion. His own diary (however barbarous it was to publish it) shews him a man of a very mean Genius, a bigot, and an enthusiast."

**169)** The propositions having been prepared by the Committee of both Kingdoms, and approved of by both Houses, the Commissioners were appointed, namely, for the Peers, the Earl of Denbigh, and the Lord Maynard; for the Commons, Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Holles, Mr. Whitelock, and the Lord Winman; and for Scotland, the Lord Maitland, Sir Charles Erskine, and Mr. Barclay. Whitelock, p. 111.

**170)** Rapin has committed some mistakes in his account of this matter, particularly he makes the paper to be written by Holles; but they are corrected in the translation, with some small additions from Whitelock's memorials; which, though mentioned here and elsewhere by the author, he never saw but as quoted in Rushworth.

**171)** Whitelock, in a speech to the house, when accused by the Lord Savile, says, the King pressed very much the unreasonableness of the propositions, particularly those concerning religion and the militia; but he was told, that unless they would grant him, it would be in vain to treat of any place. Pages 154, 155.

**172)** And told them, what is the answer to you, who are but to carry what I send; and if I send a song of Robin hood and Little John, you must carry it? This, and other passages there were, which showed the king to be then in no good humour, and it was wondered at, since the disobliging the commissioners could be of no advantage to the King. Whitelock. Pages 114 and 115.

**173)** The houses were somewhat at a loss about the manner of their delivering their message, as it was directed to the Scotch Commissioners, as well as to the Parliament. But at last it was resolved, that their reception should be by a committee of 14 Lords, and 28, Commoners, and the Scotch commissioners in the painted chamber. Rushworth, Tom. 5. Page 790.

**174)** Had Rapin seen Whitelock's memorials, he would have found his conjecture confirmed. He says, both houses desired the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Southampton, a list of their retinue, to the end no affront might be offered to them, but chiefly to discover such as came to town with these Lords, and the pretence of being of their retinue, when they were not, but came to do your offices to the Parliament. Whitelock says, they were civilly treated, whereas at Oxford, he and the rest had been scurrilously used, page 118.

**175)** The other ten were, the Lords Cupel, Seymour, Horton, and Culpepper; secretary Nicolas, Sir Richard Lane, Sir Orlarde Bridgeman, Sir Thomas Gardiner, Mr John Ashburnham, Mr Jeffrey Palmer; with Dr Stuwart, Dr Laney, and Dr Sheldon, for religious affairs.

**176)** The other eight were, the Lord Vice count Wenman, Denzil Holles, William Pierpoint, Sir Henry Vane, Jun. Oliver St. John, Bulstride Whitelock, John Crew, Edmund Prideaux.

**177)** The other Scotch commissioners were, the Lord Maitland and Balmarino, Johnson, Erskine, Douglas, Smith, Kennedy, Bareslay, together with Mr Alexander Henderson.

**178)** Upon the entrance into the debate of religion, Dr. Stewart spoke against Presbyterian Government, and for Episcopal, which he alleged to be *Jure Divino*. Mr. Henderson answered him, and asserted, that Episcopacy was not so suitable to the word of God as Presbytery, which he urged to be *Jure Divino*. Whereupon the Marquis of Hertford spoke to this effect: "My Lords, here is much said concerning Church Government in the general; the Reverend Doctors on the King's part affirm, That Episcopacy is *Jure Divine*: The Reverend Ministers of the other part do affirm, that Presbytery is *Jure Vivian*: For my part, I think that neither the one nor the other, nor any Government whatsoever, is *Jure Diviuo*;" and I desire we may cleave this argument, and proceed to debate upon the particular proposals. The Earl of Pembroke, says Whitelock, and many of the Commissioners, were of the same judgment, Whitelock p. 128.

**179)** This remark was needless, being occasioned by Rapin's omitting the words (by the Clergy of the Diocese) which are in the concession. See Rushworth, Tom. V. p. 312.

**180)** The Parliament sent an express to Uxbridge, with their voce, to propound a limitation of the Militia for three years, after the three Kingdoms are declared by the King and Parliament to be settled in peace, or to have it settled in the Parliament for seven years, after the time, the King it willing to settle it. When they first created of the militia, Sir Edward Hyde would have had it taken for granted, That the whole power of the Militia, by the Law of England, is in the King only. This by Mr. Whitelock was denied to be to very clear and he undertook to make it out, that our Law doth not positively affirm, where that great power is lodged, and doubted not, but to satisfy the commissioners fully in that point. Whereupon it was moved, that a day might be

appointed to hear their arguments: But on account of the time, it was thought fit to lay aside the debate. The Commissioners of both Kingdoms, at their return from their quarters, thanked Whitelock for encountering Sir Edward Hyde, upon the point of the right of the militia, wherein he was so confident. Whitelock, p. 129, 133.

**181)** A great many of the King's friends, and particularly the Earl of Southampton, went post haste from Uxbridge to Oxford, to press the King again and again upon their knees, to yield to the necessity of the times; and by giving his assent to some of the most material proportions that were sent him, to settle a lasting peace with his people. The King was at last prevailed with to follow their counsel and the next morning was appointed for signing a warrant to his commissioners to that effect. But when they came early next morning to wait on him, with the warrant agreed upon overnight, they found his Majesty had changed his resolution, and was become inflexible in these points. This alteration was occasioned by a confidential letter, dated February 3, which his Majesty received, a few hours before he was to sign, from the Marquis of Montrose giving an account of the Earl of Argyle's defeat, and dissuading his Majesty from treating with his rebel subjects: Because, as the Marquis affirmed, he doubted not, but before the end of the summer, he should be able to come to his Majesty's assistance with a brave army Welwood's Mem. p. 62, 63, 302, &c. Burnet's History.

**182)** The independents, called at first Congregationalists, owed their rise to Goodwin, Nye, Bridge, Sympson and Burroughs who transported themselves into Holland for liberty of conscience. From whence, upon the downfall of the episcopacy, they returned to England and addressed the Parliament with an apologetic narrative for indisturbance and toleration. In this apology they declare, that they consulted the Scriptures without any pre-possession: they look upon the word of Christ as impartially and inprejudicially as men of flesh and blood are like to do in any juncture of time, they having no temptation to any bias. As to church government, they said, they confined themselves to scripture, precept, and precedent, leaving room for alterations upon further enquiry. Pursuant to these grounds, they held a middle course between presbytery and Brownism. The first they counted too arbitrary, the other too loose. The main characteristic was, the disallowing parochial and provincial subordinations, and forming their congregations upon a scheme of co-ordinancy. As to the manner of their service, they prayed publicly for the Kings and all in authority: they read the Scriptures and expounded the lessons upon proper occasions: they administered the sacraments: they sang psalms, made collections for the poor every Lord's day. Their public offices were pastors, teachers, ruling elders, (which were ecclesiastics) and deacons. As for church censures, they had none but admonition and excommunication. The five above-mentioned independents, where all or most of them members of the assembly of divines. Rapin seems to confound them with the Brownists. See their *Apologetic Narrative*, and *Colliers Ecclesiastical History*. Tom. II, page 829 – they were called independents, from their declaring against the dependency of churches: which, as is said above, was their main characteristic.

**183)** In that accusation it was said, that, "since the taking of your estate, the Earl was declined whatever tended to further advantage upon the enemy; neglected, and studiously sifted off opportunities for that purpose." Rushworth, Tom. V. Page 732.

**184)** One evening, Maynard and Whitelock were sent for by the Earl of Essex, and when they came, they found him with the Scots commissioners, Holles, Stapleton, Meyrick, and others of his special friends. Being desired to give their opinion, whether Cromwell might be accused of being an incendiary (which was agreed upon to be one that raised the fire of contention in a State), they answered, Cromwell's great parts and interest in both Houses were to be considered, and therefore advised not to proceed against him without clear proof, because it would reflect upon their honour and wisdom to begin such a thing, and not be able to make it good. Wherefore, instead of accusing him, they thought it best, that direction be given to collect such particulars relating to him. By which it might be judged, whether they would chance to prove him and incendiary or not. The Scots like this advice; but Hollis and Stapleton were for an accusation.



Whitelock says, he had cause to believe, that some who were present informed Cromwell of all that passed. And after that, Cromwell, though he took no notice at the time of anything, seemed more kind to Whitelock and Maynard than formerly, and carried on his designs more actively of making way for its own advancement. Whitelock, page 116.

**185)** The exclusion of the members from all offices, was moved first by Mr. Zouch Tate, who brought in with a similitude of a boyle upon his thumb; and was set on by that party, who contrived the turning out of the Earl of Essex. He was seconded by Sir Henry Vane and others. Whitelock, p. 118. Ludlow Tom. I. p. 145.

**186)** Whitelock spoke again first. See his Speech in his Memorials, p. 119. And the reasons that were given for the self-denying ordinance, see in Rushworth, Tom. VI. p. 5. It was sent up to the Lords, December 21. by Mr. Pierpoint; but their Lordships did not begin their debates about it till December 30, and then they committed it to eight Lords, to report their opinions about it; which they having done, the Lords had, on January, the Conference here mentioned. Idem. P. 7.

**187)** And here, says Whitelock, first began to increase the great difference between the two Houses of Parliament, which swelled to so great height, as will be seen afterwards. Whitelock, p. 123.

**188)** This was to be done by the monthly sum of forty four thousand, nine hundred and fifty five pounds, to be raised by assessment proportionally throughout the Kingdom, every county being rated such a sum. Rushworth, Tom. VI. p. 1.

**189)** The Lords did not pass this Ordinance till April 1<sup>st</sup>. See Rushworth, Tom. VI, p. 14.

**190) For the horse:** Middleton, Sidney, Craves, Sheffield, Vermuden, Whaley, Lively, Fleetwood, Rossiter and Sir Robert Pye. **For the foot.** Crayford, Berkley, Aldridge, Holborn, Fortescue, Ingoldsby, Montague, Pickering, Welden and Rainsborough.

**191)** And to sweeten the Earl of Essex, (as Whitelock expresses it, p. 121.) an order was made for the better payment of £10,000, per annum, formerly granted to him out of delinquents' estates.

**192)** Here ended (says Whitelock) the first scene of our tragic civil wars, in the exit of this brave person Essex, who being set aside, and many gallant men his officers with him, the King's party looked upon the new army, and new officers, with much contempt, and the new model was by them in scorn called the new noddle. Mem. p. 140.

**193)** Major General Skippon did much assist in this work, especially in reducing five regiments of Essex's forces into three, amongst which was the Earl's own, that was like to prove most refractory, Rushworth, Tom. VI. p. 17. Sprigge, p. 9.

**194)** From whom the Parliament's army was generally to receive its orders. Rushworth, Tom. VI. p. 23.

**195)** He was ordered to march beyond Oxford, as the Prince was to come from about Worcester, *ibid*.

**196)** Her Majesty's Standard was taken, with two hundred prisoners. Idem, p. 24.

**197)** It was Prince Rupert that advised the King to march into the North of England, The rest of his council were for his marching into the west. See Clarendon, Tom. 2. p. 501, 502.

- 198)** This was much spoken against by Essex's party, as a breach of the self denying Ordinance, and a discovery of the intentions to continue whom they pleased, and to remove others from commands, notwithstanding their former self denying Pretences. Whitelock, p, 145.
- 199)** In Buckinghamshire held by the livery of a horse. Colonel Campion was Governor of it. Idem. p. 146.
- 200)** Lately created Lord Ashley of Reading.
- 201)** Though Rapin quotes Rushworth he has followed the disposition of the army, as related by Clarendon. For both Rushworth and Whitelock say, the King commanded the main body himself, Sir Jacob Ashley, with the Earl of Lindsey the right hand reserve, and the Lord Bard and Sir George L'Isle the left, Rushworth, Tom, 6. p, 42. The King's forces, according to the Lord Clarendon's computation, were in all but about seven thousand four hundred men. Tom 2. p. 506.
- 202)** The reserves were brought up by Col. Rainsborough, Hammond and Pride. Rushworth, Tom. 6. p. 42.
- 203)** Ireton had his horse killed under him, was run through the thigh, wounded in the face with a pike, and made prisoner, but found means to escape upon the turn of the battle. Whitelock, p. 150.
- 204)** Fairfax had his helmet beat off, but however, rid up and down bare headed. Whereupon, Colonel Charles D'oyley told him, he exposed himself to too much danger, and offered him his helmet, but he refused it, saying, It is well enough, Charles. Then he ordered him to charge a body of the King's foot, which stood unbroken in the front, whilst he would do the same in the rear, and meet him in the middle. Which was done accordingly in this charge Fairfax killed the Ensign, and one of D'oyley's troopers took the colours, bragging, he had killed the Ensign, for which D'oyley chiding him, Fairfax said, let him a lone have honour enough, let him take that honour to himself. Skippon being wounded in the beginning of the fight, it was decided to go off the field, but he answered, he would not stir as long as a man would stand. Whitelock, p. 151.
- 205)** Here the Lord Clarendon makes the following remark. This difference, says he, was observed all along in the discipline of the King's troops, and of those under Fairfax and Cromwell, that though the King's troops prevailed in the charge, they seldom rallied themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a second charge the same day. Whereas the other troops, if they prevailed, or though they were beaten, presently rallied again, and stood in good order, till they received new orders. The same thing, he says, was not observable in the forces under Essex and Waller. Clarendon, Tom. 2. p. 508.
- 206)** Whitelock says, that on the Parliament's side were wounded and slain above a thousand officers and common soldiers and, that the King showed himself this day a courageous general, keeping close with his horse, and in person rallying them to hot encounters. Mem. p. 151. This battle was fought in a large fallow field, on the northwest side of Naseby, about a mile broad: there are now no signs of a fight remaining, excepting some few holes, which were the burying places of dead men and horses. This town is said by some, to stand upon the highest ground in England. *Addition to Camden*.—June 17, the day after the Parliament received the news of this victory, both Houses were feasted by the City of London at Grocer's Hall, and after dinner they sung the **46th Psalm, and so parted**, Whitelock, p. 152.
- 207)** Sir John Digby, Brother to Sir Kenelm Digby, on the King's side and on the Parliament's, Colonel Lloyd, and Colonel Richbel, were killed during this siege. Rushworth, Tom 6. p. 54.

208) Whitelock says, there were nineteen hundred prisoners, and two thousand horse taken, p. 159.

209) The Garrison was said to be nine hundred horse, two thousand five hundred foot, and fifteen hundred auxiliaries. Idem. p. 167.

210) He came afterwards to the King at Newark, to vindicate himself. See Clarendon, Tom. 2. p. 554. And in November, obtained a pass from the Parliament to go beyond Sea. Whitelock, p. 178, 179.

211) And had been so for two years. Idem, p, 126.

212) He had withstood several sieges, declaring, that if the King had no more ground in England but Basing House, he would continue as he did, and hold it out to the last extremity, for which reason the house was called Loyalty. Rushworth, Tom. 6. p. 93.

213) There were not above five hundred slain, the greatest part were dispersed. Among the colours were taken the Lord Hopton's own, with this motto, *I will strive to serve my Sovereign King*. Rushworth, Tom. 6. p. 103.

214) The King his Father, by two Letters dated November 7, and December. 7, ordered him, as soon as he should find himself in a probable danger of falling into the enemy's hands, to retire into Denmark, or some other place beyond sea. See Clarendon, Tom. 2. p. 546, 547. The Prince, on April 16, 1646, embarked for Jersey, where he landed the next day, and from thence passed into France. Idem. Tom. 3. p. 3, 4.

215) Those that stayed in England, as well Foreigners as others, were to bind themselves for ever; but those that went beyond sea only for three years, not so bear arms against the Parliament. Rushworth, Tom. 6. p. 114.

216) Colonel Trevanion, then with his regiment at Perin sent to desire to be included in the treaty, as did also the Governor of St. Maw's Castle, that commands Falmouth Haven. Rushworth, Tom. 6. p. 108.

217) Where the day before died the Lord-Keeper Littleton. Idem. p. 116

218) The Lord Inchiguin refused to accept it, because he could not not obtain the Presidency of Munster, See Boylase, p. 145

219) He attended the army at this time to visit his Diocese, and put in execution an order for the arrears of his Bishopric, granted to him by the Council of Kilkenny. Rushworth, Tom., VI, p. 269.

220) This letter to the King, with the Lord Digby's narrative of his proceedings' against the Earl of Glamorgan, &c. came to the Parliaments hands in the following manner: Whilst Fairfax was in Cornwall hemming in the Lord Hopton, a ship came into Padstow from Ireland, not doubting but to have been well received; whereas the town's people, with the help of some Parliament dragoons, seized and boarded her. The Captain, one Allen of Waterford, had thrown a packet of letters overboard, which were found floating on the water, and carried to Fairfax, who found, amongst others, the letter and narrative abovementioned. These letters being shewed and read to the people of the County, who were summoned to appear on the Downs by Bodmin, made great impression on them, so that many of them offered to assist in blocking up all passages, to prevent the royal cavalry from breaking through. Rushworth, Tom. VI. p. 104.

- 221)** The Lord Clarendon affirms, That the Scots were under terrible apprehensions of being disappointed of all their hopes, by the prevalence of the Independent army, and therefore wished for nothing more, than an opportunity to make a firm conjunction with the King. Tom. II. p. 579.
- 222)** The Scots produced a writing signed by the Queen, wherein were such expressions, as did not please the King, and made him look upon that negotiation, as rather a conspiracy against the Church, between the Catholics and Presbyterians, than as an expedient for his restoration or preservation. Clarendon, Tom. II. p. 579.
- 223)** According to the Lord Clarendon, the King was not resolved, when he left Oxford, whether he should go to London or the Scotch army. He says, the King went away the 27th of April, attended only by John Ashburnham groom of his bedchamber, and one Mr. Hudson a Divine, who understood the by-ways. It was nine days after his leaving Oxford before it was known where the King was. It seems, the King had wasted that time in several places, purposely to be informed of the condition of the Marquis of Montrose, and to find a secure passage to get to him, which he exceedingly desired. Clarendon, Tom. III. p. 17. Hudson, upon his examination, said, That the King crossed the county, was at Henley, Brentford, and Harrow on the Hill, where he stayed some time, and was almost persuaded to come to London; and then he went to St. Albans, and so to Harborough in Leicestershire, where the French agent was to have met him with some horse, to conduct him to the Scots army, but came not; from thence the King went to Stamford, where he lay one night; and from thence to Downham in Norfolk, where he stayed at a petty Alehouse, from April 30, to May 4; that he passed sometimes by the name of Hundson's Tutor, sometimes doctor, and sometimes Ashburnham's servant. Whitelock, p. 209. Rushworth, Tom. VI. P. 267 Heath, p. 267.
- 224)** The Parliament received, on May 6. intelligence of the King's repairing to the Scots army, and thereupon immediately voted, that his majesty should be sent to Warwick Castle. Rushworth, Tom. VI. p. 268.
- 225)** The Parliament, in their debates about the propositions for peace to be sent to the King, voted, That Sir Thomas Fairfax should be made a Baron, and have £5000 a year fee tied on him, and his father made an Earl. Oliver Cromwell a Baron, with £2500. per Annum. The Earls of Northumberland, Essex, Warwick, and Pembroke, be made Dukes. The Earls of Salisbury and Manchester, Marquises. The Lords Roberts, Say, Willoughby of Parham, Willoughby, and Howard, Earls. Me. Holies, a Viscount. Sir Henry Vane, Senior, a Baron. Sir William Waller, a Baron, with £2500 per Annum Sir Arthur Haslerigge, and Sir Philip Stapleton, Barons, with £2.000 per Annum each. Sir William Brereton, to have £1500, and Skippon, £1000 per annum. Whitelock, p. 181, 182.
- 226)** The Author's words are, they prayed him to sign the covenant, but it is in the Petition as in the Translation. See Rushworth, Tom. VI. p. 304.
- 227)** The Commissioners for the House of Lords, were, the Earls of Pembroke and Suffolk and for the Commons, Sir John Danvers, Sir. John Hippersley, Mr, Robinson, and Sir Walter Earle, Whitelock, p. 214.
- 228)** A little after the King's coming to Newcastle, a Scotch Minified preached boldly before him, and when his sermon was done, called for the ninety-second Psalm, which begins, Why dost thou, Tyrant, boast thy self thy wicked works to praise. Whereupon his Majesty stood up, and called for the sixty sixth Psalm, which begins, Have mercy, Lord, on me I pray, for men would me devour. The people waved the Minister's Psalm, and sang that which the King called for. Whitelock, p. 230.—Whilst the King was at Newcastle, Henderson came and much importuned his Majesty to pass the propositions; but his Majesty affirming, he could not in confidence consent to several things therein, especially to the change of Church Government, from the antient order of Episcopacy, several papers passed between his Majesty and him, which

shew the King's great abilities in those controversies, being at a time when he could not have the assistance of any of his Chaplains. Henderson returning to Edinburgh, died soon after, on August 31. He was, says Whitelock, a person of a sober conversation and good learning. Whitelock adds, some said he died of grief because he could not persuade the King to sign the propositions p. 221. He was more moderate, says Rushworth, than many of them. Tom. VI. p, 321.

**229)** They acknowledged the receipt of but £700,000 in monies, provisions, assessments, quarters, and otherwise. See Rushworth, Tom. 6. p, 323.

**230)** His words in the letter to Hamilton are, "Unless I may remain a free man, and that no attendant be forced upon me upon any pretence whatsoever." See the letter, Rushworth, Tom. 6. p. 329.

**231)** The other condition was, that such as had formerly contributed upon the propositions for horse, monies, and plate, might advance the like sum upon this proposition, and be secured as above. Rushworth, Tom. 6. p. 326.—At the same time that the Bishops' Lands were given in as security for the repayment of the aforesaid sums, the whole order of Archbishops and Bishops was abolished, by an Ordinance of October 9.

**232)** Money came in so fast upon those securities, that the whole sum of £200,000, was made up by the 27th of November. And on the 16th of December, it was sent out of London. in thirty six carts. Rushworth, Tom. 6. p. 389.

**233)** It was carried but by two votes in the Scottish Parliament, That the King should not come into Scotland. Whitelock, p. 236.

**234)** It was put to the question, whether these words, according to the Covenant, should be passed, and it was carried in the affirmative. Idem. p. 232.

**235)** For the Lords, the Earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, and the Lord Montague; for the Commons, Sir William Armyne, Sir John Holland, Sir Walter Earle, Sir John Cook, Mr John Crew, and Major-General Brown; but Sir William Armyne not being well, Sir James Harrington went in his room. Rushworth, Tom. 6, p. 394. They were attended by nine hundred horse. Whiteclock, p. 237.

**236)** For the Town of Cambridge.

**237)** The forces voted for that service were seven regiments of foot, three thousand horse, and twelve hundred dragoons, and £40,000. Whitelock, p. 217. About this time, Colonel George Monk took the Covenant, and engaging in the Parliament's service, was sent into Ireland. Liem, p. 227.

**238)** The Earl of Essex's death, which happened on the 14th of September, 1646, made it the easier for Cromwell to carry out his designs. For doubtless, had he lived, he would have given some check to the fury that was going to prevail. The Lord Clarendon says, that it was reported he was poisoned and that Cromwell and his party were wonderfully exalted with his death. Tom. 3., p. 33. On the 27th of November following, the Earl's horse and effigies were cut to pieces and defaced in Westminster Abbey, and the like barbarous action was done to Camden's tomb there. Whitelock, p. 228.

**239)** Whitelock observes upon this occasion, That this way of petitioning by multitude of hands to the Parliament, which was formerly promoted by some of both Houses, as a means to carry on their designs at that time, began now to be made use of, and returned upon them, to their great trouble and danger, p. 242.

**240)** Rapin has confounded here two different things. What he says was published at the head of the regiments, was only a declaration and vote of both Houses of the 30th of March. But the declaration sent to the General to be published to the regiments, was to require them to desist from going on in that petition they were about to present to him, Rushworth, Tom. 6. p. 446, 447.

**241)** The Earl of Warwick, Lord Dacres, Sir William Waller, Sir John Clotworthy, and Major-General Massey. The establishment agreed on by the Commons then was. Officers of horse, A Colonel 12s a day, and for four horses 8s., A Captain 10s, and two horses 4s. A Lieutenant 5s. 4d, and one horse 2s. A Provost-Marshal 3s. 4d, and two men 4s. Corporals and Trumpeters, each 2s 6d. Foot Officers: A Captain 8s, a day. A Lieutenant 4s. An Ensign 2s. 6d. Sergeants, Drummers, Corporals, each. 1s. Rushworth, Tom. 6. p. 454.

**242)** See an account of the force, appointed to serve in Ireland, above, p. 527, Note (2). About five thousand Horse and dragoons were ordered to remain in pay in England, for the defence of the Kingdom. Holles's Mem. p. 74.

**243)** Here, says Whitelock, the Parliament began to surrender themselves and their power into the hands of their own army. Mem p. 250.

**244)** Some moved, That the petitioning soldiers might be declared traitors, others resolved to secure Cromwell but he being advertised of it, went to the army. Ludlow, Tom. I. p. 150.

**245)** There were not above fifteen hundred or two thousand. See Holles Mem. p. 76 and Rushworth, Tom, VI. p. 477.

**246)** Ludlow gives this reason for seizing the King: That the Agitators were afraid, those who had shewed themselves so forward to close with the King out of principle, upon any terms, would, for their own preservation, receive him without any, or rather put themselves under his protection, that they might the better subdue the army, and reduce them to obedience by force. Tom. I., p. 191.

**247)** The King requiring Joyce to shew his Commission, he shewed the soldiers that attended him. Whereupon the King said, "Believe me, your instructions are written in a very legible character. Warwick, Mem. p. 299. There being five hundred proper men on horseback, says Whitelock, p. 251.

**248)** At a conference, June the 5th, between the Scotch Commissioners, and the Committee of both Houses, the Lord Dumfermling acquainted them that the King commanded him to tell them, That his Majesty was unwillingly taken away by a party of the army, and that he desired both Houses to maintain the Laws of the Land and that though his Majesty might sign many things in this condition, yet he would not have them believed, till farther notice from him. Whitelock, p. 251.

**249)** Whitelock says, fifteen miles. Mem. p. 252.

**250)** Sir Thomas Widrington and Colonel White. Rushworth, Tom, VI. p. 560.

**251)** It was Grange (says Whitelock) to see, how several Counties, and the citizens of London began to make all their application to the General and the Army, omitting the Parliament, and all looked upon the army in the chief place, and were afraid of doing any thing contrary to them. Mem. p. 252

**252)** This monthly sum was raised, by rating each county at so mu:h. Essex paid the sum of £474, 9 s. 8 d. See Rushworth, Tom. VI. p. 582.

**253)** This was ordered by the Parliament on June 15. Idem. p. 563.

**254)** In these declarations and transactions of the army, Colonel Ireton was chiefly employed, or took upon him the business of the pen. And having been bred in the Middle-Temple, and learned some grounds of the Law of England, and being of a working and laborious brain and fancy, he set himself much upon these businesses, and was therein encouraged and assisted by Lieutenant General Cromwell, his father-in-law, and by Colonel Lambert, who had likewise studied in the Inns of Court, and was of a subtle working brain. Whitelock, p. 254.

**255)** Denzil Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, and Walter Long, went together in a ship to France, where Stapleton, that gallant English Gentleman (says Whitelock) died within two or three days landing at Calais, as some suspected of the plague. Others of the eleven Members went into other parts, and some of them retired into their countries, and there lived privately; Mr. Holles continued in Bretagne till the restoration. Whiteclock, p. 256.

**256)** It was chiefly carried on by the eleven members and their friends. One Cosens Alderman of Newcastle was employed to negotiate with the Scots. Whitelock, p. 257, 261.

**257)** Many of the chiefs in the army gave out, that the intentions of the officers and soldiers were, to establish his Majesty in his just right. Ludlow, Tom., 1, p. 195.

**258)** They were the Earl of Nottingham, Lord Wharton, Skippon, Sir Henry Vane, Junr; Sir Thomas Widdrington, Thomas White, Seawen, and Thomas Povey, Esqs. Rushworth, Tom. VI. p. 605.

**259)** Hollis, Stapleton, and Long, went to France. See note above. Rushworth says that eleven members, finding the army declared, proceeding upon particular proofs, to make good their charge would probably take up much time, and hinder the settling of greater matters, petitioned the House that they might absent themselves for six months, to go about their own affairs, or if desired beyond sea. Idem., p. 628.

**260)** Among whom were Several of the Independents belonging to the army. Holles, p. 145.

**261)** The Lords chose the Lord Grey of Werk and the Commons, Mr. Henry Pelham a Counsellor of Lincoln's Inn. Rushworth, Tom., VI, p. 646. There was then above a hundred and forty members remaining in the House of Commons. Clarendon, Tom. III. p. 47.

**262)** It was likewise declared, That the ordinance of the 19th of July, which put under the command of Richard Fairfax all the land forces, did not give him any power over the trained-bands, garrisons, &c. And this declaration was ordered to be printed and published in London by sound of trumpets. Whitelock, p. 262.

**263)** This entirely destroys the reason of the members absenting themselves, alleged by the Lord Clarendon, Rapin.

**264)** At this rendezvous were present the Earls of Northumberland, Salisbury, Kent, the Lords Grey of Werk, Howard, Wharton, Say, and Mulgrave, and others, about fourteen Lords; the Speaker, and about a hundred members of the House of Commons. The army, consisting of twenty thousand horse and foot, being drawn up in battalions with reserves, the General, accompanied with these Lords and Commoners, and other Gentlemen, rode along, and took a view of the army, from regiment to regiment, who received them with great acclamations of the soldiers, crying, Lords and Commons, and a free Parliament, The Prince Elector Palatine came also and viewed the army, being received by the General with great respect. Whitelock, p. 263. Rushworth, Tom. VII. p. 750.

**265)** When a scout came in, whilst the City Militia and Common Council were sitting, and brought news, That the army made a halt, or other good intelligence, they cried, "One and all". But if the scouts brought intelligence that the army advanced nearer to them, they would cry as loud, "Treat, treat, treat". At last, they agreed to send the general an humble letter. Whitelock, p. 263,

**266)** The Earl of Manchester for the Lords, and Lenthall for the Commons.

**267)** The question put was, whether it should be declared, what was done from the 26th of July to the 6th of August to be forced, and that sitting no free Parliament? Which was carried in the negative. The other part of the question, as put by Rapin, was not debated at this time.

**268)** The Earl of Suffolk, the Lords Willoughby of Parham, Hunsdon, Mainard, Berkley, with the Earls of Lincoln and Middlesex. Whitelock, p. 268.

**269)** There were four allowed to come to him; namely, Dr. Sheldon, Morley, Sanderson, and Hammond. See Clarendon, Tom., 3. p. 38.

**270)** The ground of their civilities was, to engage him and the Cavaliers to their side, after they had made the Parliament, the Scots, and the City of London, their enemies. Ludlow, Tom. 1. p. 194.

**271).** June 24 he was removed from Newmarket to Royston; the 26th, he came to Hatfield House in Hertfordshire. July 1, to Windsor; July 3, to Caversham, a House of the Lord Craven's, near Reading; July 22, to the Earl of Devonshire's House at Latimers, thence to Woburn, the Earl of Bedford's; and then to Stoke-pogeys and Oatland's. Rushworth, Tom. 6. p. 592, 593, 603, 604, 639. Whilst he was at Caversham, July 15, his children, now under the Earl of Northumberland's care, were permitted to dine with him at Maidenhead, and afterwards to go and stay with him two days at Caversham. Prince James had been in the Parliament's hands ever since the surrender of Oxford. This favour was denied him whilst he was at Holmby. Rushworth, Tom. 6. p. 593, 612, 613, 625. Clarendon, Tom. 3. p. 38, 43, 44.—Concerning this interview, Ludlow relates the following remarkable story. Cromwell meeting soon after Sir John Berkley, told him, that he had lately seen the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld, which was the interview between the King and his children; that he (Cromwell) wept plentifully at the remembrance thereof, saying, that never man was so abused as he, in his sinister opinion of the King, who, he thought, was the most upright and conscientious of his Kingdom. Ludlow, Tom. 1. p. 199.

**272)** When the proposals were sent to him, he entertained them with very sharp and bitter language. See Ludlow, Tom. I. p. 204.

**273)** He delivered in a paper the House of Lords, which was read there, containing reasons why he left the army, being a large narrative of the pretended characters of Cromwell and Ireton, since the Parliament's going to disband the army, in relation to overtures to his Majesty, the proceedings against the Lords, Commons, and Aldermen that were impeached, &c. Rushworth, Tom. 7. p. 1214.

**274)** The Agitators suspected that Cromwell Ireton, &c. had carried on a private treaty with the King, and accordingly he devoured to wrest him out of their hands. Of this Cromwell gave the King notice, who thereupon resolved to make his escape from Hampton Court. Ludlow, Tom., I. p. 214.. Life of Cromwell, p. 60, &c. The Lord Holles says, Cromwell was afraid the King should come to an agreement with the Levellers, and so advised him to fly, upon pretence that his life was in danger. Mem., p 185, &c.

**275)** To Jersey, says Manley, p. 158. Ludlow, Tom., I. p. 215.



- 276) There was a passage from the King's room into the garden at a back-door of which were discovered the treading of horses. The King left upon his table a letter to the Parliament, and another to the General. Clarendon, Tom. 3. p. 59.
- 277) He grew pale, and fell into such a trembling, that it was thought he would have fallen from his horse. Ludlow, Tom. I., P. 213.
- 278) The Parliament allowed him £5000 for his expenses there. His Household was all dissolved. Rushworth, Tom. 7. P, 876, Heath, p. 151.
- 279) According to some, they only maintained, that no person, of whatever rank, ought to be exempted from the ordinary course of legal proceedings. *Life of Cromwell*, p, .65.
- 280) Though Cromwell totally subdued that spirit in the army, yet the Lord Clarendon says, it continued and increased very much in the Kingdom, Tom. III. p. 67.
- 281) The House of Commons consented to allow him £20,000, a year, as a recompense for it. Rushworth, Tom, VII. p. 851.
- 282) Rapin by mistake, says three days after. See Rushworth and Whitelock.
- 283) This conjecture is confirmed by his Majesty's letter to the Earl of Lanerick, dated at Carisbrook, November 19, 1647, wherein he says, That his message from thence to both Houses will, he believes, have divers interpretations, and be disliked by the Scotch Commissioners, but the end of it was to procure a personal Treaty. This he thought necessary to tell him, that he might assure his fellow Commissioners, that change of place had not altered his mind, from what it was when he saw last. Mem. of the Duke of Hamilton, p. 325
- 284) The Scottish Commissioners, apprehensive of being searched in their return to London, wrapped up this treaty in a piece of lead, and buried it in a garden in the Isle of Wight, from whence they easily found means afterwards to receive it. Clarendon, Tom. 3. p. 77.
- 285) The Earl of Denbigh was the chief, and spoke to his Majesty.
- 286) The King, after some expostulations for this usage, asked Hammond, by what authority he did it? He said, "By authority of both Houses, and that he supposed his Majesty was not ignorant of the cause of his doing thus." The King professed the contrary, and the Governor replied, "That he plainly saw, his Majesty was acted by other Councils than stood with the good of the Kingdom." (The words in italic are omitted by the Lord Clarendon). Whitelock, p. 287.— Sometime before this, there had been consultations and debates, both in the Parliament and Army, by one mean or other to destroy his Majesty's person." Burnet's Mem. Hamilton. p. 330. Clarendon, Tom. 3. p. 70. Of this a general officer gave Sir John Berkley information, and advised, that the King should escape if he could. See Ludlow, Tom. I. p. 227.
- 287) Mr. William Lisle had undertaken to provide a ship for the King's escape, but the ship came not. Whitelock, p. 136.
- 288) So say Whitelock and Rushworth, whom our Author quotes, and yet says from the Lord Clarendon, that the debate lasted some days.
- 289) Upon pain of High Treason. See Rushworth, Tom. 7. p. 953.
- 290) It was prepared by Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes. Ludlow, Tom. 1. p. 236.
- 291) Some authors relate, that Cromwell privately stipulated with the King, if his Majesty closed with the army's proposals, Cromwell should be made Earl of Essex Knight of the Garter,

first Captain of the Guards, and even advanced to the degree of Vicar-general, as the Lord Cromwell was, under Henry VIII. But the King, who would do nothing without the advice of his Queen, writ her word, "That though he assented to the army's proposals, if by assenting to them he could procure peace, it would be easier then to take off Cromwell, than now he was the head that governed the army." This letter was intercepted by Cromwell, who thereupon resolved to ruin the King. R. Coke, p 323. *Life of Cromwell*, p. 71.

**292)** He was become a Lord upon the death of his father, who died of a gangrene in his foot, March the thirteenth, this year. Rushworth, Tom. 7. p. 1020.

**293)** The Lords appointed the Earls of Nottingham, and Stanford and the Commons, Mr. Ashhurst, Brian Stapleton, and Colonel Birch. Rushworth, Tom. 7, p. 971, 979.

**294)** They promised among other things, to pay the remaining £200,000 due to the Scots, and till it was paid, to allow them 8% interest. Idem, p. 1019.

**295)** Burnet says, he was much against accepting that employment, Mem. p. 338.

**296)** He insisted upon his own disbursements and arrears, and indemnity and Arrears for his soldiers. Rushworth, Tom. VII. p. 1034. His forces with those of Langborn and Powell, made about eight thousand. Manley, p. 175.

**297)** He had been taken prisoner by the Parliament, in December 1644 for attempting to betray Lynn in Norfolk to the King, and by a court martial condemned to die, but being kept in prison till the end of the war, was set at liberty. He afterwards translated Josephine's, writ the Oservators, &c., Tom .III. P. 104. Whitelock, 119,121, 122.

**298)** He was joined at Coggeshall by Sir Thames Honywood, with two thousand horse and foot. Rushworth, Tom. VII p. 1150.

**299)** The same that was heretofore General Goring, Governor of Portsmouth, and had been made Earl of Norwich in 1644. Rapin, The Lord Clarendon says, He had no experience or knowledge in war, nor knew how to exercise the office of General he had undertaken. Tom. III. p, 118.

**300)** The Royalists did not enter Colchester till June 13. and the articles of surrender were signed August 27. Rest of that Leaguer by M. C.

**301)** This escape was managed by Colonel Bamfield. Clarendon Tom, III. p. 101.

**302)** Some of the King's friends were also on board, with some authority. Clarendon, Tom. III, p. 118.

**303)** He had lately left the Parliament, and withdrawn into Holland, Idem. p. 108

**304)** The Castles of Deal and Sandwich declared also about this time for the King, but were reduced by Colonel Rich. Ludlow, Tom. I. p. 237.

**305)** They made up about five hundred horse. Rushworth, Tom. VII. p. 1173.

**306)** He was slain in a skirmish at Kingston. Whitelock, p 318.

**307)** Duke Hamilton brought with him four thousand horse, and ten thousand foot. See Burnet's Mem. p. 356.

**308)** Or rather Gasconade, for that was the name of this Florentine whom the English called Gascoigne Rapin.

**309)** The other prisoners taken at Colchester were, George Goring, Earl of Norfolk, the Lord Capel, Henry Hastings; Lord Loughborough, Sir William Compton, Sir Ah, Shipman, Sir John Watts, Sir Lodowick Dyer, Sir Henry Appleton, Sir Dennard Strutt, Sir Hugh Oriley, Sir Richard Manlivcrer, ten Colonels, eight Lieutenant-Colonels, nine Majors, thirty Captains, Gentlemen sixty-five, Lieutenants seventy-two, Ensigns and Cornets sixty-nine, Sergeants a hundred and eighty-three, private soldiers three thousand sixty-seven. They held out so long, that all the dogs and cats, and most of the horses were eaten. The women and children being at the Lord Goring's door, Aug. 20. crying out for bread, he told them, They must eat their children, if they wanted. Whereupon the women reviling him, threatened to pull out his eyes. The town was preserved from plunder, upon paying ten thousand pounds. Rushworth, Tom. VII, p. 1232—1256. Whitelock, p. 324.

**310)** One John Everard made an affidavit before the Common Council, that being in bed in an Inn at Windsor, he heard some officers talking of disarming the City, and then make them advance a million of money, or plunder them. Whereupon the Common Council informed House of the same in their Petition. Rushworth, Tom. VII, p. 1070—1073,

**311)** They were almost drunk, and had been animated as they came through Westminster Hall by some of the Royalists, The quarrel began, by some of the countrymen, asking the guards, why they stood there to guard a company or rogues? Meaning the Parliament. Whitelock, p. 306, Sir T, Herbert says, the soldiers first affronted the petitioners, because they required that the army should be disbanded. Mem. P. 51.

**312)** Recorder of London. He was discharged the 3rd of May, upon the Petition presented that day by the Common Council.

**313)** By a member, for this was a free conference. Rushworth, Tom. 7. p. 1202.

**314)** Both Houses agreed, August 2, to treat with the King in the Isle of Wight; and the Earl of Middlesex, Sir John Hipposley and sent, August 4, to his Majesty, with the votes of the two Houses. See Rushworth, Tom. 7. 1214, 1216.

**315)** Cromwell writ to his friends, That it would be perpetual ignominy to the Parliament, if they should recede from their former vote of, no further address to the King, and conjured them to continue firm in that resolution. Clarendon, Tom., 3. p. 141.

**316)** The House returned answer to the independents Petition to this effect: That the House gave them thanks for their great pains and care of the public good of the Kingdom, and would speedily take their desires into consideration. Rushworth, Tom. VII. p. 1258.

**317)** He had, in the beginning of September, above seven thousand men, English, Scots, and Irish, under his command. Idem. p. 1250.

**318)** They were held in Sir William Hodge's house. Rushworth, Tom. VII. p. 1259—The Commissioners were five Lords, the Earls of Pembroke, Salisbury, Middlesex, Northumberland, and the Lord Say; and ten Commoners, viz. Denzil Hollis, Lord Wenman, Mr. Pierrepont, Sir Henry Vane, Junr. Junr. Sir Harbottle Grimstone, Mr. Brown, Mr. Crew, Recorder Glyn, Sir John Potts, and Mr. Bulkley, Whitelock, p. 334.

**319)** This was to avoid incensing the Independents, who were entirely against submitting to the Covenant. Rapin.

**320)** More than this (says Whitelock) could not be obtained of the King, though most earnestly begged by some of the Commissioners (great persons) with tears, and on their knees; particularly as to the proposition touching religion. Whitelock, p. 340.

**321)** They voted them unsatisfactory. See Rushworth, Tom., VII, p. 1292. Whitelock, p. 340.

**322)** The Earl of Northumberland, Mr. Pierrepont, and Mr. Denzil Holles. Whitelock, p. 347.

**323)** The persons excepted by both Houses, were, the Lord Digby, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Richard Greenville, Judge Jenkins, Sir Francis Darlington; and instead of the Earl of Newcastle, and Sir John Winter, the Lords voted, Sir George Ratcliffe, and the Lord Byron. Rushworth Tom. VII. p. 1324.

**324)** Forty horse sallied out of Pontefract towards Doncaster, where they killed the Centinel, then three of them rode on to Doncaster, and asked for Colonel Rainsborough's quarters, and coming to his chamber, there called to him, and said, They had a letter from Lieutenant-General Cromwell. The Colonel rose and opened his door to them, expecting such a letter (that morning) and presently the three Pontefract soldiers fell upon him, shot him in the neck, another shot him through the heart, with other wounds, and left him dead, escaping without any alarm given. Whitelock, p. 346.

**325)** October 18. Ireton's regiment presented also a Petition to the General, which, as Whitelock observes, was the beginning of the design against the King's person, p. 343.

**326)** The King alone limited upon the several articles, with the Parliament's Commissioners, none of his attendants being permitted to speak. Warwick's Mem. p. 312.

**327)** This castle was built by King Henry VIII. It is joined to the land by a narrow neck of fund, which, at spring tides, and in stormy weather, is covered by the sea. The air is very moist and unhealthy.

**328)** On the security of the arrears due to the Army from the City, Whitelock p. 358.

**329)** The Lord Clarendon says, the main question was so deadly voted, that the House was not divided. Tom. III. p. 183.

**330)** Many says Whitelock, were glad of an honest pretence to be excused from appearing in the House, because of the business of the army, the debates about which went extremely high. Whitelock, p. 359.

**331)** Denzil Holles, Lionel Copley, Major-General Massey. &c. Rushworth, Tom. VII. p. 1554.

**332)** Upon pretence, that something was to be that day debated concerning them, and therefore they ought not to be judges In their own cause. Rushworth, Tom. VII. p. 1355.

**333)** He lay in one of the King's rich beds at Whitehall. Whitelock, p. 362.

**334)** One of the agitators, who was the author of this paper, was shot to death for it last year, by Cromwell's order. Clarendon, Tom. III, p. 185.

**335)** It contained roles for future elections of representatives of the people. They to have the supreme authority, and this Parliament to be dissolved in April next, and then a new one to sit. Divers for the election of the members, officers, and malignants, to be incapable of electing, or being elected; and generally of the power and equal distribution of the members, to be in all three hundred persons, &c. The frame of this agreement of the people was thought to be, for the most part, made by Commissary General Ireton, a man full of invention and industry, who had a little knowledge of the law, which led him into more errors. Whitelock, p. 361.

**336)** The Lodge at The King's Park Bagshot.

- 337)** Both Houses declared, on Jan. I. That by the fundamental Laws of this Realm, it is treason in the King of England, for the time to come, to levy war against the Parliament and Kingdom of England. Rushworth. Tom. VII. p. 1380.
- 338)** These votes, says Rushworth, being reported to the House, the House put them one after another to the question, and there was not one negative voice to any one of them. Tom. VII. p. 1383. At this time Mr. Elfynge desired to be dismissed from being Clerk of the Parliament, because (says Whitelock of his own knowledge) he would have no hand in the business of the King. He was a just and honest man, and a most excellent Clerk. Mem. p. 364.—Jan. 6, The Committee of Estates in Scotland residing in London, writ a letter to the Commons, desiring they would not proceed to try or execute the King, without the advice of their nation. Rushworth, Tom. VII. p. 1384.
- 339)** John Bradshaw Serjeant at Law, was President of the Court. William Steele, Dr. Doristans, and Mr. Aske, were Counsellors assistants to draw up the charge against the King. John Coke, Solicitor. Serjeant Dandy, Serjeant at Arms. Mr. F helps and Mr. Broughton, Clerks to the Court. Ludlow, Tom. I. p. 275.
- 340)** This, says the King, I intended to speak to Westminster Hall on Monday, Jan. 22, but against reason was hindered to show my reason.
- 341)** See their names at length in Echard's History. Tom. 2. p. 633, and their depositions in Rushworth, Tom. 7. p. 1406, &c. and in State Trials, Tom. I.
- 342)** The names of those who were present, and gave their assent to the sentence, were as follows; Bradshaw, President, *Lisle*, Say, Cromwell, Ireton, Hardresse Waller, Bouchier, *Heveningham*, *Pennington*, Martin, Puresoy, Barkstead, *Tomlinson*, Blackstone, Millington, Constable, Hutchingson, Livesy, Tichbourne, Roe, Lilbourn, Smith, Edwards, Clement, Wogan, Norton, *Harvey*, Vann, Scot. *Andrews*, Fleetwood, Mayne, J. Temple, Scroope, Dean, Okey, Hewson, Guff, *Holland*, Carew, Jones, Corbet, *Allen*, Pelham, Blagrove, Walton, Harrison, Whalley, Pride, Ewers, Grey of Groby, Danvers, MaJeveier, Moore, Alured, Cawiey, Stapley, Downs, Horton, *Hammond*, *Love*, Potter, Garland, Dixwell, T. Temple, Waite—All these likewise, (except those whose names are printed in italic Characters) with Ingoldsby and Chaloner, signed the Warrant for the King's execution. Rushworth, Tom. 7. p. 1416, 3426. See an account of them in Heath, p. 196, &c.
- 343)** Two men in disguises and visors, stood upon the scaffold for executioners. Whitelock p. 375, William Hulet was tried and condemned on October. 15. 1660, for being one of them. State Trials, Tom. 2. p. 381, &c. In the same Trial it is said, That Brandon the Hangman cut off the King's head, p. 385. Others say, it was Colonel Joyce. Life of **Cromwell**.
- 344)** After the King's head was struck off at one blow, his body was put in a coffin, covered with black velvet, and removed to his lodging room in Whitehall. Being embalmed, it was delivered the 7th of February to four of his servants, Herbert, Mildmay, Preston, and Joyner, who had been appointed to wait upon him during his imprisonment, and by them, that same day, removed to Windsor, where came, by permission, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, with Dr. Juxon Bishop of London, Colonel Whitcot, the Governor, not permitting the Bishop to say the burial office, according to the Liturgy, the body was silently interred on February 9, in a vault about the middle of the choir, over against the eleventh stall on the Sovereign's side, near Henry VIII, and Jane Seymour, with this inscription in capital letters, on a fillet of lead, **KING CHARLES. 1648**. The whole funeral charge, came but to £229, 5. Herbert's Mem.
- 345)** Sir Philip Warwick says, that King Charles was always more caring of the Queen's person, than of his business, p. 204.

346) Dr. Welwood mentions these particulars, in his *Character of King Charles*, not taken notice of by Rapin. He was a Prince of a comely presence, of a sweet, grave, but melancholy aspect. His face was regular, hansom, and well complexioned; his body strong, healthy, and well made; and though of a low stature, was capable to endure the greatest fatigues. He had a good taste of learning, and a more than ordinary skill in the liberal arts, especially painting, sculpture, architecture, and medals; he acquired the noblest collection of any Prince in his time, and more than all the Kings of England before him. He spoke several languages very well, and with a singular good grace; though now and then, when he was warm in discourse, he was inclinable to stammer. He writ a tolerable hand for a King; but his sense was strong, and his stile laconic. Mem, p. 68, &c..

## End of Notes - Chapter 1





## THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND BOOK XXI

Containing The Third and Last Part of The  
Reign of Charles I.

1642 AD August 2

### Chapter 2

#### The Coinage of Charles I



**Y AN INDENTURE IN THE 2ND YEAR OF KING CHARLES I,** a pound weight of Gold, of the old Standard, of twenty three Carats, three Grains and a half fine, and half a Grain allay, was coined into £44. 10s. by tale; namely, into Rose-Rials at 30s. a piece; Spur Rials at £15 a piece, and Angels at 10s. a piece. And a pound weight of Crown Gold, of twenty two carats fine, and two carats allay, into £41 by tale; namely, into units at 20s. Double crowns at 10s. or British Crowns at 5s., a piece. And a pound of silver of the old standard, of eleven ounces, two-penny weight fine, into sixty two shillings by tale; namely, into crowns, half-crowns, shillings, half-shillings, twopences, pence, and half-pence.

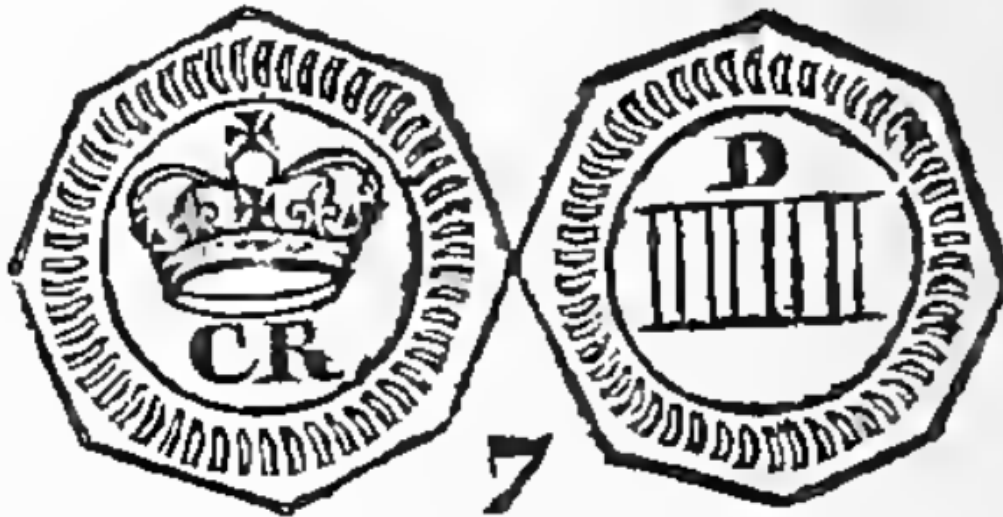


The gold coins of the King (as appears by indenture above) are, Rose Rials, Spur Rials, Angels, double and British crowns. The Rose Rial has, on one side the King's figure in wrought armour, crowned and holding in his right hand the sceptre, resting upon his shoulder, and in his left hand the Ball. **CAROLVS. D. G. MAG. BRITAN. FRAN. ET. HIB. REX.** Reverse, under a Crown, the Arms quartered, Scotland in the first and fourth Quarter between **C. R.** Crowned,

**HIS. VP. MSVU. VT. PROSIM.** Struck, probably when the King was in Scotland, and weighing six penny weights and eight grains and a quarter. (Fig 1)







The Spar-Rial, weighing just half the other, exhibits the King's head crowned, looking the contrary way, and extending to the edge. **CAR. D. G. MAG. BRIT. FRAN. ET. HIB. REX.** Reverse, the Arms, as before, **VNITA TVEMVR.** The Unite has **XX** by the King's head crowned in Rust. **CAROLVS. D. G. MAG. BRIT. FRA. ET. HIB. REX.** Reverse, Arms in a square shield. **COLTORES. SVI. DEVS PROTE GIT.** Another, with the falling band, has a Sun for the Mint mark and reverse, the arms in an oval shield **C. R. FLORENT. CONCORDIA. REGNA.**—The Silver Coins of this King are Crowns. Half Crowns, Shilling, Sixpences. Twopences, Pence and Half Pence: As also Ten and Twenty Shilling Piece, peculiar to the King, which his figure on horseback. The Crown Piece has the King on Horseback, with his sword in his hand, **CAROLVS. D. G. MAG. BRITA. FRAN. ET. HIBER. REX.** Reverse, between **C. R.** The Arms in an oval shield crowned, **CHRISTO. AVSPICE REGNO.**

Another has on one side a plain Cross, on the other **V.** with **s** above it. The Half-Crowns are various; some with the Arms in an Oval, some in a square shield. They have for Mint marks, a Lion Passant, and in some Gardant. Anchor Harp, Fleur-de-lis, &c. The Newark Half Crown, in form of a Lozenge, has **C. R.** on each side of a Crown, and **XXX.** below. Reverse, **OBS. NEWARK. 1646.** (There is also a Newark Shilling, exactly in the same form, and with the same inscription; only it has **XII.** instead of **XXX.**) (Fig. C). The Pontefract Half-Crown is in the same form as that of Newark: On one side **C. R.** crowned, **DUM. SPIRO. SPERO.** Reverse, the castle, and a hand out of one of the Towers, holding a drawn sword, **OBS. P. C. 1648.** (The Pontefract Shilling wants the Sword and Hand, and has **XII** instead of **XXX**, but in other respects it is like the Half-Crown). (Fig. 5). There is also a Three Shilling piece, coined at the siege of Carlisle, having **C. R.** And **III** below: Reverse, **OBS. CARL. 1645.** of the Shillings, some have the King's head crowned, with the Rust; and **XII** behind the head: Reverse, the Arms, and **CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO**, a cross the Mint mark. (Fig. 1).

Another is with a falling Band, (Fig. 3). One has 1637, and **ARCHETYPUS. MONETÆ. ARGENTÆ. ANGLIÆ.** The Carlisle Shilling, which is an Octagon, has a Crown with **C. R. XII.** Reverse, **OBS. CARL. 1645.** The Sixpences are firstly like the Shilling, only have **VI.** instead of **XII.** The Carlisle Sixpence, has **G. R.** Crowned. Reverse, **VI. D** The Carlisle Croat, is Octagon, and has on the Reverse **III.** (Fig. 7). The Three-pence has the King's head, Title, and Arms, as the larger pieces **CHRISTO. AVSPICE. REGNO.** One has the Ostrich feathers (because made of Welsh Silver), with this Motto, **EXVRGAT. DEVS. DIS SIPENTVR. INIMICI.** In the Field, **RELIG. PRO. LEG. ANG. LIBER. PAR. 1645.** (Fig. 4). The two-pence has **II** behind the King's head, with title and Arms as the Three-pence, Legend **IVSTITIA. THRONVM. FIRMAT.** One has the King in Ruff, bareheaded, **CAR. DG. MAG, BRIT.**

**FRAN. ET, HIB.** Reverse, two Cs. interlinked under a Crown, **FIDEI DEFENSOR.** (Fig. 8).  
The Penny has **I.** behind the King's head.



## Charles Marriage to Henrietta Maria



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Word of the Lord from Jerusalem"  
(Isaiah 2:3)."**

