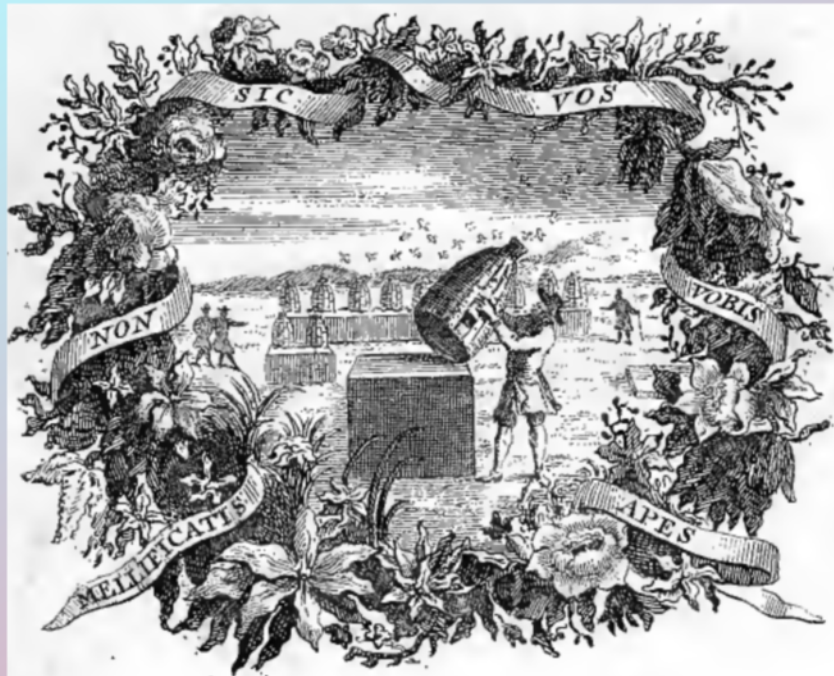


Rapin's History of England



Book Twenty - Two

Volume 2

The Inter-Regnum
Part 1

**The History
of
England
Written in French
By
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Book Twenty-Two

The Inter Regnum Part I



**Thomas Fairfax, 3rd Lord Fairfax
of Cameron, English general and
parliamentary commander-in-chief, the
New Model Army, 17th Century**



Charles Stuart Son of Charles I



**The Scottish Parliament Proclaims
Charles II King, but on terms
not acceptable to him.**



James Hamilton, 1st Duke of Hamilton



James Hamilton, 1st Duke of Hamilton KG PC (19 June 1606 – 9 March 1649) was a Scottish nobleman and influential political and military leader during the Thirty Years' War and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms





THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND
BOOK XXII
Chapter I

**The History of the INTER-REGNUM, from the Death of
Charles I. To the Restoration of Charles II**

**The HISTORY of the Inter-regnum is divided into three
principal parts. The first contains what passed, whilst
England was reduced to a Democracy. The Second what
happened during the ‘Protectorates of Oliver and Richard
Cromwell, The third, what passed from the Deprivation
Richard Cromwell, to the Restoration Charles II**

Part One
THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND
1649



To understand the revolutions in England after the death of Charles I. we are necessarily to remember some material things which have already appeared in the foregoing reign, and of which it will not be amiss to make here a short recapitulation.

A Recapitulation of Some Important Matters

First, The Parliament now sitting consisted properly but of a House of Commons, who refused to acknowledge the negative voice of the Peers, This they had manifestly shewed in erecting a Court of Justice to try the King without the concurrence of the Lords, whose consent was voted unnecessary.

Secondly, This House of Commons was composed of a final number of members, all Independents, Anabaptists, or other sectaries. All the Presbyterian members who sat in the House the 6th of December were expelled by the army; and the absent, whose Principles agreed not with those of the Independents, durst not resume their places. If ever there was an usurpation, it was this maimed Parliament’s Government, founded only in violence, and wholly supported by the army. For though the House of Commons pretended to represent the people of England, it is

very certain, the nation afforded but few persons, who were pleased to see the sovereign power lodged in the hands of such representatives.

Thirdly, The Independents, of whom this House was chiefly composed, were distinguished by two principles, one relating to the civil, the other to the Ecclesiastical Government. By the first, they asserted, that the Republican Government was not only the most perfect, but also absolutely necessary for England, after so many oppressions from her Kings, who had changed the Government into a real tyranny.

With regard to religion, though they called themselves Protestants, their principle was, that every particular Church was independent, and might be governed as the members thought proper. Their notions concerning the vocation of the ministers of the Gospel, were also very singular; as they believed that, without any other call, every man was free to discharge the office of Minister, and use the talents given him by God.

The other sectaries, who had joined the Independents because they found in that party a full toleration, were united with them in the first of these principles, and had declared for a Republican Government. But with respect to religion, there were between them some differences, which the Independents regarded the less, as they wanted to increase their adherents, and, besides, believed, that in matters of religion, toleration was absolutely necessary.

Fourthly, There was still in the army a remnant of Levellers, who adhered to their Principle, and were always ready for any attempt to recover their credit. It is true, Cromwell, after having himself raised this faction, had in some measure dispersed, but not entirely destroyed it. An able leader would still have made it as formidable as ever

Fifthly, It was with the utmost concern that the Presbyterians saw the Independents in possession of sovereign power. By that all their measures were broken: Their progress for eight years became fruitless, and the storm, they had raised against the King, returned upon their own heads, or at least, it was apparent, they had all this while been labouring for others without any thing done for themselves.

For indeed the Independents were equally enemies to Presbyterian and Episcopal Government. As to civil Government, it is certain, the Presbyterians were not averse to Royalty in general. If they had undertaken to limit its power, it was not from a belief that the thing was evil in itself, as established by the Laws of England, but because the two last Kings had used their power to destroy Presbyterianism.

So, whatever they had done against King Charles I was not pointed so much against his dignity as his person, because they considered him as their enemy, and despaired of establishing a Presbyterian Government in the Church, so long as he had power to prevent it. Very likely however many of them would have complied with a Republican Government, notwithstanding the tenor of the Covenant, had that Government not been in the hands of the Independents, who were by no means inclined to support Presbyterianism, and whose principles upon toleration were entirely rejected by the Presbyterians. And therefore an union between the Presbyterians and Independents was morally impossible.

Sixthly, The Royalists, equally enemies of both, could unite with neither of the parties, considering the opposition there was between their principles. The Independents were for a Commonwealth, to which the Royalists could not consent. On the other hand, the Presbyterians were for maintaining their Government in the Church, and most of the Royalists could hardly believe, the Presbyterian Churches, as they had no Bishops, to be true Christian Churches. Thus the Royalists, though persecuted by both parties, were far from joining with either.

On the contrary, they conceived some hopes, that the division among their enemies would, one day, give them a good opportunity to restore the Monarchy to its former state. Wherefore they industriously fomented this division, in expectation that the Presbyterians would at last be obliged to abandon their projects, and unite with the Royal Party, to free themselves from the Persecutions they suffered.

Such were the interests of the parties which divided the people of England immediately after the death of Charles I. The remembrance of all this is absolutely necessary for understanding the transactions during the Interregnum.

An Act to Forbid The Proclaiming of The King's Son

Presently after the King's death, the House of Commons published an act to forbid the proclaiming of Charles Stewart, eldest son of the late King, or any other person whatever, on pain of High-Treason. Here was laid, as it were, the foundation of the Commonwealth, which the Independents meant to erect in England. The same day the Lords desired a conference with the Commons about settling the Government, and the administration of Justice, the Judges commissions being determined by the death of the King.

The House of Lords Abolished by The Commons

The Commons, without answering the message, voted the House of Lords to be useless and dangerous, and therefore to be abolished. They only left the Lords the power of being elected members of Parliament, in common with other subjects. This privilege was embraced by a few [1], but rejected by most of the Peers, nay, some published a Protestation against the power assumed by the Commons, which was little regarded.

Some Lords Protest

Thus, the Parliament, which at first was composed of the King, six-score Lords, and five hundred and thirteen Commons, was reduced to a House of Commons consisting of about eighty members, of whom very few at the beginning, had five hundred pounds yearly income. And yet, these members, though so few in number, assumed the name of a Parliament, and acted as if in their body had been united the power, which before resided in the King, Lords, and Commons.

This might appear very surprising, if we had not seen the foregoing transactions, and the universal terror inspired by the army. Hence appears with what care and ability Cromwell and his associates had, upon the self-denying ordinance, filled the army with their creatures. Certainly, nothing less than an army entirely independent and republican could have procured a power so excessive and extraordinary to so inconsiderable a number of members of Parliament.

Principles of The Commons Relating to Government

But it must also be confessed, that, of these new Governors, some were men of a great genius and uncommon capacity, and that if they erred in their principles, they wanted not skill to pursue the consequences. Their principle was, that the as Sovereign Authority resided originally in the people, by whom a part of it was committed to the Kings, chosen to govern them according to law. That the King's abuse of this trust, had broken the original contract between King and people, and by this violation, the contract subsisting no longer, the sovereign power returned to the people as the fountain thereof.

So, considering themselves as the representatives of the people, they believed, they had a right to change the form of the Government, without any regard to the original contract annulled by the King in his violation of the laws.

The Commons Abolish The Monarchy

In consequence of this principle the Commons, assuming the name of Parliament, voted, and afterwards enacted, that the Kingly office should be abolished as unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous, and that the State should be governed by the representatives of the people in an House of Commons without King or Lords, and under the form of a Commonwealth.

This grand alteration in the Government produced many others, in things consistent with Monarchy, but not with a Commonwealth, The oaths of allegiance and supremacy were to be abolished[2], Justice was no longer to be administered in the King's name[3], a new Great-Seal was to be made, new money to be coined; in a word, every thing to be removed which bore any marks of Royalty.

A Great Seal Made

A Great-Seal was therefore made, on one side of which was seen the Parliament sitting, with this inscription, **The Great-Seal, of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England**, on the other side, the arms of England and Ireland, with these words, **The First year of Freedom by God's Blessing Restored**[4]. This Seal was committed to a certain number of persons, who were styled **Keepers of the Liberties of England**. And it was ordained that for the future, all public orders should be dispatched in the name of these keepers, under the direction of the Parliament[5].

Council of State

Lastly, The Parliament made choice of thirty nine persons to form a Council of State for the administration of public affairs, under the Parliament[6]. The projects of these changes were formed in February, but the execution of them all required some months.

A New High Court of Justice

In the beginning of March, the Parliament erected a new High-Court of Justice, consisting of sixty members to try some persons of distinction, who were in their power. It seems, as there was no House of Lords, the Peers of the Kingdom had lost their privileges under this new democracy, and that consequently the imprisoned Lords might have been tried by a Jury, in one of the Courts of Justice.

The Parliament, without doubt, was apprehensive, that a Jury, empanelled as usual, would never find persons of quality guilty of death, for supporting the cause of their Sovereign.. The Independents were not sufficiently numerous among the people, to be secure of a Jury of their party. Besides, they were not assured of the Judges, six of whom had refused to accept commissions from the Commonwealth, But in erecting a Court of Justice, the Parliament could name such Judges as would be obedient to their orders.

Some Noble Gentlemen Brought Before it

Before this new court, of which Bradshaw was President, as he had been of that which condemned the King, were brought Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, then Lord Goring, lately created Earl of Norwich, the Lord Capel and Sir John Owen, all for the same crime, namely, for having appeared in arms against the Parliament.

When the King had a mind in the beginning of the civil wars, to put to death prisoners taken at Edge Hill and Colebrook, the Parliament thinking it unjust, declared, they would inflict the same punishment on their prisoners, if the condemned persons were executed. But when victory had

decided in their favour, it was then found very agreeable to justice, to punish with death those who had fought for the King. This will seem the less strange, when it is remembered, that the King himself had been put to death, for making war upon the Parliament.

The Duke of Hamilton's Defence

The Duke of Hamilton represented:–

That being a subject of Scotland, he had entered England with an army, as an open enemy, by virtue of a Commission from the Parliament of Scotland, which he was bound to obey, and consequently, could be treated but as a prisoner of war. As this objection had been foreseen, he was told, he was not proceeded against as Duke of Hamilton in Scotland, but as Earl of Cambridge in England, and since he had accepted that title, and as such, taken a seat in Parliament, he was thereby become a subject of England:

That if the title of Duke of Hamilton obliged him to obey the Parliament of Scotland, that of Earl of Cambridge ought to have engaged him to refuse the commission. Besides, they were informed, that his accepting the command of the Scotch army, was not owing to mere obedience, but to his own satisfaction, and that he had been the principal author of the war.

The Earl of Holland

The Earl of Holland spoke but little in his defence. Besides, the steps he had taken, and his frequent changing sides, did not much favour his cause.

The Earl of Norwich

The Lord Goring (Earl of Norwich) represented:–

That he had been educated in the Court from his cradle, having been a Page to King James I:

That he had never served any other matter than the King, whom he had followed without examining the justice or injustice of his cause, not having had opportunity to be informed in such points, which were above his capacity.

The Lord Capel

The Lord Capel steadfast to his principles, and zealously attached to the cause of his Sovereign, defended himself with more courage and resolution. He refused, at first, to own the authority of the court, alleging, That if he had committed any crime he ought to be tried in the usual form, and not before a Court unsupported by any law.

But the condemnation of the King himself, by a court of the like nature, might have convinced him, of the un-serviceableness of such a defence. He said afterwards, that having surrendered himself prisoner at discretion, he was, by the Law of Nations, exempted from death, if not inflicted within so many days, which were long since expired.

He urged, that when after the taking of Colchester, the council of war had condemned Lucas and Lisle to be shot, General Fairfax promised life to the other prisoners, and therefore he demanded the benefit of that promise.

The Court being a little embarrassed, sent to the General, to know what promise he had made the Lord Capel. His answer was:—

That as General, he had promised the prisoners an exemption from military execution, to which three had been condemned, and that his intention reached no farther.

Upon this answer it was decided, that the General's promise did not exempt the prisoner from the justice of the Parliament.

Sir John Owen

Sir John Owen said only, he was obliged in conscience to serve the King according to his oath of allegiance.

They are Condemned Petitions - in Their Favour

Notwithstanding their defence, they all received sentence of death[7]. But as they had many friends, petitions, were offered to the Parliament in their name for a pardon. These petitions were examined in the House, and those of Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and Lord Capel rejected. The votes were equally divided upon that of the Earl of Norwich, and as, according to custom, the Speaker's vote was to decide, he declared for pardon, saying, he had formerly received from the Earl some civilities, and therefore voted in his favour[8].

Duke of Hamilton Executed

The execution of Sir John Owen was suspended, because, as a Commoner, he ought to have been tried before an inferior Court. This saved his life. The three first were executed on a scaffold, erected before Westminster Hall. Duke Hamilton complained, when on the scaffold, that he was condemned to die for obeying the Parliament of Scotland, which if he had not done, he must have been put to death there.

But it was with little reason that he insinuated a danger of being put to death in Scotland, for a refusal to accept the command of an army raised by his intrigues and authority. He intimated, that if he would; have confessed who invited the Scots army into England, it would probably have saved his life.

Before his process was formed, he had been strongly solicited to make this discovery, which he utterly refused to do[9]. The character of this Duke is not easy to be conceived. All that can be inferred from what has been said for or against him, is, that he had the art to adapt himself to the times. And the Earl of Clarendon plainly insinuates, that when he was employed by the King, he was secretly making friends in the contrary party, in case affairs should turn to the King's disadvantage.

Lord Capel Executed

The Lord Capel maintained, that he had acted nothing contrary to the Laws, and consequently was unjustly sentenced to die. He spoke of King Charles I. as of a Saint, and enlarged upon the great understanding, excellent nature, and exemplary piety of the Prince, to whom he gave the title of King, affirming, he would never be shaken in his religion. In all appearance, the Lord Capel spoke his real sentiments. But the sequel discovered, either that he did not sufficiently know Charles the IInd, or that Prince had other principles when restored to the throne, than those he had imbibed in his youth.

Other Executions

At or about the same time, many others were executed for the same crime in several parts of the Kingdom; and amongst the rest were Morrice and Blackbourn who had surprised the Castle of Pontefract for the King. Poyer, Powell, and Langhorn, who had drawn into a revolt from the Parliament the Principality of Wales, cast lots for their lives, and the first was executed.

The Absent Members Excluded The Parliament

When the army drove from the House above a hundred of the members, who were unacceptable to them, those only were expressly excluded, which were then present: but many were absent, against whom nothing had yet been determined.

Indeed, these last had never since taken their seats in the House, being apprehensive of the same fate. But possibly they might return in great numbers, whenever a favourable opportunity offered. This the House resolved to prevent, by an act, which excluded for ever, all who had not sat since the trial of the King, unless they gave the House an entire satisfaction. At the same time, a Committee was appointed to examine those who should offer themselves.

This Committee received, without scruple, those who were of Independent principles, and found reasons to exclude their enemies. This indeed was a good expedient to prevent divisions in the Parliament, because the members were all of one party. But this precaution bred an inconvenience, which called for other measures.

The are Readmitted on Condition of Signing an Engagement

The Parliament consisted of so few members, that they perceived the ridiculousness of styling themselves the representative of the Commonwealth. It is true, the vacant seats might have been filled by new elections, but the Parliament did not care to run that risque, knowing, their party was yet too inconsiderable, to hope for new members of their own principles.

The House therefore resolved:—

In order to increase their authority by a greater number of members, to permit all who had sat in the present Parliament, to resume their places, on condition of signing an instrument, called the engagement, by which they rejected all conditions made by the King in the treaty of Newport; approved of all the proceedings against and engaged themselves to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, as established without King or House of Lords.

Which is Signed by Many Presbyterians

By this Engagement were excluded all the Royalists, and the Presbyterians, who were the most rigid observers of the Covenant. But however, a good number of the latter signed, and took their seats in the House, being either less scrupulous than their brethren, or in hopes to recover some influence in the Parliament.

The Prince of Wales Takes The Title of King

Notwithstanding, those who were known to be most incensed against the Independents, were excluded by the Committee. Edmund Ludlow, a member of this Committee, freely owns in his memoir that an expedient was found to admit only those, from whom it was believed, there was no danger[10].

The Prince of Wales received at the Hague the melancholy news of the tragical death of his father, and immediately assumed the title of King, being then eighteen years of age. Within two or three days, the States General, the States of Holland, and the Ministers of the Hague[11], paid him their compliments of condolence. He caused those of his father's Council, who attended him, to be sworn of his Privy Council, with the addition of only one person[12].

He had no sooner established his Council, than he received a letter from the Queen his mother, who, after expressions of her extreme affection, advised him to retire into France and form no Council till she had spoke with him, but her advice came too late.

Probably, the Queen designed to govern her son, as she had governed his father, though the power of the new King was insignificant. His condition was deplorable, not having wherewithal to maintain his household, or any table but that of the Prince of Orange his brother-in-law, and subsisting entirely by his assistance, which too could not last very long.

Prince of Wales Coldly Received in Holland

The States of Holland, foreseeing the Parliament would shortly solicit the King's removal out of their dominions, would have been very glad to be freed, by his voluntary retreat, from the necessity of desiring him to depart. Some of the States Deputies were even of opinion, to prevent the desires of the Parliament. The King was informed of this disposition, and wished to be gone, but knew not whither. He had been ill-received in France whilst his father was alive, and had no reason to expect a better reception.

He knew too well the Queen Regent and Cardinal Mazarin, to imagine, they would prefer his friendship to that of the new Common-wealth of England. So, though he had resolved to withdraw into France, it could have been but for a very short space. On the other hand, he had no great inclination to be with the Queen his mother, knowing, she would hold him in a sort of servitude, which he could neither brook, nor avoid without a quarrel. Ireland alone seemed to promise him an honourable retreat, by reason of the situation of affairs in that Kingdom, which it is necessary to describe.

The Condition of Ireland

In the year 1646, the Marquis of Ormond by express orders from the King, concluded a peace with the Irish rebels, in hopes of receiving sufficient forces to drive from that island the English Parliamentarians and the Scots, But, however advantageous this peace was to the Catholic religion, the Pope's Nuncio did not think fit to consent to it.

The pretence was, that the Catholics found in it neither sufficient advantages, nor security. But the true reason was, that by this peace he would have lost all his credit, since the Marquis was to be acknowledged Governor by the Irish, He caballed therefore with such success among the people, that, not only they deserted the Marquis, but also by their insults obliged him to retire to Dublin, unprovided of every thing to defend that capital, which they were preparing to besiege.

In this extremity, he chose rather to deliver Dublin and Drogheda to the Parliament, than see them fall into the hands of the rebels. He capitulated therefore with the Parliament, and surrendered these two places to Colonel Jones, who took possession the 17th of June 1647. After that the Marquis withdrew into England, where he had frequent leave to visit the King, then a prisoner of the army, till at last he was forced to pass into France.

After the Marquis had quitted Ireland, the Nuncio exercised a tyranny, which grew intolerable to the Irish. They therefore sent to the Queen and Prince then at Paris, that they were disposed to shake off the Nuncio's yoke, and if the Marquis of Ormond were sent to them with a supply

of arms and ammunition, they would put him at the head of an army capable of expelling all the King's enemies out of the Island. The Nuncio had notice of this plot, and excommunicated the authors, but for this once, he proved not the strongest. He was forsaken by all his adherents, and even forced to ask as a favour, the liberty to withdraw.

The Marquis of Ormond long waited at Paris for the performance of a promise made him by the Cardinal, of a supply of money, arms and ammunition. But finding at last, he was only amused, he departed without any assistance, and arrived in Ireland the beginning of October, 1648. Three months after, he concluded a new treaty, with the Grand Council of the Irish, assembled at Kilkenny[13].

At the same time the process was forming in England against the King. But this peace was not general. Owen Roc O' Neal, who commanded in Ulster, rejected it, because, as he pretended, it was not advantageous enough to the Catholic religion. Much time was spent to gain him, without success. At last, the Marquis of Ormond, not to lose the opportunity of making progress in Ireland, while the Parliament was erecting their new Commonwealth, resolved to take no farther notice of O' Neal, but act singly, with the army which the Council of Kilkenny had at their disposal.

He put himself therefore at the head of this army, and advancing towards Dublin, took Dundalk, Newry, Trim, Drogheda, and some other towns and castles, which facilitated his intended siege of Dublin. On the other hand, Prince Rupert, Admiral for the King, being pursued by the Parliament's fleet, put into Kingsale, where he was secure, and in a condition to favour the Marquis of Ormond's designs.

This disposition of affairs made the King judge that Ireland was a convenient retreat, where at the head of an army, he might make himself master of Dublin, and then of the whole Island. After which he hoped, that with his Irish succours and his friends in England, he might recover his throne. But news from Scotland made him suspend his resolution of going to Ireland. And this it will be necessary to explain.

Affairs of Scotland

Since Cromwell's expedition into that Kingdom, after the defeat of Duke Hamilton, the face of affairs was entirely changed. The Marquis of Argyle, with all the rigid Covenanters who opposed the war against England, had regained the advantage they had lost. The new Parliament had declared incapable of all employments, those who were concerned in the Engagement formed by Duke Hamilton, and the Kirk had excommunicated them: so that they were considered as enemies of God and the State.

Of this number were William Earl of Lanerick, brother of Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Lautherdale, and many others, who formed a faction, which I shall call Hamiltonian, and which was entirely crushed. By this revolution Scotland remained united with England, so long as the English Parliament continued Presbyterian, that is, to the 6th of December 1648.

The revolution in England, upon the army's expelling the Presbyterian members from the Parliament, to leave only Independents, changed the interests of Scotland. The Independents mortally hated the Scots on account of their attachment to the Covenant, and these again looked upon the Independents as enemies, no less formidable than the Royalists.

This might have sunk the credit of Argyle, which partly subsisted upon his friendship with Cromwell and Vane, the chiefs of the Independents. But the Scots had a confidence in him, because in religion he was an approved Presbyterian, though in politics he leaned to the republican scheme.

When the Parliament of England had erected a Court of Justice for the trial of the King, the Scots found themselves extremely embarrassed. To suffer the Independents to remain masters of England after the death of the King, which was visibly their design, could not but be very disadvantageous to them. They perceived, that a Parliament so composed would disregard Scotland, and infallibly ruin the Covenant between the two Kingdoms, which it was of the utmost importance for the Scots to maintain, because the Presbyterians might possibly one day recover the ground they had lost. But on the other hand, they could not take arms for the King without manifest danger.

After their late loss, they were hardly able to raise another army, to fight the Independents; and though they had done it, they would not have saved the King's life. They therefore resolved to shew the English and all Europe, that they highly disapproved the proceedings of the Parliament of England, which was all they could do on this occasion.

Pursuant to this resolution, Commissioners were sent to London, where they arrived the beginning of January, 1648-9, and presented a memorial to the Parliament, setting forth the reasons which ought to divert them from their purpose of trying the King. But this Memorial produced no effect.

The Scots Protestation

At last, after the King had been twice brought before the High Court of Justice, they gave in their protestation, in which they put them in mind:—

That they had, near three weeks before, represented to them, what endeavours had been used for taking away the King's life, and for the change of the fundamental Government of the Kingdom, and introducing a sinful and ungodly toleration in matters of religion; and that therein they had expressed their thoughts, and fears, of the dangerous consequences that might follow thereupon;

And that they had also earnestly pressed, that there might be no farther proceeding against his Majesty's person, which would certainly continue the great distractions of the Kingdom, and involve them in many evils, troubles, and confusions; but that by the free counsels of both Houses of Parliament of England, and with the advice and consent of the Parliament of Scotland, such course might be taken in relation to the King, as might be for the good and happiness of both Kingdoms; both having an unquestionable, and undeniable right in his person, as King of both; which duly considered, they had reason to hope, that it would have given a stop to all farther proceedings against his Majesty's person.

But now understanding, that after the imprisonment and exclusion of divers members of the House of Commons, and without, and against the consent of the House of Peers, by a single act of their own, and theirs alone, power was given to certain persons of their own members of the army, and some others, to proceed against his Majesty's person, in order whereunto he had been brought before that extraordinary new Court;

They did therefore, in the name of the Parliament of Scotland, for their vindication from false aspersions and calumnies, declare,

That though they were not satisfied with his Majesty's late concessions in the treaty at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, especially in the matters of religion, and were resolved not to crave his restoration to his Government, before satisfaction should be given by him to that Kingdom; yet they did all unanimously with one voice, not

one member excepted, disclaim the least knowledge of, or occasion to the late proceedings of the army here against the King; and did sincerely profess,

That it would be a great grief to their hearts, and lie heavy upon their spirits, if they should see the trusting his Majesty's person to the two Houses of the Parliament of England, to be made use of to his ruin, contrary to the declared intentions of the Kingdom of Scotland, and solemn professions of the Kingdom of England:

And to the end that it might be manifest to the world, how much they did abominate and detest so horrid a design against his Majesty's person, they did, in the name of the Parliament and Kingdom of Scotland, declare their dissent from the said proceedings, and the taking away his Majesty's life; protesting, that as they were altogether free from the same, so they might be free from all the miseries, evil consequences, and calamities, that might follow thereupon to the distracted Kingdoms.

The Parliament's Answer

The Parliament answered this Protestation, but after the King's death, saying:—

They had heretofore told them, what power this nation had in the fundamentals of a Government:

That if Scotland had not the same power and liberty, as they went not about to confine them, so they would not be limited by them; but leaving them to act in theirs as they should see cause, they resolved to maintain their own liberties, as God should enabled them.

And as they were very far from imposing upon them, so they should not willingly suffer impositions from them, whilst God gave them strength or lives to oppose them.

They said:—

The answer they made to their first and second letter was, that after a long and serious deliberation of their own intrinsical power and trust, (derived to them by the Providence of God, through the delegation of the people) and upon the like considerations, of what themselves and the whole nation had suffered, from the mis-government and tyranny of that King, both in peace, and by the wars;

And considering, how fruitless, and full of danger and prejudice the many addresses to him for peace had been,

And being conscious how much they had provoked and tempted God, by the neglect of the impartial execution of Justice, in relation to the innocent blood spilt, and mischief done, in the late wars, they had proceeded in such a course of justice against that man of blood, as they doubted not the just God (who is no respecter of persons) did approve, and would countenance with his blessings upon the nation; and though perhaps they might meet with many difficulties, before their liberties and peace were settled, yet they hoped they should be preserved from confusion, by the good will of him who dwelt in the bush, which burned and was not consumed;

And that the course they had taken with the late King, and meant to follow towards others, the capital enemies of their peace, was, they hoped, that which would be for the good and happiness of both nations of which, if that of Scotland would think to

make use, and vindicate their own liberty and freedom, (which lay before them, if they gave them not away) they would be ready to give them all neighbourly and friendly assistance, in the establishing thereof; and desired them to take it into their most serious consideration, before they espoused that quarrel, which could bring them no other advantage, than the entailing upon them, and their posterities, a lasting war, with all the miseries which attended it, and slavery under a tyrant and his issue.

Reply of The Scotch Parties

Shortly after, the Scotch Commissioners were recalled. But just after their departure, an answer was in their name presented to the Parliament, which charged the sitting members with unfaithfulness, breach of promises and oaths, and other things very offensive.

This was so ill received by the Parliament, that they ordered them to be arrested on the road, and put under guard, till it should be known whether they were avowed by their Principals. But, the Scotch Parliament justifying them, and complaining of the violation of the law of nations violated in their persons, they were immediately discharged.

In so nice a juncture, the Scots had but two ways to prevent their falling into a dangerous anarchy. They were either, with the English, to change their Government into a Commonwealth, or else acknowledge the eldest son of the late King for their Sovereign. But each of these ways had its difficulties.

A Republican Government was directly contrary to their antient Constitution, the two Covenants, and the inclination of the people. Besides, it was not seen what advantage could accrue to the nation from such a change. The second way was likewise very embarrassing, considering the circumstances of Scotland for many years past.

Difficulties Under Which The Scots Lay

Had James I. and Charles I. not invaded the privileges of Scotland, by introducing the religion of England, contrary to the inclinations of the people:

Had the differences between Charles I. and his Scotch subjects produced no civil war:

Had not the treaty which ended that war, and restored to the Scots their antient religion, been extorted from the King:

Had not the invincible distrust of the Scots, with regard to Charles I, armed them to lessen his power in England, and disable him to revoke his concessions to Scotland:

Had not the Scots sworn two Covenants, the one national, and the other common, to both nations, to maintain Presbyterianism:

Had these things, I say, never happened, the Scots might, nay ought to have acknowledged for Sovereign the next heir of the Throne, according to the immemorial custom of Scotland. But in the recognition of this new King, the maintenance of their Laws, their Privileges, their religion, was concerned.

Herein lay the difficulty, for the accession of a new King to the Crown, was no reason to oblige them to relinquish things, which had cost them a ten years war. They knew, Prince Charles,

eldest son of the late King, had the same principles as his father, concerning religion, and civil Government; and had never entertained, nor did now entertain, any persons about him, but what were mortal enemies to their Nation and religion.

Wherefore, in receiving him for King without any previous condition, they ran the risk of being re-plunged into their former state under Charles I, who by artifices, and, as they thought, by deceit, and at last by open violence, had undertaken to reduce the Kirk of Scotland to a perfect conformity with the Church of England. As therefore, agreeably to the laws and customs of the Kingdom, it was natural to acknowledge for Sovereign him, to whom the Crown was to devolve, it was no less proper, in the present juncture, to take care to preserve what they had with so much difficulty recovered.

Was it reasonable for them, to deliver themselves to the mercy of a young Prince, yet a stranger to them, and cause their peace and happiness to depend on his sole will, notwithstanding their suspicions, that he had no more affection for them than his father? Nevertheless, as his affairs were almost desperate, they imagined, the offer of their Crown, might engage him to become a good Scot, and dismiss his English counsellors, who were not proper for Scotland; in a word, would think himself very happy to recover one of his Kingdoms, and see himself in the same state in which his ancestors were, before his grandfather's accession to England.

They resolved, therefore, to acknowledge and proclaim him, but however with restrictions, which left them at liberty to capitulate with him. The Proclamation was thus worded:—

The Proclamation of Charles II in Scotland

THE ESTATES OF PARLIAMENT presently^[14] convened in this second sessions of this second triennial Parliament, by virtue of an act of the Committee of Estates, whom had power and authority from the last Parliament, for convening the Parliament; considering, that for as much as the King's Majesty, who lately reigned, is, contrary to the dissent and protestation of this Kingdom, removed by a violent death; and that by the Lord's blessing, there is left unto us a righteous heir, and lawful successor, Charles Prince of Scotland and Wales, now King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland;

WE THE ESTATES OF THE PARLIAMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND, do therefore most unanimously and cheerfully, in recognition and acknowledgment of his just right, title, and succession to the Crown of these Kingdoms, hereby proclaim and declare to all the world, That the said Lord and Prince Charles is, by the providence of God, and by the lawful right of undoubted succession, King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, whom the subjects of this Kingdom are bound, humbly and faithfully to obey, maintain, and defend, according to the national Covenant, and the solemn league and covenant betwixt the two Kingdoms, with their lives and goods, against all deadly enemies, as their only righteous Sovereign Lord and King.

AND BECAUSE HIS MAJESTY IS BOUND BY THE LAW OF GOD, and the fundamental laws of this Kingdom, to rule in righteousness and equity, to the honour of God, the good of religion, and the wealth of his people:

IT IS HEREBY DECLARED, That before he be admitted to the exercise of his royal power, he shall give satisfaction to the Kingdom, in those things that concern the security of religion, the unity betwixt the Kingdoms, and the good and peace of this Kingdom, according to the national Covenant, and the solemn League and Covenant, for which end we are resolved, with all possible expedition, to make our humble and earned addresses to his Majesty.

FOR THE TESTIFICATION OF ALL WHICH, We the Parliament of the Kingdom of Scotland, publish this our acknowledgment of his just rights, title, and succession to the Crown of these Kingdoms, at the Market-cross at Edinburgh, with all usual solemnities in like cases, and ordain his royal name, portrait, and seal, to be used in the public writings and judicatories of this Kingdom, and in the Mint House, as was usually done to his royal predecessors, and command this act to be proclaimed at all the Market crosses of the royal Burghs, and to be printed, that none may pretend ignorance.

The King Informed of it by an Express

When the proclamation was published, the Council dispatched Sir Joseph Douglas, to give the King notice of it, and the States sent also two Commissioners[15], only to inform him of what had been acted in his favour, but without any order or instruction to treat with him. Before the conditions on which he was to be invested with the royal authority were proposed to him, it was necessary to know, if he would accept the Crown upon terms not yet known, but easy to be guessed[16].

The Earls of Lanerick, Lautherdale and Earl of Montross Arrive at The Hague

The Commissioners found the King at the Hague, where there arrived at the same time, but in another ship, the Earls of Lanerick and Lautherdale, and some time after, the Earl of Montross also from France. When the late King, after his retreat to the Scotch army, ordered Montross to lay down his arms, he retired into Germany, and served in the Emperor's army. Afterwards he went into France, where the Queen and Prince of Wales gave him a reception very different from what he expected, after his great services in Scotland.

This coldness was owing to his arrival in France, at the very time the Queen was using her endeavours to persuade the King her Husband, to throw himself upon the Presbyterians and Scots, and grant all their demands, imagining, he had no other refuge. It was therefore no proper season to caress a man, who was extremely hated in Scotland.

He had been very successful in serving the King, but had used his advantages with such barbarity, that he had been degraded by the Parliament, and excommunicated by the Kirk; so that in Scotland he was considered as an enemy to the nation, and to Presbyterianism. As his residence in France was very disagreeable, he no sooner heard of the death of Charles I, then he repaired to the Hague to offer his service to the new King. In his retinue, were some Scottish Lords and Gentlemen attached to his fortune.

The King Received News of The Proclamation Coldly

The King received very coldly the news of his being proclaimed, by reason of the restriction in the Proclamation. There was however nothing strange in it, since the Scots pretended only to require what had been asked of Charles I. agreeably to their Covenant, and the Covenant of the two Kingdoms. But the King and his Council, it seems, were persuaded, that the Scots had not the least right to exact such conditions.

That is to say properly, the Scots in their recognition of the new King, ought at the same time to acknowledge the injustice of their Covenants, and depart from all their pretensions. These were two contraries which they thought to be irreconcilable, namely, that the Scots should own the King's undoubted right, and yet desire to capitulate with him. In a word, they pretended that the transactions of the last ten or twelve years, ought to be entirely buried in oblivion. Charles I. Charles II. and their Counsellors, were prepossessed with an opinion which often deceived

them, namely, that there was no mean between an absolute attachment to the King, and a total enmity to him.

Remark on a Passage in Lord Clarendon's History

The Lord Clarendon's History abounds with instances of this prepossession. But to confine myself to the present occasion, this illustrious historian in representing the Scotch Nation, as animated with a just indignation against the English Parliament, for the King's death, would infer, that Scotland was inclined to accept the Prince his son for successor without any condition.

But as this did not happen, he ascribes it to the artifices and credit of the Marquis of Argyle. He says, The Marquis would have been glad to prevent the King's being proclaimed, but as he durst not oppose the general sentiment of his Country, he was forced to consent to it. According to him, the Marquis of Argyle was the sole cause of the restriction in the proclamation.

This supposes the Proclamation to have been the general sense of the people, and the restriction of the effect of Argyle's intrigues. But if this restriction was agreeable to the interests and sentiments of the ruling party, as I have shown, why is it ascribed to the Marquis alone? Was it impossible for the people of Scotland to acknowledge King Charles II without an entire confidence in him?

But the Scots acted with him only in the same manner as they acted with his father, as appears in the Covenant itself, wherein they showed an extreme distrust of the late King, even when they engaged to defend his person and rights. The restriction therefore contained nothing new, or extraordinary. It was a natural conference of the troubles begun in 1637.

Division Amongst The Scots at The Hague

However this be, Charles believed, that no great regard was due to what had yet been done for him in Scotland. He understood, that in the intended capitulation, things, would be demanded which he had resolved not to grant, as the confirmation of the Covenant and the Presbyterian Government. He wished however to justify his disinclination to Scotland, by the advice and opinion of the Scotch Lords who were with him at the Hague.

For this purpose he would have had them appear together before his Council, and upon being consulted, dissuade him from going to Scotland, and the Council thereupon form their resolution. The Marquis of Montross approved of this proceeding; but though Earl of Lautherdale, and the Earl of Lanerick who took the title of Duke Hamilton, on hearing at the Hague the tragical death of his brother, would not consent to it.

The King Declares Against Going into Scotland

They thought it too nice a proceeding, for Scotch Lords to appear before an English Council. By this the Earl of Traquaire had been ruined. On the other hand, they were so enraged against the Marquis of Montross, that they would have no communication with him. When the King found he could not bring them together to consult upon this subject, he declared however, he would not go into Scotland, and persisted in his resolution for Ireland.

The King Gives Montrose a Commission to Invade Scotland

Thus, upon a bare information that Scotland would not receive him without conditions, he resolved to refuse the Crown of that Kingdom. And, what is more, he gave commission to the Marquis of Montrose to raise forces in Germany, and make a descent upon Scotland.

So, receiving with acknowledgment, the after made him by the Scots, he ordered a war to be levied upon them, as upon enemies, because they refused to admit him for their Sovereign, without a previous engagement. Nothing is more proper to demonstrate the necessity of the precautions taken by the Scots, though some historians are pleased to represent them as very unjust.

The King could not reside any longer in Holland, where it was intimated to him, that the dread, the States were under, of a quarrel with the new Commonwealth of England, made his stay there very unwelcome. Besides, they received advice, the Parliament was to send an agent, to propose between the two Commonwealths a strict alliance; and this affair was not to be negotiated whilst the King remained at the Hague.

Dortslaus The English agent Assassinated

This Agent, named Dortslaus, arrived indeed before the King left the place. But the same evening that he came to the town; as he was at supper in his Inn, with some other persons, six Scots of the Marquis of Montrose's retinue entered the room, and dragging him from the table, murdered him[17]. The assassins were neither arrested, nor immediately pursued; and though afterwards some pains were taken to apprehend them, the States showed on that occasion a great regard for the King, which offended the Parliament.

The King Prepares for Ireland

Nevertheless, the King knew, after this action, there was no remaining at the Hague, and the Prince of Orange advertised him, that he would be desired to depart. He therefore sent his heavy baggage and some of his domestics to Ireland, with a resolution to follow them, after he had paid a visit to his mother in France. But as he was not yet ready, he prevented the ungrateful compliment he was to receive, by presenting himself to the States a memorial of the state of his affairs, and asking their opinion, whether he ought to go for Ireland or Scotland.

The States observing he was about to depart, thought it not convenient to press him, and thereby he gained time to be prepared.

Insurrection in Scotland

While the King was deliberating at the Hague, concerning the offer from Scotland, the States of that Kingdom were settling the terms on which he was to be received, not doubting his inclination and readiness to accept the offered Crown. But he had friends in Scotland, who, better informed of his sentiments, resolved to disturb the public deliberations, by an insurrection, in hopes that a happy success would cause the King to be admitted without any condition.

With this view Middleton, Monroe, the Gordons and others, assembled some forces in the North, and seized the Town of Inverness. But the Parliament having before received intimation of their design, had already raised forces, which immediately marched to the north, under Straughan and Kerr, and dispersed the mutineers before they could assemble all their forces.

Though the King had firmly resolved to go into Ireland, it was impossible for him to execute his design, by reason of the turn in his affairs in that Island. After the Parliament was become master of Dublin, it had been often moved in the House, to send a powerful reinforcement to Ireland: but the opposite interests of the Presbyterians and Independents hindered the taking any resolution.

At first, they were for sending Sir William Waller to command there, and the latter were as earnest for Major-General Lambert. The division between the Parliament and Army which arose

quickly after, brought new obstacles to this affair. At last, the revolt of Wales, the insurrections in other counties, and the preparations of the Scots to invade England, discharged all thoughts of Ireland.

If, in this interval, the Irish could have come to an union amongst themselves, and have joined the Marquis of Ormond, they might have expelled the Parliament's forces, and rendered themselves masters of the whole Kingdom. But their divisions hindered them from improving so favourable an opportunity.

It was not, as I observed, till the end of the year 1648, that they made peace with the Marquis of Ormond, and the opposition of O' Neale kept the Marquis from taking the field till April 1649, when the King was dead, and the Government of England modelled into a Commonwealth.

The union of the Irish with the Royalists, the progress of the Marquis of Ormond, the extreme weakness of the Parliament's party in that nation, brought at the last the House to a resolution of sending thither a good army, with all possible diligence. Waller, who was a Presbyterian, was no longer considered as a proper General to serve the Parliament; and Lambert, till then supported by Cromwell, was now supplanted by him.

Cromwell believed, the Government of Ireland was a post not unworthy of himself, and so managed by his intrigues, that he was unanimously chosen to fill the dignity of Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom. But before his troops could be ready for that expedition, he had a difficulty to overcome, which might have had dangerous consequences.

1649 AD] Besides the Cavaliers and Presbyterians, the Parliament had other enemies, who only waited an opportunity to declare, and were in the army itself. These were the Levellers, who were dissatisfied, for that after they had served as instruments to ruin the Presbyterian Parliament, they were not only disregarded, but even called seditious and rebels. This occasioned their assembling upon Cromwell being appointed to command in Ireland, under a pretended necessity of inquiring what troops were proper to serve in that Kingdom[18].

To that end they met at Burford to the number of five thousand, and without any precaution continued there, pretending a promise from Cromwell, that no part of the army should approach within ten miles.

But Raynolds, by the command of General Fairfax, unexpectedly fell upon them with five or six thousand men, and gave them an entire defeat. Nine hundred horse, and four hundred foot were sent prisoners to London, and some of them executed. Others obtained their pardon by Cromwell's mediation. This affair being thus happily ended, the army was prepared which Cromwell was to lead into Ireland.

The Marquis of Ormond Unsuccessful in Ireland

While this army was assembling, the Marquis of Ormond approached Dublin to besiege it. Whereupon, upon Cromwell immediately sent about three thousand men to reinforce the garrison which was very weak.

He Lays Siege to Dublin

Meanwhile, as he believed he could not arrive soon enough to save that city, he resolved to land his army in Munster, where he hoped to find no obstacle, because he knew, the Lord Inchiquin, President of that Province, was departed with his English troops, to reinforce the army under the Marquis of Ormond. But the Marquis having notice of his intention, immediately dispatched the Lord Inchiquin with the forces under his command to prevent his landing, by which he

considerably weakened his army. He however continued his march, and began the blockade of Dublin about the middle of June. He stayed some time at Finglas, five miles from Dublin, in expectation of fresh troops, and at last passed the river, and posted himself at Rathminis, to lay the siege in form.

While he was in this camp, the succours sent by Cromwell arrived in Dublin. A few days after, the Marquis of Ormond resolved to repair an old castle, which by its situation was proper to hinder any fresh relief from entering the Town. Then Colonel Jones the Governor, who from a lawyer was become a good officer, perceiving how much these fortifications might annoy him, resolved to endeavour to prevent their being finished.

The Marquis of Ormond Defeated

For that purpose he put the garrison under arms in the night, and at break of day making a sally, marched directly to the castle, and carried it sword in hand. This happy success caused him to advance towards the enemy's camp. He met by the way a body of horse, which stopped him some time. But this body being dispersed, brought such terror to the Irish army, that they fled in confusion without striking a blow.

The Marquis of Ormond was forced to follow them, for fear of falling into the hands of his enemies. After this defeat, he was obliged to retire to some distance, to wait for the succours, he had been promised.

Cromwell Lands at Dublin

Cromwell informed of this good success whilst he was embarking his army, altered his design, and instead of going to Munster, sailed to Dublin, where he safely arrived about the middle of August (with about fifteen thousand men). When the Marquis of Ormond knew that Cromwell was at Dublin, he retired to a still greater distance, and left in Drogheda a numerous garrison[19], under the command of Sir Arthur Aston, an officer of reputation, who had been Governor of Reading, and afterwards of Oxford.

About the same time Londonderry, the most considerable city in the north of Ireland, which was besieged by the King's forces, was relieved by a sally made by Sir Richard Coot, much in the same manner as Dublin was by Jones.

The King Desists From His Design of Going into Ireland

From what has been seen, it is manifest the King could not adventure into Ireland, where he had no other succour to carry but his person, while Cromwell was assembling his army on the coast, and still less, after Ormond's defeat. But as, on the other hand, he was looked on with no good eye in France, where, since his arrival, the Court had made him no offers of service, he resolved to withdraw into the Isle of Jersey, as the only place where he could hope to be favourably received[20].

The King Retires to Jersey

He retired therefore to that isle with his brother the Duke of York, and his small Court, where he continued some months[21].

The commotions raised by the King's friends in Scotland being appeased, the committee of estates assembled to prepare the conditions to be demanded of the King. It seems, they were not informed in Scotland of the King's sentiments, since they continued to deliberate upon that

subject, which doubtless they would not have done, had they been acquainted with his resolution.

In all probability, as the estates had not yet expressly invited him to come and receive the Crown, he did not think himself obliged to communicate his thoughts to them, and if the envoys of the estates and council had received an answer from him, it was too general for any thing to be inferred from it.

However this be, the committee of estates having learned, the King was in Jersey, sent Mr. George Windram to acquaint him, they were desirous to treat with him concerning his establishment in Scotland: but as the Isle of Jersey was neither safe, nor commodious, he was desired to name some town in the Low Countries, where he might receive their commissioners.

For this purpose, it was required of him as a preliminary, without which there could be no negotiation to acknowledge the authority of the present Parliament, and particularly of the two last sessions. Windram left Edinburgh the 25th of September, but was not with the King till towards the end of October, being detained by contrary winds: so that the King was fully informed of what had passed in Ireland, where Cromwell having taken Drogheda by assault, had put the garrison to the sword, and was continuing his progress with wonderful rapidity.

This news made the King look upon Scotland with another eye than before. He knew, he should be unwelcome both to France and Holland. From Ireland he was entirely excluded, nor could Jersey long afford him subsistence. Besides, he was told, the Parliament had given orders for a fleet to reduce that island, which was not in a condition of defence.

The King Names Breda The Place to Treat With The Scots

Scotland therefore was the only place where he could find safety and subsistence. For this reason, he received Windram very graciously, and named Breda for the reception of the Scotch commissioners, promising, he would be there the 15th of the following March. It was not however, without some uneasiness that he came to this resolution.

Besides his little affection for the Scots, whom he regarded as the principal authors of his father's misfortunes, not one counsellor advised him to put himself into their hands, though it was impossible to direct him to another retreat.

The King Writes to Montrose to Hasten His Preparations Against Scotland

So it was mere necessity which caused him to resolve to listen to the propositions the Scots were to make him. That this was his only motive, can hardly be doubted, when it is considered, that on the 30th of January 1649-50, he writ to the Marquis of Montrose, that the Scots had sent Windram to him, and that their Commissioners were to repair to Breda, in March to treat with him.

Wherefore, he pressed him to hasten his preparations for a descent into Scotland before this affair should be settled, in order if it was possible, and should please God to favour him with success, to prevent the conclusion thereof[22].

Windram being returned with the King's answer, the committee of estates laboured incessantly to finish the propositions to be sent to the King. The draft was laid before the Parliament, and after some amendments, ordered to be communicated to the general assembly of the Kirk, where it was approved.

Hence it appears, that these propositions were settled with the common consent, since they had the concurrence of both Parliament and Kirk, though some have been pleased to ascribe them solely to the Marquis of Argyle, as if they were more agreeable to his interest than that of the Kingdom. After this, the Parliament and general Assembly named Commissioners to carry them to the King.

Conditions Presented to The King by The Scottish Commissioners

These Commissioners arrived at Breda at the time appointed[23], and presented the conditions to him, on which the Scots would admit him to the exercise of the regal power. They consisted of these four articles:—

- 1. That** all those who have been, and continue excommunicate by the Kirk of Scotland, may be removed from having any access to the Court.
- 2. That** he would be pleased to declare, that he would by solemn oath under his hand and seal, allow the national Covenant of Scotland, and the solemn League and Covenant of Scotland, England and Ireland; and that he would prosecute the ends thereof in his royal station.
- 3. That** he would ratify and approve all acts of Parliament, enjoining the solemn League and Covenant, and establishing Presbyterian Government, the directory of worship, the confession of faith and Catechism in the Kingdom of Scotland, as they are already approved by the general assembly of the Kirk, and by the Parliament of that Kingdom, and that he would give his royal assent to the acts of Parliament enjoining the same in the rest of his dominions, and that he would observe the same in his own practice and family, and never make opposition therein, or endeavour any change thereof.
- 4. That**he would consent and agree that all matters civil might be determined by the present and subsequent Parliaments of the Kingdom of Scotland, all matters ecclesiastical by the ensuing general assemblies of the Kirk, as was formerly condescended and agreed to by his late father.

After hearing these conditions, the King demanded, whether these papers they had delivered to him, contained all the particulars which they had to propound or desire? Whether they had power to recede from any particular article, or to treat with him concerning the assistance of Scotland, to place him on the throne of England?

They answered, their commission extended only to the offering of these proportions, and to receive either his consent or refusal.

Reflections on The Conditions

These conditions, which to the Scots appeared very just, lawful, and absolutely necessary for the safety of Scotland, seemed to the King very hard and unreasonable. This contrariety will not appear strange, if it is considered, that the King and the Scots reasoned upon different principles, and with opposite views. And this it will not be improper to unfold.

The people of Scotland were persuaded, they had been oppressed by James VI. in the establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland by that Prince, which had been abolished by the reformation:—

That this had been effected by address, by artifice, by violence, whilst corrupt Parliaments were employed to enact new Laws concerning religion, without consulting the Kirk, contrary to her will and express declarations:

That Charles I, by a fraud supported with force, had invested himself with a power of ordaining whatever he pleased in matters of religion, by virtue of an act supposed by him to be granted by a plurality of voices, though it was rejected:

That by this pretended power, he had not only restored Bishops to their revenues and government in the Church, but also given them a jurisdiction more extensive than ever:

That he had established a High Commission to support this injustice, and entirely suppressed the General assemblies. In a word, that he had changed the Presbyterian Government, established by the reformation, into an hierarchy, exactly like that of the Church of England:

That he had also attempted to impose upon them a liturgy and canons, unknown to their ancestors, and to reduce the worship of the Church of Scotland, to a perfect conformity with that of England:

That the people of Scotland, for their own preservation, and the maintenance of their rights, so manifestly invaded, had judged it proper to unite in a Covenant, intended for the preservation of the King's just rights, and the privileges of the people and Kirk:

That the King, not contented with what of right belonged to him, had twice made war upon his Scotch subjects to maintain his usurped power, and render Scotland dependent upon England:

That this war had been ended by a treaty, to which the King would not have consented, if he had not been forced to it by the affairs of England:

That after this treaty he came into Scotland, where he granted his subjects whatever they demanded, and even those things which before he had haughtily and obstinately refused:

That therefore it was to be suspected, he had only accommodated himself to the times, till a favourable opportunity offered, to revoke his concessions:

That it was not strange the Scots should entertain this suspicion, since the King, by the same conduct in England, had destroyed all confidence in him:

That it was therefore absolutely necessary to reduce him to a state, which would remove all danger of his retracing:

That to this end, the Scots had made with the English a solemn league, as having the same common interest, and that the sword had decided in favour of the allies, against the King:

That notwithstanding this decision, the Scots had never thought of withdrawing from the obedience due to the King, but only of obtaining other security than his bare word:

That the tragical death of Charles I. had not changed the state of affairs in Scotland, or procured them the so long desired security:

That they required no more of the new King, than they had a right to demand of his Father:

That their desires were not unjust, since they expected only to be maintained in the state, which they enjoyed before the two last Kings had attempted to alter the established religion, according to their caprice, and the pleasure of their English counsellors:

That they had run all hazards to restore themselves to the condition from whence they were fallen:

That God having granted them a happy success, they saw no sufficient reason to oblige it them to desist, and expose their repose and religion to the caprices of a young Prince, who was known to be of the same sentiments and principles as his Father and Grandfather:

That the conditions offered him, limited not his prerogative as King of Scotland, but only put it out of his power, to tread in the steps of the King his father:

That in offering him the Crown of Scotland, it was lawful to require, that he should govern according to the true interest of that Kingdom:

That if these conditions appeared to him contrary to his interest with regard to England, he was at liberty to reject them, but his interest with respect to England, was not a good reason to engage the Scots to venture their happiness, in leaving him to govern as he pleased:

That it was not yet fifty years since James VI. became King of England, and that Charles I. having lost that Crown by his ill conduct, and Charles II. being utterly unable to recover it, he ought to esteem himself happy, that his Scotch subjects had offered him the crown of his antient Kingdom, on the same terms it had been enjoyed by his ancestors for many ages; and that in becoming a good Scots man, he would be restored to what his predecessors, Kings of Scotland, had formerly been:

That it was not reasonable to suffer persons excommunicate, and conspirators against the State, in attempting, by force, to restore the late King, to approach the new King with their pernicious counsels, tending to sow division between him and his subjects.

Reasons and Interests of The King

But the King reasoned upon other principles. The offer of the Crown of Scotland was no farther regarded by him, than as a means of restoring him to the throne of England, that was the principal object of his attention. He little cared to be King of Scotland, if he could not use the forces of that Kingdom to procure him the English Crown.

Meanwhile, his power was to be so limited, that it should not be possible to receive any advantage from Scotland to that end. Those who were esteemed by him as his best friends, and had used their utmost endeavours to free his father and restore him to the enjoyment of his rights, were to be removed from his person and council, and yet these were the men he designed to employ for the recovery of England.

The King Dissembles His Resentment

In accepting the Crown of Scotland, he was to forget, he had any just claim to England; he was to govern Scotland as his ancestors governed it before their accession to the English throne; that

is to say, he was to look upon his English friends with continual distrust, and consequently renounce all hope; of a reestablishment in England.

He was to swear to the National Covenant, made against the King his father, the intent of which was to prevent for ever the introducing the Church government and worship of England into Scotland, which alone in his opinion were lawful.

He was to swear to the Covenant of the two Kingdoms, the sole design of which was to maintain Presbyterianism already, established in England, which was an infallible way to make him lose all his friends. He was, lastly, not only to approve and protect Presbyterianism in the two Kingdoms, but also promise a sincere and constant profession of it himself. But this was directly contrary to his; sentiments and conference, since he hardly believed the Presbyterians to be any part of the Christian Church, hence it appears that the interests of the King and those of the Scots were no less opposite than during the life of Charles I. and that the same difficulties still subsisting, could be surmounted only by the arms or acquiescence of one of the parties.

The King was unable to use force, and yet the terms to be imposed upon him appeared so hard, that he would have immediately rejected them, if he could have taken any other course. But his melancholy circumstances, not knowing where to subsist or even to be safe, obliged him, though very unwilling, to dissemble his resentment, and to treat with the Scotch Commissioners upon propositions which to him seemed most unjust.

Forms of Difficulties upon The Covenant and Religion as They Related to His Person

There were two articles which he could not digest:—

The first was, the obligation to swear to the Covenant. He said, the Covenant was made for the subjects, and not for the Prince, since the taker swore to be faithful to the King, and it was absurd to make him swear allegiance to himself. This objection would have been unanswerable, had the Covenant contained only this article. But there were others, in which it was said, the King was no less concerned than his subjects

The second related to religion. He was willing he said, to consent to the establishment of a Presbytery in Scotland by Act of Parliament: but, as to his own person, he could not with justice be required to renounce the religion for which the King his father had died a martyr; however he would content himself with only three chaplains to celebrate divine service in his presence after the manner of the Church of England.

The Commissioners Will Not Recede

But all he could allege was ineffectual; the Commissioners had not power to recede from any article. Thus had the Parliament of England offered to treat with his father, without without leaving him other liberty than to accept or refuse their propositions.

But though the King perceived it would be to no purpose to dispute upon the articles, he desired however to prolong the negotiation as much as possible in hopes of good news from Scotland, where he knew the Marquis of Montrose would shortly make his appearance.

This was his last refuge; and had the Marquis been attended with his former success, the treaty of Breda would soon have ended, since it was in the King's power to reject absolutely the offered conditions. But the Marquis's progress did not answer the King's expectations.

After that Lord had left the King at the Hague, he went into Germany to endeavour to raise forces and money, the King having only given him a bare commission without other assistance.

The King of Denmark, as Charles's near relation, furnished him with a sum of money, and the English settled in Sweden assisted him to the utmost of their power. With this relief he was enabled to buy arms and ammunition, and to list five hundred soldiers, which he sent in March to one of the Isles of Orkney. He followed them himself in April, and from thence repaired with his troops to Caithness in the north of Scotland.

This was at the very time the Scotch Commissioners were with the King at Breda. As the King was informed that Montrose was now gone for Scotland, he waited the success of this expedition, before he would conclude with the Commissioners, whom he nevertheless entertained with hopes of granting their demands.

The Marquis Arrives at Caithness

After the Marquis's arrival at Caithness, he seized a castle where he might secure his arms and ammunition, and then writ to his friends to join him. At the same time he published a manifesto, declaring:—

That he was come with a commission from the King to protect his good subjects; but with no design to obstruct the negotiation at Breda; on the contrary, he hoped to hasten the conclusion of it by means of his army. If the treaty succeeded, he should readily lay down his arms on the first command from his Majesty.

The Conduct of The King Offensive to The Scottish Parliament

The Scotch Parliament then sitting at Edinburgh was surprised to hear of Montrose's arrival in that juncture, with the King's Commission. It was not difficult to perceive that, whatever was pretended, this was not to advance the treaty, but rather to obstruct it, and force the Parliament to desist from conditions which were thought necessary for the safety of the Kingdom. It may well be imagined, this tended not to breed a good opinion of the King's sincerity.

6000 Men Raised Against Montrose

Meanwhile, as Montrose was very formidable, by reason of his former great successes in favour of the late King, the Parliament gave immediate orders for raising, with all possible expedition, an army of six thousand men, under the command of David Lesley. Till this army was ready, Colonel Straughan was detached with three hundred horse to the northward, in order to awe the country, and prevent the King's friends from rising and joining Montrose.

This precaution had a surprising effect. The King's adherents, whether through fear of falling into the hands of this cavalry, or because of the six thousand men which were to follow, durst not stir, and Montrose was joined only by some ill-armed and worse disciplined Highlanders. So, his little army, if it deserves that name, composed of soldiers of different nations strangers to one another's language, and in a barren country, could make no great progress.

Montrose Surprised and Taken Prisoner

Besides, as Montrose had no cavalry to send out for intelligence, he knew not what passed in other places, and particularly Straughan's march, vainly expecting the King's adherents to come and join him. To this ignorance was owing his being surprised by Straughan's little troop, which, after a long march, fell upon him when least expected. At the approach of the enemy, the Highlanders deserted and fled; the foreigners made more resistance, but were routed at last[24].

The Marquis himself being forced to fly, threw away his Ribband and George, disguising himself like a peasant to prevent a discovery. He wandered some days in this habit, and at last put himself into the hands of a gentleman, named Aston, who had formerly served under him, and promised to conceal him. But, whether through the hope of the reward published for taking him, or the fear of being rigorously punished if he did not discover him, it is certain, he delivered him to Lesley, who immediately sent him to Edinburgh[25].

Montrose Hanged

The Parliament now sitting resolved to try him themselves; and as, since his degradation, he was called only James Graham, and was universally hated, no regard was paid to his birth. He was condemned to be hanged on a gallows thirty foot high; with this addition to his sentence, that, after he was dead, his head should be severed from his body, and set on Edinburgh Talbooth; his arms and legs sent to four several towns, to be exposed as a spectacle; and his body buried under the gallows.

The Marquis Makes A Speech

He met death with extraordinary courage, and before his execution, made a speech to the people, in which, far from owning himself worthy of death, he testified, on the contrary, an entire persuasion of the justice of the cause he had supported.

He said that Charles I. died a Martyr, and assured the people, the new King would observe all his promises to the Scots, wherein he was as false a prophet as the Lord Capel had been in England. Thus fell the Marquis of Montrose, who had rendered himself famous by his great actions for the late King in Scotland, but withal, odious to his countrymen, by his inhumanity to them, when he had the advantage.

The King Complains of Montrose's Execution

The tragical death of the Marquis of Montrose disappointed all the King's hopes, who was thereby deprived of his last refuge. He complained loudly to the Commissioners of the execution of that Lord, during the negotiation, affirming it to be a breach of faith. He writ in the same strain to the committee of Estates, but was silenced by their answer, and told, it would be much better not to insist upon this affair.

The Answer of The States

The answer imported, that papers were found upon Montrose, which it was more for his honour to conceal than to publish. The King easily understood, that by this was meant his commission to the Marquis after the news of his being proclaimed, and his letter of the 30th of January, after the time and place of conference was fixed. This justified the Parliament of Scotland from breach of faith, of which he himself was not entirely guiltless.

The King Signs The Treaty

The death of Montrose leaving the King without refuge or retreat, he at last accepted the conditions presented to him by the Commissioners. Only the signing of the Covenant was deferred till his arrival in Scotland, upon his promise however of compliance, in case it was judged proper to press him when he should be at Edinburgh. The Commissioners were willing to grant him this favour, knowing, the Estates would never desist from that article. It is certain, the King submitted to these conditions only because he had no other course to take, and it is, perhaps, no less certain, that he meant to observe them, but whilst he should be forced.

This plainly appears in the history of those times, penned by the King's adherents. For they could not forbear to think it strange that the King, when in Scotland, should be obliged to a strict observance of what he had promised by oath. As if his promise and oath had been only formalities, which were not to bind him.

When the King had signed the conditions, he went to Scheveling near the Hague, and embarked, being attended by Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Lautherdale, and some other Scots, who gave him hopes that his presence in Scotland would remove all suspicions, and that an exact observation of what he had promised would be dispensed with.

The King Arrives There on June 16 and is Obligated to Sign The Covenant

But at his arrival, before he was suffered to land, the covenant was so pressed upon him, that he could not avoid taking it. He had positively promised it at Breda, and no man durst advise him to break his word. This exactness of the Estates convinced Duke Hamilton and the Earl of Lautherdale, that it was not safe for them to appear publicly in Scotland. Wherefore, finding means to and with the King, they retired to their own estates, or their friends, in expectation of a more favourable juncture.

The Manner of The King's Reception

The Marquis of Argyle received the King with extraordinary reverence and outward marks of respect. But within two days, all his English domestics were removed, except the Duke of Buckingham. Some were obliged to return into Holland, others withdrew at a distance from the Court, to friends who were willing to entertain them.

This rigour at first appears very strange, and by some is so represented. But it must be considered, the Scots were for receiving the King on those terms only, on which they would have admitted his father, had he happily escaped from captivity, and retired into Scotland. Certainly they would never have suffered about him, men whose principles and maxims were directly opposite to the interests of Scotland, and who were the Kingdom's reputed enemies. Why then were they to repose more confidence in Charles II? Precaution was not more necessary under the last, than under the present reign.

The King Under Great Difficulties in Scotland

When the friends and confidants of the King were thus removed from his person, he saw himself in the hands of men whom he knew not, and whose principles were entirely different from those in which he had been educated; so that he was extremely uneasy, though outwardly he received all the respect due to his rank.

What troubled him most, was the importunity of the Ministers, who though it their duty to instruct him in the Presbyterian religion, and scrupled not to brand the hierarchy and worship of the Church of England with the name of doctrine of Devils.

The King Discovers His Disposition with Regard to Religion and Loses Confidence of The Scots

They pretended, the King's promise and oath to profess Presbyterianism obliged him to receive their instructions. His embarrassment on this occasion was a natural consequence of the promise he had made, without intending to keep it. To be rid as well as he could of this trouble, he was present at their sermons and prayers, but with so little attention, that it was plainly against his will[26].

The reluctance he shewed upon this article bred in the Scots a very ill opinion of him, being persuaded, he had sworn against his conscience, and with an intention to break his promises when freed from restraint. It ought not therefore to seem strange, that they had no confidence in him, and that those who were at the helm, imparted not to him all the affairs.

He was not considered as a Prince attached to the interests and religion of the Kingdom, but as intending to establish other maxims if it was in his power. But if the transactions of some years past, and the occasion of the troubles, be considered, it will not be thought so strange, that the Scots took precautions with regard to their new King, and refused him a confidence, which in that juncture, appeared to them very dangerous.

Aims to Reinstate The Hamiltonians

It was quickly perceived how necessary these precautions were, by the King's endeavours to reconcile to the State and the Church, those who had entered into the late Duke Hamilton's engagement to raise an army, which under colour of acting against the Independents, was designed to restore the late King to the throne of England without any condition. The authors of that design had thereby plunged Scotland into a war not only unnecessary, but directly contrary to her interests.

Besides, their ill conduct had occasioned the loss of a numerous army, and a great effusion of blood. What might not the Scots have added in aggravation of the crimes of the Hamiltonians, had they known the secret treaty made with the late King in the Isle of Wight, so contrary to the Covenant of both Kingdoms?

It is not therefore strange, that men who had acted with views so opposite to the interest of the Kingdom, or at least of the prevailing party, were regarded by that party as enemies of the State and religion. And yet these were the men for whom the King laboured so strenuously, under the pretence of procuring a happy union amongst his subjects.

Argyle Distrusts The King

But at the same time he clearly discovered his aversion to the maxims by which Scotland was then governed, and his intention to enable his friends to oppose the Marquis of Argyle, who was the head of the contrary faction and of the Government. That Lord easily fathomed the King's design. And therefore, whereas he had hitherto constantly attended him, he gradually withdrew himself from him, as from a secret enemy who only waited an occasion to ruin him.

Resolution of The of The English Parliament Against Scotland

While these things passed in Scotland, the Parliament of England were not idle. When they learned that Commissioners from Scotland were to confer with the King at Breda, they imagined, Charles would accept the Crown of Scotland on any terms, in order to use the forces of that Kingdom to invade England, in which they were not mistaken.

This war, which the Parliament deemed unavoidable, could not but be very dangerous to the Independent party, if it was brought into England. The Independents, though uppermost, had no support but the army, with the Presbyterians, the Royalists and the City of London for their enemies. It was therefore very likely, that if the King entered England with a Scotch army, he would be joined by the Royalists, and favoured by the Presbyterians.

To prevent therefore this danger, the Parliament resolved to carry war into Scotland. This resolution was founded entirely upon policy, for as much as the Parliament had no cause to complain of the Scots, who in recognizing for their Sovereign, the eldest son of their late King,

did not injure England. Nay, it was a consequence of the Covenant between the two Kingdoms, though manifestly violated by the English Parliament.

But on this occasion, the Parliament believed themselves not bound to a scrupulous observance of the rules of equity, for fear of the prejudice with which such scruples might in time be attended. Interest therefore was solely regarded, which required, that the war should rather be carried into Scotland than expected in England.

Cromwell Recalled From Ireland

AD 1650] After this resolution, Cromwell was hastily recalled out of Ireland to take the command of the army which was to act against Scotland. In the late Scotch invasion under Duke Hamilton, the behaviour of General Fairfax had given occasion to judge that he would unwillingly accept of the conduct of this new war, which was really the case. Cromwell's success in Ireland had been such as the Parliament could have wished.

His Conquest in Ireland

After the taking Drogheda, he seized Kilkenny and many other places, and in a little time reduced the greatest part of the island to the obedience of the Parliament. The Marquis of Ormond was little capable of resisting him, because of the division still reigning amongst the Irish.

Division Amongst The Irish

This division went so far that O' Neale, had at last concluded a treaty with Monk one of the Parliament Generals, commissioned by the Council of State. But, the Parliament refused to ratify the treaty, as being too favourable to the Catholics, and therefore O' Neale had begun to treat with the Marquis of Ormond, and was upon the point of joining him, when his death prevented the execution of his design.

The Death of O' Neal The Irish Rebel

His troops dispersing upon his death, were of no advantage to the Marquis of Ormond. In the meantime, Cromwell continued his conquests with surprising rapidity, and to prevent the agreement and junction of the Irish amongst themselves, he thought of an expedient, which succeeded. He published by Proclamation a permission to all the Irish officers to list, in the service of foreign Princes, what soldiers they pleased of their own nation, with a promise to give them no disturbance or molestation.

Cromwell Permits Irish Forces to Serve Foreign Princes

More than twenty-five thousand immediately chose to serve France and Spain, and afterwards a much greater number[27]. This precaution prevented the Marquis of Ormond from bringing an army into the field capable to resist that of the Parliament. So, when Cromwell was recalled, the Irish affairs were in so good condition, that his son-in-law Ireton, whom he left there as his Lieutenant, had but little to do.

Cromwell being returned to London, took his seat in the Parliament, where, by order of the House, the Speaker thanked him for his late services. After this, the Scotch war being the most pressing affair, the Parliament caused Fairfax to be asked, whether he would take upon him the conduct of the war? He replied, If the Scots entered England with an army, he would endeavour to send them, but desired to be excused from attacking them in their own Country.

Some endeavours were used to convince him of the justice and necessity of this war, but without any success. Cromwell acted his part so well, that though he passionately wished to be commander in chief, he gave his opinion in favour of Fairfax, and pretended he should be well satisfied to serve as his Lieutenant. Fairfax perceived, that being a Presbyterian, (though he had but too faithfully served the Independents) the Parliament would have had no great confidence in him, and that the zeal shewn on his behalf was only ceremony.

Fairfax Resigns The Generalship and is Succeeded By Cromwell

He therefore sent his commission to the House, which was cheerfully received, and an annual pension of five thousand pounds was settled on him in acknowledgment of his services. Immediately Cromwell was declared General of the armies of the Commonwealth, and his Commission presently dispatched[28].

While the army, which was to act against Scotland, was raising, the Parliament appointed a Committee to draw up a manifesto, concerning the intended war. This precaution appeared the more necessary, as the House was not ignorant, that the Cavaliers and Presbyterians would industriously represent this war, as the most unjust that ever was, since the Scots had given no provocation.

The Committee employed about the Manifesto, being unwilling to publish the true reason of the war, namely, to support the Independents, contented themselves with supposing, that the Scots designed to force the English to acknowledge King Charles II, though hitherto they had not moved one step towards it. It was nevertheless, very likely the King would attempt to engage them in a rupture with the English Parliament, but there was no probability of success, considering his manifest aversion to become a good Presbyterian.

The Scots Raise An Army Under Lesley

The Scots hearing of the preparations against them in England, raised an army with all possible diligence[29], and gave the command to General Lesley, not daring to trust the King for the reasons abovementioned. He was even suffered to see this army but once, for fear of gaining the officers and soldiers by his intrigues. David Lesley formed his camp between Leith and Edinburgh, and fortified it with such entrenchments, that he was not to be attacked without manifest danger.

Cromwell Enters Scotland

About the middle of July, Cromwell put himself at the head of the English army, consisting of eighteen or nineteen thousand men, and marched to the frontiers of Scotland, where he published his manifesto. As the enemy's army lay encamped near Edinburgh, he entered Scotland without any difficulty.

But he found the country destitute of inhabitants, and every thing capable to subsist his army conveyed away, so that he was obliged to maintain it with supplies from his fleet. He advanced, however, and came in sight of the enemy's army; but found it too well intrenched to be attacked. He chose therefore to retire towards Musselborough, whereupon Lesley detached a large body of horse, which fell upon the English rear, commanded by Lambert, with some advantage[30].

The day after, there was a sharp skirmish in which the Scots beat some English regiments, but at last were repulsed to their camp with considerable loss. Then, Cromwell once more attempted, by his approach, to draw the Scotch army out of their entrenchments, but his endeavours were fruitless.

Cromwell Marches to Dunbar

At last, after the two armies had remained almost in sight several weeks, Cromwell, for want of provision and forage, was forced to retire. His design was to embark his foot, and return into England with only his horse. To execute this resolution, he marched towards Dunbar, where his fleet expelled him, his army being much diminished, and reduced to about twelve thousand men.

The Scotch Army Pursues Him

The Scots, advertised of Cromwell's resolution, imagined, the English were seized with terror, and that a more favourable opportunity could not offer, to fight them, and therefore they left their camp to follow them closely. The first day, they encamped upon a hill, about a mile from Dunbar, so that it was impossible for Cromwell to embark his boat, without exposing himself to the danger of a defeat. General Lesley was not for attacking the English, but only for watching an opportunity to engage them with advantage. But the clamours of the Ministers who were in his army, and promised a certain victory, as if by some revelation[31], obliged him the next day to draw nearer to the enemy.

Cromwell, who observed them with a perspective glass, seeing them descend the hill, cried out, That God had delivered them into his hands. He immediately went to prayers, and then told some of his officers, that he had felt, in praying, such a repose in his mind, that he doubted not but God would give him the victory.

Perhaps this was his real belief, or else an artifice to inspire his soldiers with courage, who were most of them fanatics. The two armies remained in sight all the rest of the day, Lesley still alleging some excuse to delay fighting. But in the night, Cromwell resolved to attack the Scots at break of day. It was his frequent and ever successful maxim, not to expect, but attack the enemy, without any regard to number, being persuaded, the assailants have always a great advantage.

The Battle of Dunbar

This resolution being taken, he drew up his army in the night, and, not to be prevented, begun the fight an hour before day. The Scotch Cavalry on the right wing behaved well at first, but were at last put to flight. The left wing fled, without charging once. Three regiments of Scotch of infantry fought with such bravery, that they were almost all slain on the spot, without offering to fly.

The Scotch Army Defeated

The rest seeing themselves deserted by the horse, fled in confusion, leaving the field, and an undoubted victory to the English. It is said, the Scots lost three thousand men[32], besides seven or eight thousand prisoners, with twenty seven pieces of cannon; and that the English lost but three hundred. The Scots, after their defeat, abandoned Leith and Edinburgh, of which Cromwell made himself master, but the Castle of Edinburgh held out till the end of December.

This misfortune to the Scots was advantageous to the King, as it obliged them to alter their behaviour to the Hamiltonians. When the army lately defeated at Dunbar was railed, great care was taken not to admit any who had been concerned in the Engagement of the late Duke Hamilton, or were suspected to be of the King's party.

In a it word, the rigid Presbyterians, who were then at the head of affairs, would have no society with those whom they called the lukewarm, that is, men who were not sufficiently zealous for the Covenant. After the defeat at Dunbar, a new army was to be raised, to oppose Cromwell,

who threatened Scotland with entire ruin the next spring. The Parliament was therefore convened at St. Johnstoun's, where the King had retired[33].

But as a new army was not so easily to be formed of the zealous, it was proposed in Parliament, to receive into this, those who had hitherto been called lukewarm, and who offered their service to their country in its present distress.

This affair being debated, the Parliament was forced to resolve:—

That all who had been excluded from places, should be allowed to produce proofs of their repentance, and then be employed in the service of their country. In consequence of this resolution, those who had till then opposed the Marquis of Argyle, who had wanted zeal for the Covenant, who had shewn an inclination for the King, who had ever been employed by Charles I, readily gave outward marks of their repentance, in a disavowal of their past conduct, and a reconciliation with the Kirk.

After this, they were admitted, as well into the Parliament as to public employments, and especially to polls in the army to be raised. Hence the King at last obtained, what he had so passionately desired, namely, to see those who were attached to his interests, in a condition to serve him, when occasion should offer.

But the resolution of the Parliament, of which necessity had been either the motive or the pretence, was not agreeable to all. The zealots could not bear the admission of malignants (as they called them) to employments, under colour of a resolution obtained from the Parliament by intrigue and cabal, in the same manner as the levying an army had before been obtained, to serve against the interests of Scotland. They said, it was mocking God, to receive the guilty to a hypocritical repentance, in order to readmit them to employments, from which they had been justly excluded.

But it was answered, It was strange cruelty to remove from employments, men who offered their service to their country, at so critical a juncture, and had professed a repentance, for not having been sufficiently zealous for the common cause. In a word, the first protested solemnly against the two resolutions of the Parliament, and formed a party called the protectors, whilst those who adhered to it formed another called the resolutioners.

Five Counties Protest

Five western counties[34] joined the protestors, and entering into an association, published a remonstrance, which being offered to the Parliament, was voted seditious. But this did not hinder several officers of reputation, as Straughan, Kerr, and some others, from adhering to the party of the protestors.

Reflection Upon Admitting The Hamiltonians

It is certain, if the people of Scotland had been consulted, this resolution had never passed in the Parliament. The people were so attached to the Covenant, that there was no aim: likelihood of their departing from their rigidity at once, in favour of persons who had not subscribed it, or scrupled to violate it. It is therefore very probable, this resolution was owing to the artifices and cabals of the enemies of Argyle, on pretence of the necessity of raising new forces. Nothing is a clearer evidence of it being contrary to the general sense of the people, than the condition of professing a repentance, required of all who were to be admitted to any employments. This shews a condescension for the people, who were persuaded, that a lukewarmness for the Covenant, was the most heinous of crimes.

Accordingly, it was publicly said, that the defeat at Dunbar was the just punishment of having called in the King, before any proofs were given of his repentance. This was the most general sentiment, though the Parliament had decided the contrary.

But neither in Scotland nor England are the resolutions of Parliament to be always considered, as the sense of the nation. It is a defect in the constitution of both the States, that the members of Parliament receive no instructions from their electors. The moment they are met, they become masters and sovereigns of those by whom they are chosen, and palm upon the nation their own decisions for those of the public, though they are often contrary to the sentiments and interests of the people represented. Instances are so frequent, that I need not stay to prove what I advance.

The managers of this affair in the Parliament, knew, that the party of the protestors was much more numerous than that of the Resolutioners. Wherefore, it was thought convenient to give an appearance of satisfaction to the former, to prevent their obstructing the designs formed in favour of the King.

Their project was, to put the King at the head of an army, almost wholly at his devotion, that he might, upon occasion, march into England, where it was not doubted, he would find many friends, and a powerful assistance. The rigid Presbyterians were therefore not to be alarmed at seeing the King in the head of the army, for fear of their concerting measures to hinder the execution of the project.

The King's Strange Declaration

For this purpose it was thought proper, that the King should publish a declaration of a strange nature, where he was made to speak a language agreeable to the sentiments of the people, but very contrary to his own. In this declaration:-

He owned the sin of his father, in marrying into an idolatrous family: He acknowledged, the bloodshed in the late wars lay at his father's door:

He expressed a deep sense of his own ill education, and the prejudices he had drank in against the cause of God, of which he was, not, very sensible:

He confessed all the former parts of his life to have been a course of enmity to the work of God:

He repented of his commission to Montrose, and of every thing he had done that gave offence:

And with solemn protestations he affirmed, that he was now sincere in his declaration, and that he would adhere to it to the end of his life, in Scotland, England, and Ireland.

When this Declaration was offered to him to sign, he appeared at first resolute to reject it; saying, that if he passed it, he could never look his mother in the face. But upon a representation of its absolute necessity to gain the confidence of the protestors, without which he could never execute his designs, he swallowed the bitter pill, and the Declaration was published.

This Declaration procured not all the advantage the King was made to expect. No man could believe he had voluntarily signed a paper so scandalous, and so prejudicial to the memory of his Father. The Protestors, on the contrary, imagining, he concealed some deep design in this strange proceeding, united still more closely against him, and at last declared, They would have no communication with the Resolutioners, nor with Cromwell and the Independent party in England.

The King's Flight

Charles was extremely troubled, to see that his Declaration produced no other effect, than the loss of the confidence of both parties, and of his own reputation. It was universally believed, so scandalous a dissimulation was intended to deceive the people. At last, this false step, taken so contrary to his own opinion, joined to the sad life he had led, made him listen to propositions offered by some of his friends in the Highlands[35], who would receive no employ at the price of an hypocritical repentance.

These Gentlemen sent a message to him, that if he would come and head them, they would send to a place appointed, a good body of troops to receive him. Dr. Frazier, Charles's Physician, was the conductor of this intrigue, and took care to convey the letters. The King therefore consented to join the malcontents, being extremely desirous to withdraw from the Presbyterians, who had put so many hardships upon him.

He had prepared a declaration, shewing the ill treatment he had received from the Marquis of Argyle, and the cruel servitude in which he had been held since his arrival in Scotland. The Duke of Buckingham, having discovered this secret, by letters left upon the King's table, informed the Marquis of Argyle, who would not believe, the execution of the project was so near.

Nevertheless, two days after, the King withdrawing from St. Johnstoun, repaired to the place appointed, where he found only a very inconsiderable body, instead of the good number of troops he had been promised. But while he was deliberating what to do, the committee of Estates dispatched Major-general Montgomery to him, who very rudely pressed his return to St. Johnstoun, to which he at last consented, believing, doubtless, that those who had wished him among them, were not in so good a condition to receive him, as they had made him believe[36].

This design, however imprudent, produced a good effect for the King, though, withal, it lost him the confidence of the Presbyterians, who saw plainly, his heart was, not with them, and that he little regarded his promises at Breda.

Meanwhile, the Marquis of Argyle, and the committee of Estates perceived, a too great rigour might throw the King upon desperate resolutions, and, in the present juncture, great disorders might happen, if the King should desire to head the malcontents. This procured him better treatment, and a larger share in the public affairs. The King, on his part, saw also, he should never be easy in Scotland, or able to execute his designs, without the assistance of Argyle, who was at the head of the Kirk party.

The King Caresses Argyle

He therefore courted him extremely, making him great offers, and even talking of marrying his Daughter. But the Marquis, knowing his sentiments, looked upon these offers as so many snares, and was upon his guard though he outwardly paid the King all due respect. The Lord Lorn his Son, Captain of the King's guards, did him many services, and privately brought to him those persons, whose company he desired[37].

The King Crowned at Scone January 1650-1

At last, the King was crowned at Scone, the first of January 1650-1[38], and from that day all persons had the access to him.

The King Puts Himself Head of The Army

After this, the Scots were wholly intent upon raising an army, into which all who desired it were received, without distinction of party. This army was ready the beginning of June, before

Cromwell could take the field for want of forage. It consisted of fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse, which the King headed himself with David Lesley for his Lieutenant-General[39].

He Camps Near Torwood

As they were mostly new raised troops, the King judged it not proper to go in quest of Cromwell, who was formidable for his courage and experience, and was besides at this head of a disciplined and victorious army. He posted himself therefore very advantageously at Torwood, between Edinburgh and Sterling, having behind him[40] a large and deep river, of which the passes were all secured, and by that means he received provisions out of the plentiful county of Fife, whereas the country before him was entirely laid waste.

This army in the front was so strongly intrenched, that it would have been rashness to attack it. Here he resolved to wait the enemy's motions, and take his measures accordingly.

Cromwell Dares Not Attack Him

Cromwell, having assembled his army, marched directly to the King with design to give him battle, but found him so strongly intrenched, that he thought it not proper to attack him. The armies remained in their respective camps about six weeks, all Cromwell's artifices to draw the King out of his entrenchments, proving ineffectual. The last year's experience had taught the Scots greater circumspection.

At last, Cromwell, unable any longer to stay in his camp by reason of the difficulty of getting provisions, whilst the county of Fife plentifully supplied the King, resolved to make an attempt to deprive the King of this advantage. For he saw plainly, it was in the King's power to avoid fighting as long as he pleased, and oblige him to spend the whole campaign in a state of inaction.

Cromwell Attacks Fife

Wherefore he detached sixteen hundred men under Colonel Overton, who marched towards Edinburgh to a place provided with boats, and passing the Firth, took his post in the County of Fife[41].

Overton was immediately followed by Lambert with a more considerable body. At the same time, Cromwell with the rest of the army, advanced towards the King's entrenchments as if he intended to attack them, in order to prevent any detachment from the King's army to oppose the landing of his forces.

As soon as the King was informed that the English were in Fife, he detached Major-general Brown with four thousand men to fight them. Brown was routed, and Cromwell thereby free to transport his whole army into Fife. By this means he deprived the King of any farther supplies from that county.

A Detachment From The King Routed

It was indeed an advantage to Cromwell to put the King under a necessity of quitting a post where he could not be attacked. But withal, he had made it impossible to fight him, because there was a deep river between the armies, which joins the lake of Lomund to Edinburgh-Firth.

Cromwell Makes Himself Master of St. Johnstoun

1651 AD] The King might have passed the river because he was master of all the passes, but it was not thought proper to pursue Cromwell, who was now at a distance, having taken St. Johnstoun, and threatened Sterling. On the contrary, the King suddenly resolved to march into

England, since he had no opposition before him, being pleased, that Cromwell had given him opportunity to form and execute a design so agreeable to his interests. He saw himself at the head of eighteen thousand men, and doubted not that his army would be greatly increased in England, by the junction of the Royalists and Presbyterians equally oppressed by an Independent Parliament.

This was the idea the King and his Council formed of this expedition. The Marquis of Argyle was alone of the contrary opinion, and so far incurred the suspicion of disloyalty, that the King was advised to put him under arrest. But it was not thought proper to follow this advice, from which no advantage could be received.

The King Marches into England

The Marquis therefore was left in Scotland, and the King began his march to Carlisle with extraordinary diligence. He had now marched some days[42] before Cromwell heard of it, and entered England the sixth of August, where he was proclaimed by his army.

Cromwell Disturbed at The News of The King's March

The news of the King's march greatly surprised Cromwell who never expected it. He believed, he had gained a considerable advantage in forcing his way into Fife, but this had given the King opportunity to march into England, where, very likely, he would be joined by a great number of adherents. The avoiding of this, was the sole aim of the Parliament in carrying the war into Scotland.

It may therefore be said, that Cromwell was guilty of an error, which might have been attended with very ill consequences to the new modelled Commonwealth, and the governing party. Accordingly, his greatest care was to prevent the mischief that might follow. As he doubted not, the Parliament would be alarmed at the news of the King's march, he speedily informed them of it, and withal, of his intention closely to pursue him. He advised them also to put the militia in arms in all counties of the Kingdom, with all possible diligence, to keep the King's party in awe, and prevent their joining his army.

He gave himself the same orders in the northern counties, as well to hinder the Cavaliers from rising, as to find several bodies of the trained bands ready to reinforce his army on his arrival in England. At the same time he detached Major-General Harrison with three thousand horse, which were to be followed by Lambert at the head of another body of cavalry, to retard the King's march as much as was possible.

After these precautions, he left Major General Monk in Scotland with five thousand men, with orders to endeavour to make himself master of Sterling and Dundee. At last, he put himself upon the march, three days after the King's departure, making all possible haste to reach the King before he should arrive at London, not questioning but he would march thither without halting.

The King Receives But Little Relief From England

The King entered England full of hopes that all the enemies of the Independents, as well Presbyterians as Royalists, would eagerly join him. For this purpose he sent Colonel Massey before with a detachment to receive all who were willing to serve him[43]. He writ likewise to the Earl of Derby, then in the Isle of Man[44], to repair to him, greatly relying on his credit in Lancashire. But many things conspired to disconcert his projects.

1. As he advanced, the Scotch soldiers deserted in such numbers, that it was computed four or five thousand returned to Scotland. These deserters were probably the zealous Presbyterians, who believed, they could not in conscience assist the

King in the recovery of England by force of arms, which was the opinion of most of the Scots.

2. The militia, every where in arms, hindered the King's friends from assembling, by guards placed on all the public roads.

3. The committee of the Kirk, which had followed the army, feared, if the King's forces were augmented with too great a number of Royalists, their superiority might oblige the Scotch army not only to assist in the ruin of the Independents, but moreover in the restoration of the King without any conditions, which was directly contrary to the interests of Scotland. In this belief the committee sent Massey a declaration, with orders to publish it, signifying, that the King being zealous for the Covenant, no persons were to be received into his army who refused to sign it.

This was done without the King's privity, who was extremely troubled at the news. He even forbid Massey to publish the declaration. But the import of it being now every where spread, the King's friends thought it proper to conceal themselves, not daring to mix with the Scotch army, because they could not resolve to take the Covenant.

4. The English Presbyterians were indeed enemies to the Independents; but not such friends of the King, as to restore him to the throne without a previous assurance of his ratifying the concessions made by the King his father at the treaty of Newport. But this not being a proper reason to enter into such a negotiation, they did not appear very eager to serve him.

The Earl of Derby Defeated

5. The Earl of Derby, who had been sent by the King into Lancashire, and had there raised twelve hundred men, was defeated by Colonel Lilburn at the head of ten troops of horse brought from York to join Cromwell. It was with great difficulty that the Earl escaped to the King after the loss of his forces, the Lord Widdrington and Sir Thomas Tildesy being left dead upon the spot. This defeat much discouraged the King's friends of those parts, who intended to repair to his army.

The King Stops at Worcester

At last, after a very fatiguing march, the King arrived at Worcester, where he was honourably received by the magistrates, and solemnly proclaimed. He resolved to refresh his weary troops in the neighbourhood of that city, as they were not able to continue their march without some repose. Probably his design was to have marched directly to London, if his army, according to his expectation, had been considerably strengthened on their rout.

Cromwell Arrives at Worcester

But on the contrary he saw it so diminished by desertion, as to be reduced to twelve or thirteen thousand men, without any hopes of its being augmented, for the aforementioned reasons. It is therefore likely, he durst not farther advance, and thought the ground about Worcester proper for defence in case of an attack.

Whilst the King's army refreshed themselves at Worcester, Cromwell was advancing with speed. His orders for assembling the forces and militia of the North were so well obeyed, that on his arrival in England, his army was daily increased by parties from all quarters. By this means, after his junction with Lambert and Harrison, he found his army much superior to the

King's, which lay encamped about a mile from Worcester, with a resolution to stand upon the defence. Cromwell before he attacked the King's army, thought proper to make a diversion on the other side the Severn.

For this purpose he detached Lambert, who marched directly to Upton, where was a bridge guarded by Massey. This passage was so vigorously attacked, that after a sharp engagement, Massey was obliged to abandon it. Immediately after, Cromwell ordered part of his army to go over to the western side of the Severn, which forced the King to send some of his forces the same way, and so to weaken that part of his army which was to sustain Cromwell's attack.

The Battle of Worcester

The 3rd of September, a day fortunate to Cromwell by the defeat of the Scots at Dunbar the year before, he charged the royal army on both sides the Severn. After an engagement of some hours the King's forces were repulsed on both sides the river, and forced to retire into the town by in such confusion, that the entrance was forgot to be defended.

The King's solicitations were fruitless, to inspire his now vanquished troops with resolution to re any longer the conqueror. At last, his cavalry seeing the enemy breaking into the town, fled, and left the infantry to the mercy of the English. The King himself was forced to fly through St. Martin's gate, and with great difficulty avoided falling into the enemy's hands.

The foot were almost entirely killed or taken; and the horse being warmly pursued, were easily dispersed; so that most of the officers and Cavaliers were made prisoners. It is pretended, of the Scots there were slain about two thousand, and seven or eight thousand taken prisoners[45], who being sent to London, were sold for slaves to the plantations of the American isles. Duke Hamilton mortally wounded, died nine days after. Amongst the principal persons were General Lesley, the Earls of Lautherdale, Rothes, Carnwarth, Kelly, Derby and Cleveland[46].

The King's Flight and Arrival in France

The King, though happily escaped from the defeat, was under great difficulties. He was to avoid his pursuers; that was his only concern, but the thing was not easy. He found himself in the middle of England, which he could consider but as an enemy's country, though he had in it still some friends.

He was under a necessity to quit it, and find some way to convey himself beyond sea, which seemed impracticable. It was still more dangerous to attempt a return into Scotland, because he would probably be searched for most carefully on that road, and though he should safely reach that Kingdom, the danger would be almost the same there as in England.

The Parliament army, victorious in Scotland, as we shall see presently, would not have afforded him a secure retreat there. He resolved therefore to go that night as far as possible. After that, he dismissed his attendants, who could only serve to discover him more easily, and put himself into the hands of a trusty guide, by whom he was disguised like a peasant, and conducted through by-roads. In this melancholy state he spent a whole day in a tree near the road[47], from whence he saw and heard people as they passed by, talking of him, and wishing he would fall into their hands. He travelled only in the night, his guide concealing him by day in cottages where he was not known, and where his diet generally was only a little milk. At last, after two months great fatigues, after infinite dangers escaped, after a great part of the Kingdom traversed from Worcestershire to the county of Suffolk[48], he embarked, and safely arrived in Normandy the 22nd of October. The curious are referred to the Earl of Clarendon, who, from the mouth of the King himself, has given a circumstantial account of the means of his escape, and the adventures in his flight[49].

Monk Makes Himself Master of Scotland

We must now return to the transactions of Scotland, sine the two armies left that Kingdom. While Cromwell was in pursuit of the King, Monk, his obedience to his orders, laid siege to Sterling, which resisted but few days. This place, one of the strongest of Scotland, where the public records were kept, surrendered the 14th of August[50].

All the papers and records were sent to London, from whence they never returned, the ship which was bringing them back, after the restoration, being cast away. After the surrender of Sterling, Monk besieged Dundee, where the inhabitants of Edinburgh had conveyed their best effects, after the battle of Dunbar. During this siege, some Scotch Gentlemen assembling some forces to relieve the town, they were surprised and dispersed by a detachment from Monk, and their leaders taken prisoners.

Notwithstanding this misfortune, Major Lumsdale, the Governor made a stout defence, till the town was taken by storm the first of September, two days before the battle of Worcester. The taking of Sterling and Dundee were followed by that of Aberdeen, St. Andrews, and all the rest of the towns and castles, capable of making resistance.

Thus, in a short time, Monk reduced the whole Kingdom of Scotland to the obedience of the English Parliament. And this was the remarkable consequence of the King's resolution, to conduct the Scotch army into England.

The King's Great Distress

The victory of Worcester, and the reduction of Scotland, gave such a reputation to the new Republic, that every State in Europe, either courted its friendship, or dreaded its arms. For this reason, most of the Sovereigns excused themselves from making offers to the King, or supplying him with money, for fear of being suspected by the Parliament. So, the King saw himself reduced to great extremities, and even to a want of common necessaries.

He lived at Paris maintained by his mother, who had a pension from the Crown, but Cardinal Mazarin making his court to the Parliament of England, took no notice of the distress of her unfortunate son.

Cromwell in Great Credit

On the other hand, Cromwell's glory and credit were so increased since the battle of Dunbar and Worcester, that as he was master of the armies of the three Kingdoms, he was in effect, master of the resolutions of the Parliament, no man daring openly to oppose him. He had, besides, in the House so great a number of creatures, that it was easy for him to procure what resolutions he pleased. So, it may be truly said, that he was the Head of the Commonwealth, whilst he had only the title of General.

This Commonwealth was very powerful from its beginning. This appears strange at first, considering the great sums that were expended, and the blood that was shed, during the civil war. But it is to be considered, with regard to the expense, that the money had not been carried out of the Kingdom. The only alteration was, that the rich were become poor, and the poor rich, which had not sunk the capital of the Kingdom.

And as to the number of men killed in the war, it must also be considered, that England swarmed with people in the year 1642, having had no wars since the death of Elizabeth. So the effusion of blood had not diminished the inhabitants so, as to weaken the Kingdom to any degree. This is evident, from the easiness wherewith, in the space of one year, the Parliament raised an army

for Ireland, and another more considerable for Scotland, besides the forces remaining in England. The navy, having had no enemies to engage during the war, was in a flourishing condition.

In a word, England was not less powerful than under Elizabeth, or than it might have been under James I. and Charles I, had those Princes thought proper to engage in foreign wars. Nothing therefore was altered but the Government, and that was in the hands of the most able men England had for a long while produced though their usurpation was the most unjust. In this respect, England found itself in a very different state from what it was under the two foregoing Kings, whose capacities to govern, cannot be greatly commended by the impartial.

Cromwell Returns to London

Cromwell returned to London the first of September leading with him, in triumph, his principal prisoners, who were committed to the Tower, from whence Massey some time after, found means to escape[51].

The Earl of Derby Executed

A majority of the Parliament, with the Speaker at their head, attended by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of London, met him as far as Alton. Eight days after, the Earl of Derby was tried, and sentenced by a council of war, and beheaded at Bolton in the county of Lancaster[52].

Jersey, Barbados and Other Isles Taken by The Fleet of The Parliament

While these things passed in England, the Parliament's fleet became master of the Isle of Jersey, Cornet Castle in the Isle of Guernsey, and the Isle of Man, In January following, Sir George Ascough reduced the Isle of Barbados, then governed by the Lord Willoughby of Parham, for the King; and the Isles of Nevis and St. Christophers, submitted without opposition.

The Parliament Unite Scotland to England

England enjoying a profound tranquillity, and Ireland being almost reduced, the Parliament thought of means to unite Scotland with the Commonwealth of England. As they had conquered that Kingdom, they believed they had a right to do with it as they pleased, without consulting the Scots, who were no longer able to oppose their will.

The Parliament Afraid of Holland

An act therefore passed in the English Parliament, which entirely abolished kingly power in Scotland, and united that Kingdom to the English Commonwealth, with a power to send a limited number of representatives to the Parliament. Commissioners were afterwards sent into Scotland, to adjust the particulars of this union.

Most of the Scotch Nobility seeing themselves unable to refill the Parliament, submitted to their pleasure. The Marquis of Argyle became one of the most zealous adherents of the Commonwealth, but the clergy were very much dissatisfied with this union.

Since the Independents had openly appeared, they had made a great progress. They had beheaded King Charles I, abolished the House of Lords, turned the Monarchy into a Commonwealth, quelled the faction of the Levellers, humbled the Presbyterians, subdued Scotland, and almost finished the conquest of Ireland.

By the victory at Worcester, they seemed to have deprived the King of all refuge, and to have nothing more to fear from him. Nevertheless, the Royalists were still a thorn in their side, and gave them continual apprehensions. Indeed, this party appeared too weak to recover by their own strength, but they were not without a possibility of receiving assistance from foreign powers.

Of these powers, they dreaded neither France nor Spain, because they were satisfied, that the managers of the affairs of these two Kingdoms had no design to attempt the restoration of King Charles, and though they should have attempted it, their naval forces could not withstand the navy of England. But there was another Power which inspired them with fear. This was the Republic of the United Provinces, who could strongly assist the Royalists: Nay, it was likely, the Prince of Orange Brother-in-law to the King, would use his great credit in those Provinces, to engage them in the quarrel between the King and the Parliament, It was therefore no less important, to prevent any assistance to the King from Holland than it had been to hinder the Scots from assisting the Presbyterians.

They Try in Vain to Unite The Commonwealths

For this purpose, the Parliament, in the year 1649, sent Dorislaus to Holland, to propose a strict union betwixt the two Republics. The assassination of that Agent at n the Hague, made the less noise in England, because the Parliament intended to prevent the danger which might come from that quarter, by a strict alliance with the States.

The Prince of Orange dying October 1650, the Parliament judged the occasion favourable to treat with the States, because the interest of that Prince could no longer obstruct the negotiation. They sent therefore, in March 1651, Oliver St. John and Walter Strickland, to the Hague, to negotiate, not a bare alliance, but such an union, as might render them one Commonwealth. This proposal met with great opposition from the States.

First, the English pretended, the States should renounce all their alliances, except those common to them with the Republic of England. Secondly, the conditions proposed by the English were of such a nature, that all the advantages were of their side, and the forces of the United Provinces were properly but to serve for augmentation of those of England.

Thirdly, if the time of the arrival of the two envoys at the Hague be considered, it will be easily seen, that the affairs of the Parliament were not yet in a fixation to oblige the States to be contented with conditions, so little advantageous.

Indeed, Cromwell had, the year before, gained the battle of Dunbar: But that was not a decisive victory, since the King was going to head a new army, as he afterwards did, before the English Envoys left the Hague. The States would therefore have acted with too much precipitation, had they concluded this union before a decision between the King and the Parliament.

Lastly, the party of the House of Orange not being yet entirely suppressed, strongly opposed the union of the two Republics, which would have destroyed all the hopes of the young posthumous Prince of Orange. On all these accounts, the English Envoys returned in July, dissatisfied not only at their ill success, but also at some insults on their persons from the rabble at the Hague[53].

By that they perceived, the subjects of the States were more inclined to the King, than to the Parliament, and were confirmed in the suspicion, that the States waited only a favourable opportunity to espouse openly the King's interest. So, their report to the Parliament, contributed to exasperate them against the States. Their resentment would perhaps have been immediately shown, had they not been engaged in the war with Scotland. Wherefore, it was judged proper to

assemble, till that war was ended, to which the battle of Worcester, and Monk's success in Scotland gave at last a prosperous conclusion.

Very Angry With The States

But if the happy end of this war enabled the Parliament to undertake another against Holland, it seems, on the other hand, to have removed the motives of a fresh war. For after the Parliament was become master of Scotland and Ireland, there was no likelihood, the States of the United Provinces would think of assisting the King.

Besides, as the Prince of Orange was dead, it was not even probable, the States would contribute to the King's restoration, uncle of the young Prince, whom they designed to reduce to the condition of a private person. Nevertheless, the Parliament's resentment against the States was so great, that a war was resolved[54].

Parliament Comes to a Resolution of Declaring War Against The States

Pretexts were sought from injuries said to be done to the English by the Dutch thirty years before, at Amboyna, and other places in the Indies. It is pretended, Cromwell consented to this war, of which he saw no necessity, in pure compliance to St John, and some others, who appeared extremely incensed against Holland.

Secret Motive to The War The Ruin of Cromwell

The strong desire shown by the Parliament to engage in this war upon such remote pretences, gives room to conjecture, there were other motives than what publicly appeared. Very probably, even then some Members, secret enemies or enviers of Cromwell, sought means either to ruin him, or at least considerably to lessen his power. This power in a private person seemed to them too dangerous for a Commonwealth.

They had participated in his counsels and designs to subvert the Presbyterian Parliament, and therefore knew his genius, and of what it was capable. Wherefore they could not help dreading, that instead of labouring for the Commonwealth, he was labouring for himself, however careful he was to hide his ambition under the mask of the public good.

They saw at least with uneasiness, that if he was forming his own advancement, nothing could hinder him from executing his designs as long as he was master of the army. This support was therefore either to be taken from him, or the Commonwealth exposed to his ambitious designs. But it was difficult to obtain his consent to disband an army which was at his devotion, and his great credit in the Parliament afforded no hopes of effecting it there, without a pressing necessity.

It was believed therefore, that if the Republic could be engaged in a sea-war, the great expense of which was foreseen, the Parliament would by degrees be induced to disband a land-army, to avoid an unnecessary charge. This policy perhaps may appear at first too refined, but three things strengthen this conjecture:-

First, the causes alleged for this war appear not of sufficient weight to engage the Parliament in so great an expense, at a time when it would have been on the contrary very advantageous to let the people enjoy the sweets of peace, in order to make them relish the late established Republican Government.

Secondly, It will appear in the sequel, that all the submissions of the Hollander were ineffectual to procure them a peace, and that the Parliament would scarce hear their proposals. This plainly shows, the Parliament had some secret motive for the continuation of the war and it is difficult to discover any other than what I have mentioned.

Thirdly, It is certain, Cromwell at last perceived, as will hereafter appear, this war was continued only to give the Parliament occasion to disband the army, and that this made him resolve to destroy a Parliament which sought his ruin. I own, it is not easy to prove, that the authors of this war against the United Provinces, had at first the design I have ascribed to them; and that with respect to the beginning, it is only a conjecture.

But this conjecture is confirmed, when it is considered, that the principal members joined together to humble the power of Cromwell, and that the war was only continued to make the expense of it a proper reason for disbanding the land army, as useless, but which was necessary to Cromwell's support.

An Act Passed in Parliament Which Gave Rise to The War

However this be, Cromwell returning victorious from Worcester, as he had before done from Ireland and Scotland, his credit so increased, that he became as it were the soul of the Parliament and Commonwealth. Whether he did not at first perceive the secret motives of the projected war, or for some other reason, he readily consented to the design of humbling Holland, which was considered as the only foreign Power the Parliament had to fear.

But as the people were to be managed, who would not have been easily persuaded of the necessity of this war, it was resolved to force the Hollanders to be the aggressors, or at least to furnish a pretence for the war. For this purpose the Parliament, under colour of encouraging navigation, made an act prohibiting the importation of all foreign commodities except upon English bottoms, or such as were of the country from whence the commodities came.

By this act, which was to commence the first of December 1651, all commerce between England and Holland was destroyed, since that commerce consisted only in foreign merchandises imported from Holland in their own vessels. Besides this, the Parliament granted *letters of mart* to several private men, who complained of an unjust confiscation of their ships in Holland.

The States Endeavour to Avoid War

The States easily perceived the Parliament's design, but instead of beginning hostilities, as was expressed by the English, they sent an embassy to London, to solicit a revocation of the act. The Parliament received the Ambassadors with marks of respect, and granted them several audiences, their aim being to intimate, that it should not be their fault if the peace between the two republics were not preserved.

Pretensions of Parliament

But when the particular articles came to be discussed, it was plain the Parliament was bent upon war. Instead of revoking the navigation act, several state pretensions were revived. Satisfaction was demanded for the massacre of the English at Amboyna in the year 1622; for the losses sustained from the Dutch since the year 1618 in the Indies, Persia, the Mogul's Dominions, Muscovy, Greenland, and the Isle of Poleron.



Letter of the Parliament to Foreign Princes

These losses, according to the Parliament's estimation, amounted to seventeen hundred thousand pounds Sterling. A suitable reparation was also insisted on for the murder of Dorislaus committed at the Hague, under the eye of the State, who had taken no proper measures to bring the authors to punishment.

In fine it was pretended, that satisfaction should be given for the secret intelligence which the last Ambassadors from the States had held with the late King during the civil war. For these satisfactions and reparations, the Parliament offered to make an alliance with the United Provinces upon the terms proposed by their envoys at the Hague[55].

1652 AD] These propositions convinced the States that they were to prepare for war. Accordingly with great care and expense a fleet was put to sea of a hundred and fifty sail. They were unwilling however to declare war against the Parliament, and resolved, if possible, to cause the English to be aggressors.

For this purpose, while the States Ambassadors were still at London, their Admiral Martin Van Trumps one of the bravest and most experienced sea officers in Europe, appeared in the Channel with a fleet of forty five ships of war, pretending to convoy some merchantmen, and came and anchored in Dover Road, probably with design to give the English a provocation to begin hostilities.

Admiral Blake, who commanded the English fleet consisting only of twenty-fix sail, appearing in sight, the Dutch weighed anchor, and put to sea without striking their flag, whereupon Blake fired three guns without ball for a signal to strike, to which Trump answered no otherwise than by drawing up his ships in line of battle, and in contempt of the signal, discharged one jingle gun; and coining up to the English Admiral gave him a broad side. So, the fight begun without any certainty which side was the aggressor[56].

First Sea Engagement

The two Admirals had positive orders so to behave, as not to come to an engagement without apparent necessity. The English say, Trump had orders from the States not to strike to the English, to oblige them to begin hostilities. This is not improbable, though the Dutch authors, do not mention it[57].

Blake being reinforced with eight ships, the engagement lasted from four in the afternoon till night. The English, if their historians are to be credited, had not a single ship damaged, and the Dutch lost two, one taken, and one sunk. They say farther, that night coming on, Trump drew his fleet to the back of the Goodwin Sands, and the next morning sailed for Zealand.

The Dutch own the loss of two ships, but affirm the English had six sunk, and that the night only saved their fleet from entire destruction. It is difficult exactly to discover the truth in such contradictory accounts, particularly concerning sea engagements. It seems however, that the confirmation at London occasioned by this battle, and the insults offered to the Dutch in ballad or from the populace, which obliged the Parliament to give them a guard, show, the people were not pleased with the success.

A Fruitless Embassy From The States

The Dutch Ambassadors, knowing the intention of their masters, endeavoured, in an audience obtained of the Parliament, to show, the battle was a pure effect of chance. On the other hand,

the States sent to the Parliament an Ambassador extraordinary, to propose an agreement. This was Adrian Paw, who had been Plenipotentiary at the peace of Munster.

But the Parliament not receding from any of the articles proposed before the rupture[58], the States recalled the Ambassadors, and resolved to continue the war, since there was no other way to procure a peace.

Manifestoes From Both The Nations

A Manifesto was published, in which they pretended to be demonstrate, the Parliament attacked them, without any provocation; and the Parliament answered in another, declaring all the occasions of complaint abovementioned.

The Right of The Flag Insisted Upon by The English

To this was added the refusal of the striking the flag, a right they were resolved to maintain, at all hazards. The States replied, it was true, their republic, in its infancy, had paid that compliment to the Royal Dignity, when England was under the dominion of a King, but they could not believe themselves obliged to the same respect since the Monarchy was changed into a Commonwealth. After all, this was by no means the real cause of the war. But these manifestoes were necessary on both sides, for an intimation to the people, that they were not engaged without necessity in extraordinary expenses to support a war.

The war being sufficiently declared, as well by the manifestoes, as by a battle, Van Trump put to sea with a fleet of seventy Ships, whilst Van Gallen sailed to the Mediterranean to fight the English there.

Van Trump's Fleet Dispersed by a Storm

Trump's design was to engage Admiral Ascough who lay in the Downs with part of the English fleet. But, while he was waiting an opportunity, Admiral Blake with forty ships sailed to the northward, to attack the herring fleet, and their convoy[59]. Trump being informed of it, follows and overtakes him near New Castle. But while he was preparing for the fight, a furious tempest so dispersed his fleet, that he returned to Holland, but with forty sail. The rest that escaped shipwreck, arrived not at the Texel till some weeks after.

Engagement Between Ruyter and Ascough

About the same time, Ruyter convoying a fleet of merchantmen with thirty four ships[60], was met by Sir George Ascough, and a furious engagement ensued, which was bravely fought on both sides, till Ascough at last was forced to retire to Plymouth, and leave Ruyter free passage to convoy his fleet into Holland.

During the engagements in the Channel, Van Gallen attacked and beat the English into the Mediterranean: But his victory cost him his life, being slain in the fight. Meantime, the English putting to sea with a formidable fleet, made themselves masters of the Channel, the Dutch not daring to appear. Meanwhile, a considerable number of Dutch vessels returning from Holland, without being informed of the war, fell into the hands of the English and amongst others, a fleet of forty sail from Portugal, and six India ships richly laden.

The English Formidable at Sea Take Great Numbers of The Enemies Ships

Whereupon the Dutch, not to expose their merchants to greater losses, gave notice to the Merchantmen, homeward bound, to sail to the Isle of Rhé, where a fleet should be ready to convoy them. Pursuant to this project, Trump left the force in November, with seventy men of war, and six war ships, and met Blake, who expected him in the Channel.

Fight in The Channel

The fight lasted from eight in the morning till night, when part of the English fleet retired to the Downs, and part into the Thames, A wound received by Blake having thrown his fleet into some disorder, he could not hinder Trump from pursuing his course[61].

The Duke of Gloucester Sent Out of The Kingdom

Since the death of Charles 1, the Duke of Gloucester, his third son, had been confined in the Isle of Wight, and educated as a private Gentleman, they who had the charge of his education, being expressly commanded to show him no respect, that might put him in mind of his being a King's son. At last, the Parliament resolved to send him out of the Kingdom, for which purpose he was conducted to Dunkirk, from whence he visited his sister the Princess of Orange, at Breda, and then repaired to the King his brother at Paris.

A Sea Engagement That Lasted Three Days

In February, Blake again put to sea, with a fleet of eighty sail, being assisted, at his own request, with Monk and Dean, newly arrived from Scotland for that purpose. The intention of the three Admirals was to fall upon Trump in his return from the Isle of Rhé, with three hundred merchant ships, he was to convoy to Holland.

The States being informed of the great preparations in England, had equipped twenty ships to join their Admiral in his passage, but they were hindered by contrary winds. In the meantime, Trump entering the Channel, and conducting the merchantmen along the coasts of France, met the English fleet, much superior to his own in number of ships. But finding himself too far advanced to recede, a furious engagement began, which lasted three days, and would have been renewed the fourth, had the ships on either side been able to sustain a fresh charge.

The Dutch lost in this engagement eighteen men of war, and eight Merchantmen[62]. But their historians pretend, that one and twenty ships of the enemy were sunk, and three stranded. Each side challenged the victory. However that be, Trump convoyed his three hundred merchantmen into Holland, the eight excepted, which fell into the hands of the English. After he had secured the merchantmen, he engaged the English four, several times, but not in so important a manner.

The King Offers to Put Himself Aboard the Dutch Fleet

1653 AD] Shortly after, the King imagining, he had many friends amongst the commanders of the English fleet, offered the States to put himself on board their fleet, without any command, except of such English ships as should come and a join him. But the States thought not fit to accept his offer. It was considered by them as a snare, to engage them to declare for him, to which, in their present circumstances, they had no inclination.

They wanted peace, and were unwilling to remove, or render it impossible, by espousing the King's cause. They even found a way to convey privately, to Lenthal the Speaker, a letter from the particular States of Holland, to propose an agreement.

The States Sue For a Peace

Some say, this was owing to a private intimation from Cromwell, who began to discover, that peace was now proper for his interests. He had the address to obtain from the Parliament, a civil answer to the letter received by Lenthal; but the answer was directed to the States General. This drew from the States a letter of the 30th of April, in which it was openly desired, the Parliament would please to name a place for a treaty.

Designs Against Cromwell

Cromwell at last perceived, the continuation of the war was a contrivance of his enemies, that the expense might render it necessary to disband the army, now become useless, to which he saw the House was inclined. This tended manifestly to undermine his authority. For though he had excellent qualities, and by his valour and capacity had raised the Commonwealth to its present grandeur, he was, however, still feared.

Had he not been supported by the army, his ruin had been infallible, the Parliament fearing, that his credit, already too great, would become still greater, to the prejudice of the Commonwealth. Cromwell had even private information, that a conspiracy was forming against him, in which were engaged not only several Presbyterians and Royalists, but also some considerable members of the House, though of the Independent party.

Cromwell Brought to The Necessity of Destroying Parliament

Affairs therefore were in such a situation, that the Parliament was either to be subdued, or himself ruined. Such a choice does not long amuse the ambitious. Cromwell, displeased at a design to requite his services with ingratitude, easily determined to risque everything to make himself master of the Parliament, rather than become their slave, who properly owed all their power to him.

Cromwell's Measures to Support His Authority

The Parliament, as I observed, was entirely supported by the army, and by their means held the nation in subjection. But since the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, Cromwell had so acquired the esteem and affection of the officers and soldiers, that they supported the Parliament, but as its interests were confounded with those of their General.

The leading Members perceived it, and therefore had formed the project of disbanding the army, to ruin Cromwell with more ease. But such a project was not to be long concealed from one of Cromwell's penetration. As soon as he discovered the design of his enemies, he judged, there was no other way to support himself, than by withdrawing the confidence of the army from the Parliament; after which, it would not be difficult to destroy them.

This was the very method practised by himself and the other Independents, to ruin the Presbyterian Parliament. He therefore causes the officers of the army, in a general council, to frame a petition, and present it to the Parliament in which they demanded:—

The arrears of their pay, that they might not be compelled to take free quarter upon their fellow subjects, who already paid so great contribution and taxes, which, they were well assured, if well managed, would defray all the charges of the war, and of the Government.

The Parliament, as Cromwell had foreseen, complained of the insolence of this petition, and ordered a reprimand to the officers for their presumption, to intermeddle in affairs which belonged not to them, and to arraign the Parliament's management of the treasury. This drew from the army a second petition, which put the House in mind of some former professions they had made:—

They Demand Parliament's Dissolution

That they would be glad to be dissolved, and that there might be successive Parliaments, to undergo the same trouble they had done. They therefore desired them to remember, how many years they had sate, and though they had done great things, yet it was a great injury to the rest of the nation, to be utterly excluded from bearing any part in the service of their country, by their engrossing the whole power into their hands:

And thereupon besought them, that they would settle a council of war for the administration of the Government, during the interval, and then dissolve themselves, and summon a new Parliament; which, they told them, would be the most popular act they could perform.

This remonstrance, though intended to exasperate the Parliament, appeared however very just in itself, and agreeable to the general sentiment of the nation. This will be evident, when it is considered, in what manner the members, which composed this Parliament, had possessed themselves of the supreme authority.

The violence they had used to their colleagues, the late King's tragical death, the change of the Monarchy into a Commonwealth, and the taxes imposed on the people for an unnecessary war, had rendered them odious to the whole Kingdom. They were themselves sensible of these things; but, besides that it was very mortifying to them to divest themselves of an authority which had so many charms, they had reason to fear, that an account would be demanded of their actions.

They were therefore unwilling to quit possession, and yet, could not avoid solemnly deliberating upon the petition, which was of a nature not to be neglected. In this debate, all the Members, who were officers in the army, strenuously supported the petition. The Presbyterians, who had been received into the House upon their swearing to the engagement, were also of opinion, that the Parliament ought to dissolve themselves, since it could not be doubted, that it was the nation's desire.

The Parliament Votes Against Dissolution

But the negative was carried by a majority of voices. It was therefore resolved, that it was not yet time to dissolve this Parliament, while affairs were depending that could not be left unfinished, and particularly the important war with Holland. That nevertheless, the Speaker should issue out writs for filling the vacant seats in the House.

At the same time, a committee was appointed, speedily to prepare a Bill, by which all persons were forbid to present such petitions, under pain of being declared guilty of high treason.

Cromwell Dissolves Parliament

This was what Cromwell expected from the Parliament. After so express a declaration, it could not be doubted, that the Members who had sate more than twelve years, and had but too much

abused their power, would always retain the supreme authority in their hands, under colour. of being the representatives of a Republic, which properly; consisted only of themselves.

Cromwell being therefore very certain, this Parliament was odious to the people, and not less disagreeable to the army, believed, he owed no farther regard to men, who only fought his ruin. When things were concerted with the principal officers, he came to the House, the 20th of April, with some officers and soldiers, and without any ceremony, told the Members he was come to put an end to their power, of which they had made an ill use; and therefore, they were immediately to be dissolved.

The officers and soldiers entered at the same time, and stayed at the door till the Members walked out. Cromwell, as they came by him, reproached one with drunkenness, another with corruption, not sparing any of those whom he knew to be his enemies. After that, he gave the Mace to one of his officers, and locked the door[63]

This was an extraordinary action, but no more than was done a few years before by General Fairfax, when he expelled and imprisoned the Members, who were disagreeable to the army.

Reflection Upon This Action of Cromwell

It cannot yet, however, be affirmed, that Cromwell, by this proceeding, had pulled off the mask. He might still be thought to have good intentions to the public, since he had only delivered the nation from a Parliament, which had long held them in servitude. And had he, after this, called a free Parliament, and submitted to it himself, the people would have loaded him with blessings.

But the sequel clearly discovered, he was only labouring for himself[64]. And yet, if it is considered that the nation was then divided into three parties, each mortally hating the other two, it is not easy to conceive, how a Parliament, though ever so free, would have been able to settle the peace of the nation.

It was hardly possible to find expedients to content the three parties, whose interests and principles were so opposite, as well concerning Government as religion. Only force, by giving a superiority to one of the three, was capable of awing the other two. This doubtless was considered by Cromwell, and therefore he resolved to model the Government after his own way, support his settlement by force, and regard not the chimerical project of contenting every man.

He saw the necessity of a supreme authority capable of commanding obedience, without which all would run into confusion, and that this authority was to be supported by the army; and doubtless, he believed himself more capable than any other, to manage the reins of the Government. I pretend not here to justify all the actions of this great man, whose ability was never contested; but only to shew, that, in this juncture, he could have taken no other course, without throwing the State into the most terrible confusion that can be imagined.

Since therefore as matters then stood, England was to be governed by force, was it more inconvenient to see the nation ruled by the greatest General and Statesman the Kingdom had for many years produced, than by a Parliament, Independent or Presbyterian, or by a King intoxicated with arbitrary power?

The people had made trial of these three several Governments, and found them insupportable. A fourth therefore was to be tried, things being in such a state, that it was neither possible nor proper to submit to any of the other three. This supposed, it is not to be denied, that Cromwell was more capable to govern this great State, than any other man then in England. No objection could be raised against him, which might not with more justice, have been urged against any other man who should have seized the Government, or any body of men invested with the

supreme power. If, on certain occasions, he abused his authority; if, in his actions, he had only a view to his own glory, and interest, this is what I pretend not to vindicate.

It is however certain, that things have been greatly aggravated, and some of his actions mis-represented, which with disinterested and unprejudiced persons, are capable of being easily justified. All the difficulty concerning this affair, lies in the supposition made by each of the three parties, that their scheme of Government was the best and most perfect. But as Cromwell disregarded all the three schemes, he was equally exclaimed against by the three parties.

The independents, fond of their Democracy, which was, however, but an empty name, were enraged at him, for overturning a building which he himself had erected. The Presbyterians could have wished he would have restored the Parliament to the state it was in, at the beginning of the year 1648, when they were masters; and could not forgive him, for not taking that course, which, in their opinion, was the most natural.

The Cavaliers or Royalists were well pleased that Cromwell had dissolved the Independent, without restoring the Presbyterian, Parliament. But to satisfy them, he must have restored the King to his throne, and the Church of England to all her rights. The reader is left to judge, whether, in the present situation of affairs in England, what the three parties desired, was either just, proper, or predicable. It is no wonder therefore, if these three parties were equally displeased with Cromwell's proceedings, and loaded him with invectives.

Cromwell Justifies His Conduct in A Declaration

A little after, Cromwell published a Declaration to justify the dissolution of the Parliament, and as his designs were not yet manifested, this Declaration was subscribed by the colonels of the army, and all the sea captains, and met with a general approbation.

The Parliament being dissolved, the sovereign power was necessarily to be lodged somewhere. Cromwell might have taken the administration of the Government, by the same authority that he had dismissed the Parliament. But he had no design to usurp it so notoriously. He had contrived, that it should be given him by a Parliament, in order to dazzle the eyes of the public with so venerable an authority.

Cromwell Makes Choice of 144 Persons to Take Care of The Government

The council of officers, who had presented the petition to the Parliament, being still assembled, Cromwell caused them to resolve, that a hundred forty-four persons should be entrusted with the supreme power. In the choice of these persons, Cromwell at once displayed his abilities, and discovered, that he had some secret design, which, would at a proper season manifest itself.

They were all men of no birth, illiterate, with no particular merit, un-experienced in affairs, in a word utterly incapable of an employ of that confluence[65]. Cromwell easily foresaw, they would soon be weary, and forced to put the Government into his hands, and so, furnish him with a pretence to assume it to himself.

This notable choice being made, he writ to each in particular, to require them to assemble at Whitehall the 4th of July in order to take upon them the administration of the Government[66].

Cromwell Delegates The Government to Them by An Instrument

These new Sovereigns meeting on the day appointed, in which Cromwell made a speech, and when it was ended, gave them an Instrument signed by himself and the principal officers of the

army, by which the supreme power was lodged, in their hands. This instrument imported, that all these members, or any forty of them, were to be held and acknowledged the supreme authority of the nation, to whom all persons were to yield obedience and subjection till the 3rd day of November, in the year 1654, that is, during one year and four months.

That three months before their dissolution, they were to make choice of other persons to succeed them, whose authority should not exceed one year, and then they were likewise to provide and take care for a like succession in the Government. But it will presently appear, that Cromwell did not intend, this regulation should be exactly observed.

They Assume The Name Parliament

These members, thus empowered, made no scruple to call themselves a Parliament, and chose one Rouse[67] for their Speaker. The whole nation was surprised to find themselves under the dominion of such men, most of whom were artificers, or retail merchants[68]. Amongst these members was one Barebone a leather seller, who in his neighbourhood passed for a notable speaker, because he used to entertain them with long harangues upon the times.

Are Called in Derision Barebones Parliament

From this man the people, in derision, called them Barebones Parliament[69]. I shall leave this ridiculous assembly for a moment, which did nothing worth remembering, to resume, the recital of the war and the affairs between England and the United Provinces.

The letter writ by the States-General to the Parliament the 20th of April, the day on which the Parliament was dissolved, was referred to the council of State, established by Cromwell and his officers, till the new Parliament should assemble. This Council, under the direction of Cromwell gave a favourable answer to the States, with hopes of a peace, upon sending plenipotentiaries to London.

The States Appoint Ambassadors To Negotiate A Peace

The English affairs were then in a state of uncertainty, of which it was difficult to foresee what would be the event. Cromwell had, by his sole authority, dissolved the Parliament, and named a council of State which governed the Kingdom, with no other right than what was derived from the officers.

It was therefore not very proper for the States either to treat of, or conclude a peace with men so little authorized. But the Provinces of Holland and Zealand the greatest sufferers by the war, wished to end it at any rate. At last, after great contests, the States General named four ambassadors to negotiate a peace at London.

A Fight Between The Two Fleets - Trump Beaten

Whilst their instructions were preparing, the fleets of England and the States, met the 2nd of June, and came to an engagement, which was renewed the next day. In this last engagement, Trump fighting with great disadvantage, was obliged to retire in disorder, having lost many ships, which were sunk or taken by the English[70].

Another Fight Continued Three Days

After this battle, the English fleet being reinforced to the number of a hundred ships, saw itself, some time, mistress of the sea, and gave frequent alarms to the coasts of Holland. At last, Trump

having repaired his fleet as much as possible, though it was inferior to the English both; in the number and largeness of the ships[71], attacked the enemy's fleet again near the Texel.

The Two Fleets Retire

The fight lasted from morning till night without any considerable advantage to either side. It was renewed the next day with the same fury, Trump being reinforced with twenty-seven ships, nor did this second day decide the victory. The third day opened with a fresh engagement, in which Trump was killed by a musket-ball. But Vice-Admiral De Witzen continued the fight, till the two fleets, as if by consent, retired to their own coasts, unable to fight any longer. The loss on both sides was very considerable[73], and neither could justly boast of the victory; but the loss of Admiral Trump was irreparable to Holland.

The English Fleet Put to Sea Again

Cromwell took care speedily to repair the English fleet, in hopes of receiving some advantage from the consternation caused by the death of Trump, the loss of so many ships, and the division then reigning amongst the United Provinces. But a violent storm so damaged his fleet, that he was under a necessity of either making a peace, or loading the people with new taxes, which, in his present fixation, was very improper. He listened therefore to the propositions of the States, and the whole following winter was spent in this negotiation.

The Parliament Returns its Sovereign Power into The Hands of The Officers

Barebone's Parliament did nothing considerable in a session of more than five months[73]. Nor was it called for that purpose. At last, the 12th of December, the Speaker, with a good number of the members, who knew Cromwell's intentions, being assembled sooner than usual, one of them rose up and said, that they were unequal to the burthen laid upon them, and therefore proposed a dissolution of themselves, and a resignation of the sovereign authority into the hands from whom it was received.

This proposal met with a ready and unanimous approbation. Then the Speaker and all the present members, without waiting for those who were not yet come, left their seats, and went directly to Cromwell and the council of officers: To whom they declared, that they found themselves incapable of the trust reposed in them, resigned the instrument they had received, and besought them to take care of the Government. Thus Cromwell and his council of officers were once more invested with the supreme power, by that Parliament on which themselves had conferred their pretended authority. It is manifest, this had been resolved from the calling of the Parliament, in order to derive a Parliamentary authority to those, who had by their own power dissolved the former Parliament. This artifice was so gross, that Cromwell's belief to impose upon the people, is amazing. But any absurdity is swallowed by means of an irresistible power.

The Council of Officers Invests Cromwell With The Dignity of Protector

Two days after, the Council of Officers, by virtue of the authority lately given them by the Parliament, declared, that for the future the Government of the Republic should reside in a single person, namely, Oliver Cromwell, Captain General of the forces of England, Scotland and Ireland, who should have the title of Protector of the three Kingdoms, and be assisted by a council of twenty one persons.

Instrument of Government

The 16th of December the Council Officers sent for the Commissioners of the Great Seal, with the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of London, and informing them that,. Cromwell was made Protector, caused to be read in their presence a writing called the Instrument of Government, the substance whereof was:—

- I. A Parliament to be called every three years by the Protector.
- II. The first to assemble on the 3rd of September 1654.
- III. No Parliament to be dissolved till they have sat five months.
- IV. Such Bill's as are offered to the Protector by the Parliament, if not confirmed by him in twenty days, to be laws without him.
- V. That his Council should not exceed the number of one and twenty, nor be less than thirteen[74].
- VI. That immediately after the Death of Cromwell, the Council shall choose another Protector before they rise.
- VII. That no Protector after the present shall be General of an army.
- VIII. The Protector shall have power to make war and peace.
- IX. That the Protector and his Council may make Laws, which shall be binding to the subject, during the intervals of Parliament.

Cromwell Takes an Oath to Observe it

After the reading of. this instrument, Cromwell took an oath to observe it to the utmost of his power. Then he was conducted to Whitehall with great ceremony, Lambert carrying the sword of state before him, and from that time the title of Highness and Lord Protector was given him. Immediately after, he was proclaimed as such at London, and then in the three Kingdoms, which formed but one Commonwealth.

Assumes The Title of Highness Invited to an Entertainment

The city of London invited him to a splendid entertainment, where the solemnity of his reception was such as had been at any time performed to the King. Thus Cromwell, whose birth seemed to have placed him at an infinite distance from sovereignty, found means to be invested with the supreme power.

Reflections on Cromwell's Advance

When the proceedings of the long Parliament against the late King, the methods used to effect his ruin, their obstinate refusal of peace without the abolition of Episcopacy, and reduction of the regal power, the policy of the Independents in concealing themselves many years among the Presbyterians, and in not discovering themselves, till the King was unable to hurt them, their artifices to gain the army, their tyranny against the Presbyterians and the King himself, and lastly, Cromwell early adherence to that party, (when these things I say) are considered, one is apt to believe, the project of his advancement was formed from the beginning of the long Parliament, and that the subsequent transactions flowed solely from that project.

Accordingly this is insinuated by some, their aim being to shew, that Charles I. was persecuted only to render that project the more practicable. But when it is considered, on the other hand, that it was almost impossible for Cromwell to have any such views, at a time when he had but little credit and was scarce known in the Parliament; that his reputation increased by a series of contingent events entirely out of his power, and by battles which he might have lost, it is difficult to believe, he could have formed such a design before his victory at Worcester. He had, very probably, even before that battle, his own advancement in view, but not to the Supreme Power.

There were in his Party men of too great a penetration not to discover such a design, had it been entertained by him. But as they thought not of his ruin till after that victory, very likely, his designs were not sooner perceived, and that it was only from that time, or perhaps not so early, that he began to ruminare on his grand project. For being then General, he had less way to go, that if he had formed the design while he was but Lieutenant-General[75].

Notes to Chapter 1 Part 1 of Book 22

1) The Earl of Salisbury, and the Lord Edward Howard of Escrick, signed the engagement, to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, as it was established, without a King or House of Lords, and took their seats in Parliament by virtue of an election from the people, Ludlow, Tom. I. p. 293.—And also, April 16, 1649, upon the death of Sir Francis Pile, a writ issued out for a new Election, and the Earl of Pembroke, with all his titles, was returned for Knight of the Shire for Berks, *primæ impressionis*, and his Lordship was accordingly admitted into the House with great respect. Whitelock, p. 396.

2) Instead thereof a new oath was prepared, called the Engagement, whereby every man swore, that he would be true and faithful to the Government established without King or House of Peers. Clarendon, Tom. III., p. 204.

3) The name, style, and test, of the writs were to be, *Custodes Libertatis Anglia, Anthoritate Parliamenti*. And in indictments, instead of, contrary to the peace of the King, it was to be against the peace, justice, and Council of England. Whitelock, p. 371, 374.

4) The Lord Clarendon says, on one side was engraven the Arms of England and Ireland, viz. a Red Cross and harp, with this inscription, The Great Seal of England, and on the other the portraiture of the House of Commons circumscribed, In the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored, 1648. Tom., III. p. 202. This seal, and the inscriptions, were the fancy of Henry Martin. Whitelock, p. 367.

5) Widdrington and Whitelock were first appointed keepers of the new Great Seal; but Widdrington desiring to be excused, and his excuse being admitted, an act passed, appointing, Bulstrode Whitelock, Richard Keeble, and John Lisle, Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal; *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, Whitelock, p. 373, 379.

6) See a list of this Council in Whitelock, p. 381.

7). When sentence passed, that they should all lose their heads, Sir John Owen made a low reverence, and humbly thanked them: And being asked by a stander-by, what he meant? He said aloud, It was a very great honour to a poor gentleman of Wales, to lose his head with such noble Lords; and swore a great oath, that he was afraid they would have hanged him. Clarendon, Tom. III. p. 206.

8) Upon this occasion Whitelock observes, this may be a caution against the affectation of popularity, when the Earl of Holland, who was as full of generosity and courtship to all sorts of persons, and readiness to help the oppressed, and to stand for the rights of the people, as any

person of his quality in the nation, was given up by the representatives of the people; and the Lord Goring, who never made professed of being a friend to liberty, either civil or spiritual, and exceeded the Earl as much in his crimes, as he came short of him in his popularity, was spared by the people, p. 380.

9) Rapin, missed by **Baker's Continuator**, says, he offered to discover what had been desired, if his life might be spared, which contradicting all the Historians, is altered by the translator from Whitelock, &c., instead of quoting Edward Phillips, *Baker's Continuator*, Rapin has all along in the margin quoted Baker himself; but that is rectified every where. Sir Richard Baker died in 1644, in the Fleet.

10) To support their authority, the powers in being ordered, that there should be twenty-eight thousand horse and foot kept up in England, and twelve thousand in Ireland, whose pay should be £80,000 a month, Whitelock, p. 386.

11) The body of the clergy in a Latin oration delivered by the chief preacher of the Hague, lamented the misfortune in terms of as much asperity and detestation of the actors, as unworthy the name of Christians, as could be expressed. Clarendon, Tom. III. p. 215. For which reason perhaps the States inhibited their Ministers from inciting upon matters of State in their pulpits particularly not to meddle with England, or other Kingdom's proceedings. Whitelock, p. 392.

12) Mr. Long his Secretary.

13) This treaty is to be met with in Bate's Elenchus Motunm, p 145, and was very advantageous to the Roman Catholics. Rapin.

14) Presently in the Scotch papers is used for now, or at present.

15) The Commissioners of the Kirk sent also four of their Ministers. Clarendon, Tom. 3. p. 217.

16) The Kirk declared, that he should first sign the Covenant, submit to the Kirk's censure, renounce the sins of his father's House, and the iniquity of his mother. Ibid p. 222.

17) He was Doctor of the Civil Law, born in Delft in Holland, and bred at Leyden, but afterwards lived long in London, having been received into Gresham College, as a Professor in one of those Chairs, which are endowed for public lectures in that society; and had been from the beginning of the troubles, in the exercise of the Judge Advocate's office in the Earl of Essex's army. The Lord Clarendon says, they were Scots, and dependents upon the Marquis of Montrose, that murdered him, Tom. 3. p. 229. But Whitelock says, That they were twelve English Cavaliers who stabbed him in several places, and cut his throat, one of them saying at the same time, thus dies one of the King's Judges. Whitelock, p, 401. Ludlow says, they were English and Scots, Tom. 1. p. 291.

18) Or rather upon the Parliament's voting, That eleven regiments, mostly consisting of Levellers, should by lot be chosen for the service of Ireland. Heath, p. 233.

19) Of three thousand foot, and two or three troops of horse. Clarendon, Tom. 3. p. 251.

20) He had been lately proclaimed King there, by Sir George Carteret the Governor. Whitelock, p. 386.

21) This year, upon information, that the Turkish *Alcoran* was printing in England, it was ordered, on March 10, to be suppressed.—May 8. The Queen of Bohemia's pension of £12000 was suspended.—June 7, at an entertainment in the City, the Earl of Pembroke refused to sit

above Mr. Whitelock, the senior Commissioner of the Great Seal, saying, As much honour belongs to that place under a Commonwealth, as under a King. Whitelock, p. 390, 400, 406.

22) The Earl of Clarendon says nothing of this letter from the King to the Marquis of Montross but Phillips, Bates, and others, are positive that it was writ. Rapin.—The Lord Clarendon owns, the King had given the Marquis a Commission to raise a force together. See Tom. 3. p. 269. And Warwick's Mem. p. 355.

23) The Commissioners from the Estates were, the Earls of Cassils, and Lothian, the Lord Burley, and Sir John Winndram and those from the Kirk were, Leviston, Woods and Broady. Philips, p, 594.

24) There were about three hundred slain, and five hundred taken prisoners. Whitelock, p. 414.

25) Bates in his *Elenchus Motnum* assures us, that Aston received two thousand pounds, in reward of his treachery. Rapin.

26) Bishop Burnet says, that in one fast day there were six sermons preached before the King without intermission: And adds, the great rigour the Kirk used towards him, contributed not a little to beget in him an aversion to all sorts of strictness in religion. Tom. I. p. 53.

27) The Lord Clarendon observes, that Cromwell found a way to send above forty thousand men out of that Kingdom, for the service of foreign Princes; when the Marquis of Ormond, notwithstanding all the promises, obligations, and contracts of the Irish with him, could not draw together a body of five thousand, Torn, III. p. 280.

28) Whitelock says, the Lord Fairfax being advised with, seemed at first to like well of carrying the war into Scotland, but afterwards, being hourly persuaded by the Presbyterian Ministers and his own Lady, who was a great Patroness of them, he declared it was against his conscience. Whereupon the Council of State appointed Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, St, John, and Whitelock, to confer with Fairfax, and endeavour to satisfy him of the justice of the undertaking. Whitelock gives us the Conference at length in his Memorials; wherein, though Cromwell and the rest of the soldiers were very earnest with him not to lay down his Commission; yet, says Whitelock, there was cause to believe, they did not much desire he should continue it. Mem. p. 460—462.

29) Consisting of six thousand horse, and fifteen thousand foot. Phillips, p. 600. Thirty-six thousand men in all, says Whitelock, p. 466.

30) August 29th. In a skirmish, one of the Scots fired a Carbine at Cromwell, upon which Cromwell called out to him, and said, If he had been one of his soldiers, he would have cashiered him for firing at such a distance. Whitelock, p. 469.

31) August 29th. Cromwell sent word in a letter, that the Scotch Ministers in their prayers said, that if God will not deliver them from the sectaries, he shall not be their God. Whitelock, p. 465.

32) Between five and six thousand, says the Lord Clarendon, Tom. III. p. 294, in Whitelock it is said, there were four thousand killed in the field, and in the pursuit. The English Army consisted of twelve thousand, and the Scottish of twenty seven thousand men. Mem. p. 470.

33) In this Parliament, the King made a speech, on January 25, expressing much joy, that he was the first Covenanted King of the Nation. Whitelock. p. 485.

34) Clydesdale, Renfrew, Air, Galloway and Nithsdale. Burnet's History, p. 16.

35) The Marquis of Huntley, die Earls of Athol and Seaforth, the Lords Ogleby, Gordon, and Middletown, &c. Bates, p. 111.

36) This sudden withdrawing of the King's, was afterwards called, the start. Clarendon, Tom. III. p. 307.

37) In the course of this year, on March 25, died John Williams, Archbishop of York, formerly Lord-Keeper; and the learned Antiquarian Sir Simonds D'ewes. As also, October 27, William Prince of Orange, father of the late King William III. —This year, the English merchants were commanded by the Czar of Muscovy, to depart his Dominions, and not come thither, unless in the King's name, and by his Patents; and this was fomented by the Dutch—Five drunkards in Berkshire agreed to drink the King's health in their blood, and that each should cut off a piece or his Buttock, and try it, which four of them did, but the wife of the fifth coming into the room, and taking up a pair of tongs, laid about her, so she saved the cutting of her husband's flesh.—May 14, the act for suppressing incest, adultery and fornication, being passed. Henry Martin, severity of the punishment being death, would cause these sins to be more cautiously committed, and so being undiscovered would be more frequent.—July 2, An act passed tor preventing and suppressing cursing and swearing, whereby it was enjoined, that, for the first offence, a Lord should pay 30s., a Baronet and Knight 20s, an Esquire or a Gentleman 6s. 8d. every other person 3s. 4d. And double for the second offence, and so to the tenth. Then cube bound to his good behaviour. Whitelock, p. 417, 453, 457, 462.

38) And then he renewed again the Covenant. Burnet, p. 51.

39) Duke Hamilton was Lieutenant-General, David Lesley Major-General, Middletoun Lieutenant-General of the horse, and Massey Major-General of the English. Whitelock, p. 486.

40) The Lord Clarendon says, The river was between the two armies, but it is a mistake for the King had the river behind him, Rapin.

41) That pass was defended by Major-General Brown, with a body of four thousand men. Clarendon, Tom. III, p. 309.

42) Only a whole day, says Lord Clarendon, Tom. 3. p. 309.

43) Captain Cecil Howard, son of the Lord Howard of Escrick, brought him a troop of horse. Phillips, p. 606.

44) Where he had securely reposed himself since the end of the former war. Clarendon, Tom. 3. p. 309.

45) Of the King's side there were three thousand slain, and ten thousand taken prisoners; and of Cromwell's army one hundred slain, and three hundred wounded. Among the prisoners were three English Earls, seven Scotch Lords, six hundred and forty Colonels, and other Officers; the King's standard, and one hundred and fifty-eight Colours were also taken. Whitelock, p. 508.

46) Lesley reached Lancashire before he was apprehended, and the rest were overtaken and made prisoners, at Newport in Cheshire, by a detachment of Isleburns's horse. Phillips, p. 608, 609.

47) This tree grew in the thickest part of the wood, which was searched with the greatest exactness, This wood was either in or on the borders of Staffordshire. Clarendon, Tom. 3. p. 321,

48) He went in a little bark from Brighthelmsted, a small fisher town in Suffolk. Whitelock says, the King and the Lord Wilmot went to London, where they staid three weeks, and the King went

up and dawn in a gentlewoman's habit, and at Westminster Hall he saw the State's Arms, and the Scotch Colours. Mem. p. 488.

49) See likewise Bates's *Elenchus*, and a little book called *Boscobel*. Rapin.

50) Over the door of the Chapel belonging to Sterling Castle, this motto in the reign of King James I. was written, *J. C. R. Nobis bæc invicta dederunt centum sex Proavi*. 1617. Phillips, p. 611.

51) As did also the Earl of Middletoun. Phillips, p. 610.

52) James Stanley, Earl of Derby, confessed upon his trial, the plot for a general rising of the Presbyterians in Lancashire, to join with the King; but it was disappointed by the apprehending of Mr. Birkenhead, He confessed also the matters of treason charged against him, and submitted to the mercy of the Parliament. And for plea, 1. He alleged, he had quarter given him, and therefore was not to be tried by a Court-Martial. 2. He pleaded ignorance of the Acts of Treason set forth by the Parliament. But these pleas were over-ruled; and he was sentenced to lose his head at Bolton. Whitelock, p. 511. He married the daughter of the Duke de la Tremouville, in France. What Reward his son had for this famous Earl's loyalty, will appear by the following inscription, fixed by the present Earl of Derby, on a building erected at Knowsley, his seat in Lancashire:-

James Earl of Derby, Lord of Man, and the Isles, Grandson of James Earl of Derby, and of Charlotte Daughter of Claude II Duke de la Tremouville, whose Husband JAMES was beheaded at Bolton, XV Octob. MDCLII. for strenuously adhering to Charles the Second, who refused a Bill passed unanimously by both Houses of Parliament, for restoring to the Family the Estate lost by his Loyalty to him.
MDCCXXXII.

53) And from some of the English there. Clarendon, Tom 3. p. 355.

54) Hostilities began between the two Nations in October 1651, when an English man of war, meeting with some Dutch fishermen, demanded of them the tenth herring, as an acknowledgment of England's Sovereignty in those seas, (or else, insisted upon their striking sail) which the Dutch refused; whereupon they fell from words to blows, and the Dutch shooting first at the English, the English man of war sunk one of their ships, and all the men were lost. Whitelock p. 512.

55) They also insisted upon a free trade upon the Schelde from Middleburgh to Antwerp. Heath, p, 308.

56) The refusal of striking the flag, and the broad side given by Trump to Blake, seems to put it out of all doubt, that the Dutch were the aggressors. Though Rapin takes this account from the Lord Clarendon, yet either himself, or the French translator has so mingled this passage, that I thought best to insert it, as it is in the author he quotes.

57) The Lord Clarendon says, the Council of the Admiralty of Holland, who govern the maritime affairs without communication with the States General, ordered Trump not to strike. Tom. 3, p. 356.

58) They would hear of no propositions, without being first satisfied for their charges and Damages. See Whitelock, p. 537.

59) Which consisted of twelve Men of War. Clarendon, Tom. 3. p. 358.

60) Our historians say, there were ninety sail of them, whereof thirty were merchantmen. Ascough had but thirty-eight sail. Whitelock, p. 541, 542.

61) With a broom on his main top mast, as if he had swept, or would sweep, all the English shipping out of the Channel Phillips, p. 615.—This year Prince Maurice was lost in a hurricane in the West Indies. In September died Ralph Lord Hopton, at Bruges in Flanders,—And this year also died Jacob Lord Ashley, and John Digby Earl of Bristol. Heath.

62) Some say, that they lost in the three days engagement eleven ships of war, thirty merchantmen, and had fifteen hundred men killed. Burchet, p. 383

63) Whitelock, who was present, says, Cromwell led into the House a file of Musketeers with him, and in a furious tone bid the Speaker leave his chair, and told the House, “They had sat long enough, unless they had done more good; that some of them were whore masters, (looking toward Henry Martin, and Sir Peter Wentworth,) others of them were Drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust men, and scandalous in the profession of the Gospel; and that it was not fit they should sit any longer, and desired them to go away: Whereupon, among all the Parliament men, of whom many wore swords, and would sometimes talk big, not one offered to draw against Cromwell, but all tamely departed the House, He bid one of his soldiers to take away that fool’s bauble the Mace. Whitelock, p. 574.

64) It is probable, he had formed the design of invading the Government, just after the Battle of Worcester. For he had a meeting at the Speaker’s, with several Members of Parliament, and principal Officers of the army, to consider of the settlement of the Nation. The Soldiers were for a Republic, the Lawyers for a mixed Monarchy, and many for the Duke of Gloucester to be made King, but Cromwell still put off that debate. And it is thought, his design in that conference, was only to sound those great men, that he might manage accordingly. See Whitelock, p. 515.

65) The Lord Clarendon says, There were amongst them divers of the quality and degree, of Gentlemen, and who had estates, credit, and. reputation. Tom. III. p. 676.

66) After a short preamble, the letter ran thus: “I Oliver Cromwell, Captain-General, and Commander in chief of all the armies and forces raised, or to be raised within this Commonwealth, do hereby summon and require you (being one of the persons nominated) personally to appear at the Council Chamber at Whitehall, within the City of Westminster, upon the 4th of July next ensuing the date hereof, then and there to take upon you the trust unto which you are hereby talked and appointed, to serve as a member of the County of—and hereof you are not to fail.” O. Cromwell. Given under my Hand and Seal the 8th Day of June, 1653. Whitelock, p. 558.

67) An old Gentleman of Devon, Provost of Eaton, and Member of the long Parliament.

68) It was much wondered by some, that these gentlemen, many of them being persons of fortune and knowledge, would at this summons, and from these hands, take upon them the supreme authority of this nation, considering how little authority Cromwell and his officers had to give it, or these gentlemen to take it, but it was accepted by them. Whitelock, p. 559.

69) His name was Praise-God Barebone, from whom, he being a great Speaker in it, the Parliament was called as above.

70) There were six sunk, and twelve taken, with thirteen hundred and fifty prisoners. The English fleet was at first commanded jointly by Monk and Dean. Dean was killed, and in the engagement which followed, Monk commanded alone. Clarendon, Tom., III, p. 380. Whitelock, p. 558.

71) The Dutch had ninety men of war, and the English, one hundred and six. See Whitelock, p. 562. Phillips, p. 619.

72) Twenty-seven Dutch ships were fired or sunk, and above one thousand prisoners taken. The English lost four ships, four, hundred common sailors, and eight Captains. And had above seven hundred men, and five Captains wounded. Clarendon, Tom. III. p. 388.

73) They made an act for marriages, ordering the banes to be published in the next market, three several days, and the Ceremony to be performed by a Justice of Peace, And that there should be a Register appointed in every Parish to keep an account of them. Scobell.

74) The first Council chosen, in pursuance of this instrument, were, Colonel Montague, Colonel Lambert, Viscount Lisle Colonel Desborough; Gilbert Pickering, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Charles Woolsey, Baronets; Major-General Skippon, Walter Strickland, Colonel Sydenham, Colonel Jones, Francis Rouse, John Lawrence, Richard Major. Phillips, p. 610. The reader may see the sentiment of Government at large in Whitelock's, Mem. p. 571, &c.

75) Cromwell said to Mr. Bellievrc: *L'on ne montoit jamais si hant, que quand on sie scait on l'on va.* That is, a man never rises so high, as when he knows not where he is going. Retz, Mem Tom. III, p. 385.



Cromwell addressing the Parliament.

The Bare Bones Parliament



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