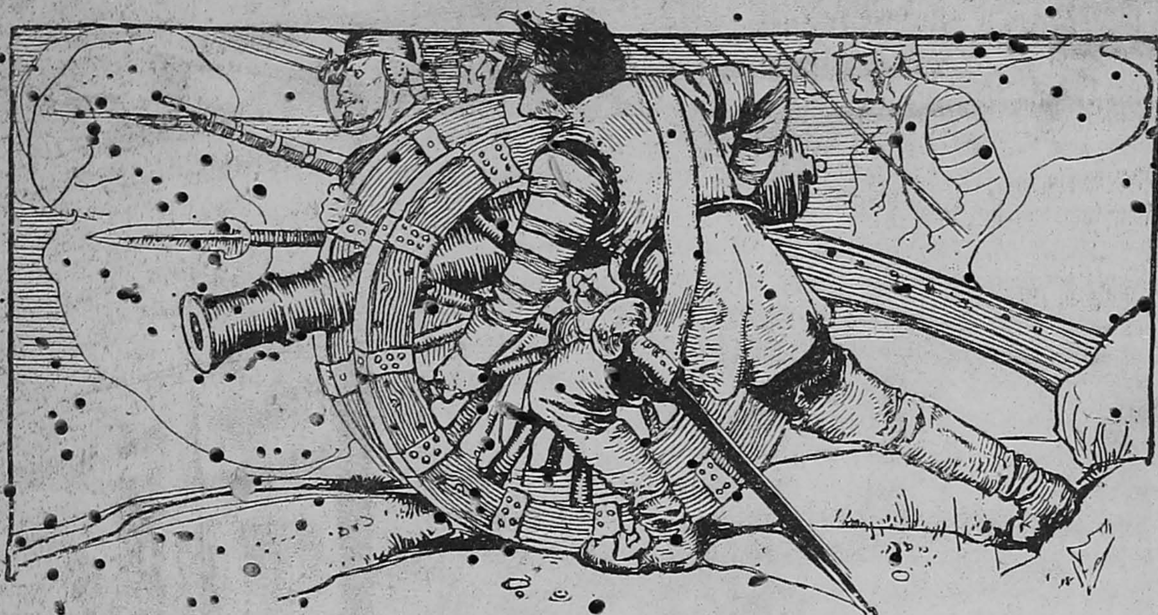


BOOK III

ENGLAND FROM 1642 TO 1791

CHAPTER I

THE CIVIL WAR

[1642–1646 A.D.]

The Civil War, the outbreak of which was announced by the floating of Charles's standard on the hill at Nottingham, was rendered inevitable by the inadequacy of the intellectual methods of the day to effect a reconciliation between opposing moral and social forces, which derived their strength from the past development of the nation. The personal characters of the leaders might do much to shorten or prolong the time of open warfare, but no permanent restoration of harmony would be possible till some compromise, which would give security alike to the disciples of Hooker and to the disciples of Calvin, had been not only thought out by the few, but generally accepted by the many. On both sides the religious difficulty was complicated by a political difficulty; and, on the king's side at all events, it was from those who were least under the influence of religious motives that the loudest cry for war was heard. — S. R. GARDINER.[b]

LET us pause at this juncture, at which the public men of England are exhibiting the spirit of party in aspects so unusual and so portentous, and endeavouring to catch some faint glimpses of the life of the people immediately before the commencement of the Civil War. "Before the flame of the war broke out in the top of the chimneys, the smoke ascended in every country." So writes Lucy Hutchinson[c] a careful and honest observer of what was passing. She saw around her, in many places, "fierce contests and disputes, almost to blood, even at the first." The partisans of the king were carrying out his commissions of array. The partisans of the parliament were insisting upon obedience to the ordinance for the militia. The king proclaimed Essex, the captain-general of the parliament, and his officers, as traitors. The parliament voted the king's commissioners of array to be traitors. Not only were the king and the parliament each struggling to obtain possession of the munitions of war by seizing the fortified places, but each barrel of gunpowder was contested for by opposite parties.

Few of the members of parliament remained in London. The zealous men of influence in their several counties were in their own districts, raising volunteers, gathering subscriptions, drilling recruits, collecting arms. Each is subscribing largely "for defence of the kingdom." Fire-arms are scarce; and the old weapons of the long-bow and cross-bow are again put in use. Old armour, long since "hung by the wall," is brought down and furbished. The rustic, changed into a pikeman, puts on the iron skull-cap and greaves; and the young farmer becomes a dragoon, with his carbine and pistols. In the parliamentary army there is every variety of clothing. In some companies raised by gentlemen amongst their tenants, the old liveries of each family give the prevailing colour. Hampden's men are in green; Lord Brooke's in purple; others are in blue; others in red. The officers all wear an orange scarf, being the colour of their general. The buff doublet, "though not sword yet cudgel proof," is a substitute for armour. Haslerig's Lobsters, and Cromwell's Ironsides — each so called from their rough mail — are not formed as yet. Recruits are taken, at first, without much reference to their opinions.

Cromwell, with his super-eminent sagacity, saw the danger of this course. In a later period of his life, when he had attained supreme power, he thus described his position at the commencement of the war: "I was a person who, from my first employment, was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trust to greater; from my first being a captain of a troop of horse." He then relates that he "had a very worthy friend, a very noble person, Mr. John Hampden, and he thus spake to him: 'Your troops are most of them old decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality: do you think that the spirits of such mean and base fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour, and courage, and resolution in them.'" What Cromwell did to meet the ardour of the cavalier with a zeal equally enthusiastic, he goes on to tell: "I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscience of what they did." Cromwell did justice to the principle upon which the honour and courage of the cavaliers was founded. He saw, beneath their essenced love-locks and gilded doublets, clear heads and bold hearts. The gay were not necessarily debauched; the health-drinkers were not necessarily drunkards. There were other men in the royalist ranks than —

> "The bravoes of Alsatia, the pages of Whitehall."

There were great spirits in both armies ready to measure their swords for "The king," or for "The cause."

We can scarcely assume that the bulk of the population, or even the greater number of the richer and more educated classes, at once took their sides in this great argument. We know they did not. Many of the best gentlemen of England withdrew from the quarrel which promised to be fatal either to order or to liberty. John Evelyn, whose inclinations were royalist, was one. Mr. Kemble[d] the editor of Twysden's "Government of England," from which we quote, says "Sir Roger Twysden was not the only gentleman who, being unable to join either party, desired to leave England for a time." This learned student of our history adds, by way of accounting for the flight to other lands of some of the country gentlemen, that "they felt it was impossible to serve a king who never spoke a word of truth in his life; and yet could not arm against him, or remain neutral between the two parties."

THE STATE OF SOCIETY AND LITERATURE AT THIS PERIOD

From this period we cannot understand the causes and the events of the Civil War, without steadily keeping in mind that the zeal of the Puritans, in whatever sectarian differences it exhibited itself, was as much the sustaining principle of the great conflict, as the passionate desire for civil liberty. These two great elements of resistance to the Crown produced impressions upon the national character — for the most part salutary impressions — which centuries have not obliterated.

The strength of the Puritanical element in the parliament of 1642 led to bold interferences with popular habits. The parliamentary leaders knew that they would have the support of the most powerful of the community of London, and of many other great towns, if not of the majority of the nation, when they discouraged the ordinary amusements of the people, — the bear-baitings, the cock-fights, the horse-races, the May-poles; appointed a fast on Christmas Day; and shut up the theatres. Bitter must have been the heart-burnings amongst the actors when their vocation came to an end in London, in 1642. The five regular companies were dispersed. Their members became "vagabonds," under the old statutes, hanging about the camps of the cavaliers, or secretly performing in inns and private houses.

London is the shop of war; it is the home of thought. Let us look at the vast city under the first of these aspects. It has always had its trained bands. It has now its volunteers of every rank. Many who had been in the Protestant armies of the continent, some who had fought under Gustavus Adolphus, were competent to become instructors. Such a man was Skippon, who had been appointed major-general of the London Militia.

In the country the distractions of the time bore hard upon the richer families. Every manor-house was liable to attack by a royalist or a parliamentary band. Lady Brilliana Harley had to put her castle of Brompton, in Herefordshire, in a posture of defence, whilst her husband, Sir Robert Harley, was engaged in his parliamentary vocation. The courageous woman died at her post. Amidst such scenes as these, says Carlyle,[e] "in all quarters of English ground, with swords getting out of their scabbards," there is one neutral power not wholly cast down — "the constable's baton still struggling to reign supreme." That power never ceased to assert itself amidst hostile armies. The judges went their usual circuits. The sessions and the county courts were regularly held.

THE PRESS — THE POETS

In 1623 Charles had heard in Ben Jonson's "Prince's Masque" allusions to a power which was then beginning to make itself formidable. The "press in a hollow tree," worked by "two ragged rascals," expressed the courtly contempt of that engine which was to give a new character to all political action. In 1642, wherever Charles moved, he had his own press with him. His state papers, for the most part written by Hyde [later Clarendon] were appeals to the reason and the affections of his people, in the place of the old assertions of absolute authority. In the same way, the declarations of the parliament approached the great questions in dispute, in the like spirit of acknowledgment that there was a court of appeal beyond the battle-field, where truth and right would ultimately prevail. This warfare of the pen gradually engaged all the master-minds of the country; some using the nobler artillery of earnest reasoning and impassioned rhetoric; others emptying their quivers of vehement satire, or casting their dirty missiles of abuse, on the opponents of their party.

Milton enters upon his task with a solemn expression: Cleveland rushes into the fray with an alacrity that suits his impetuous nature:

> "Ring the bells backward, I am all on fire;
> Not all the buckets in a country quire
> Shall quench my rage."

Herrick was living in his vicarage of Dean Prior in Devonshire, disliking the "people currish, churlish as the seas," amongst whom he lived; scarcely venturing to print till he was ejected from his benefice; but solacing his loyalty with the composition of stanzas to "the prince of cavaliers," and recording his political faith in two lines, which comprehended the creed of the "thorough" royalists:

> "The gods to kings the judgment give to sway:
> The subjects only glory to obey."

The general tone of the poets is expressed by Lovelace:

> "Our careless heads with roses bound,
> Our hearts with loyal flames."

Butler, from the time when he left his father's cottage at Strensham, on the banks of the Avon, to note down those manifold characteristics of his time which furnish the best picture of its common life, was a royalist. Cleveland, Carew, Suckling, Denham, Herrick, Butler, form a galaxy of cavalier versemakers. The dramatic poets, who were left to see the suppression of the theatres, such as Shirley, were naturally amongst the most ardent haters of the Puritan parliament.

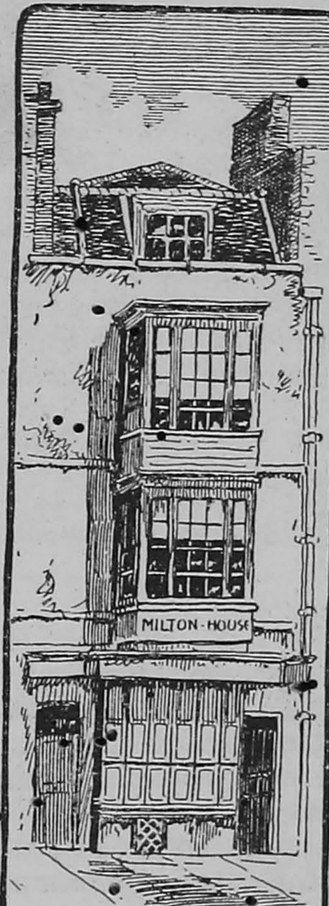
But Milton did not quite stand alone amongst those with whom civil and religious liberty was a higher sentiment than loyalty to the king. George Wither was the poet of Puritanism, as ready with bitter invective as Cleveland.

The inferior men of letters then rushed to take up the weapons of party in the small newspapers of the time. Their name was legion. Their chief writers, Marchamont Needham on the parliament side with his "Mercurius Britannicus," and John Birkenhead on the royalist side with his "Mercurius Aulicus," were models of scurrility. Whatever were their demerits, the little newspapers produced a powerful effect. They were distributed through the villages by the carriers and foot-posts.

THE OUTBREAK OF WAR

Such, then, is a very imperfect sketch of a few of the salient points of English society, at the time when rival armies of Englishmen stood front to front in the midland counties. The king in August had vainly attempted to obtain possession of Coventry. He had then gone to Leicester with a body of cavalry. On the 21st of August, the king's nephew, Prince Rupert, had joined him, and received the command of the horse. The next day, as we saw in the last chapter, they rode to Nottingham. The king's purpose was upon Nottingham Castle, to set up his standard — a ceremony which had not been seen in England since Richard III had raised his standard in Bosworth Field — a ceremony which was held by some legists to be equivalent to a declaration that the kingdom was in a state of war, and that the ordinary course of law was at an end. A stormy night came on; and, omen of disaster as many thought, the standard was blown down.

The setting-up of the standard would appear from Clarendon's account to have been a hasty and somewhat desperate act. The king had previously issued a proclamation "requiring the aid and assistance of all his subjects on the north side of the Trent, and within twenty miles southward thereof, for the suppressing of the rebels, now marching against him." Clarendon says, "there appeared no conflux of men in obedience to the proclamation; the arms and ammunition were not yet come from York, and a general sadness covered the whole town."[g]



MILTON'S HOUSE.

Of Prince Rupert, the king's cavalry leader whom Pepys[h] called "the boldest attaquer in the world" it may be well to state the previous career.[a] Rupert, prince of Bavaria, the third son of Frederick V, elector palatine and king of Bohemia, and of Elizabeth, sister of Charles I of England, was born at Prague on December 18, 1619. In 1630 he was placed at the university of Leyden, where he showed particular readiness in languages and in military discipline. In 1633 he was with the prince of Orange at the siege of Rhynberg, and served against the Spaniards as a volunteer in the prince's life-guard. In December, 1635, he was at the English court, and was named as leader of the proposed expedition to Madagascar. In 1636 he visited Oxford, when he was made master of arts. Returning to the Hague in 1638 he made the first display of his reckless bravery at the siege of Breda, and shortly afterwards was taken prisoner by the Austrians in the battle before Lemgo. For three years he was confined at Linz, where he withstood the endeavours made to induce him to change his religion and to take service with the emperor. Upon his release in 1642 he returned to the Hague, and from thence went to Dover, but, the Civil War not having yet begun, he returned immediately to Holland. Charles now named Rupert general of the horse, and he joined the king at Leicester in August 1642, being present at the raising of the standard at Nottingham. He was also made a knight of the Garter. It is particularly to be noticed that he brought with him several military inventions, and, especially, introduced the "German discipline" in his cavalry operations. He at once displayed the most astonishing activity.[i]

The king, in new proclamations, repeated his declarations of the treason of the earl of Essex and others; at the moment when he had made another proposition that he would withdraw his proclamations if the parliament would withdraw theirs. Neither party would make the first concession. There is nothing more remarkable, amidst the anger and suspicion of this momentous period, than the evident reluctance of both parties to proceed to extremities. In such a conflict all would be losers. But, there being no alternative but war, the parliament, on the 9th of September, 1642, published a declaration to the whole kingdom, setting forth the causes of the war. On that day, the earl of Essex marched in great state out of London to join the army in the midland counties with the trained bands. A few weeks later the parliament ordered London to be fortified; and the population, one and all, men, women, and children, turned out, day by day, to dig ditches, and carry stones for their bulwarks.

The flame of war is bursting forth in many places at once. Fortified towns are changing their military occupants. Portsmouth had capitulated to the parliament's army a fortnight before the king raised his standard at Nottingham. Lord Northampton, a royalist, had seized the stores at Banbury, and marched to the attack of Warwick Castle. That ancient seat of feudal grandeur was successfully defended by the commander who had been left in charge, whilst Lord Brooke marched with some forces to the parliament's quarters. Every manor-house was put by its occupiers into a state of defence. The heroic attitude of the English ladies who, in the absence of their husbands, held out against attacks whether of Cavaliers or Roundheads, was first exhibited at Caldecot manor-house, in the north of Warwickshire. Mrs. Purefoy, the wife of William Purefoy, a member of the house of commons, defended her house against Prince Rupert and four hundred cavaliers. The little garrison consisted of the brave lady and her two daughters, her son-in-law, eight male servants, and a few female. They had twelve muskets, which the women loaded as the men discharged them from the windows. The out buildings were set on fire, and the house would have been burnt had not the lady gone forth, and claimed the protection of the cavaliers.

Rupert respected her courage, and would not suffer her property to be plundered. This young man, who occupies so prominent a part in the military operations of the Civil War, was only twenty-three when Charles made him his general of horse. He had served in the wars for the recovery of the Palatinate, and had exhibited the bravery for which he was ever afterwards distinguished. But in his early warfare he had seen life unsparingly sacrificed, women and children put to the sword, villages and towns burnt, the means of subsistence for a peaceful population recklessly destroyed. His career in England did much to make the king's cause unpopular, though his predatory havoc has probably been exaggerated. The confidence which the king placed in him as a commander was not justified by his possession of the high qualities of a general.

About the middle of September, Charles marched with his small army from Nottingham to Derby. Essex, with the forces of the parliament, was at Northampton. The king's plans were very vague; but he at last determined to occupy Shrewsbury. He halted his army on the 19th at Wellington, where he published a "protestation," in which, amongst other assurances, he said, "I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of parliament, and to govern by the known laws of the land to my utmost power; and, particularly, to observe inviolably the laws consented to by me this parliament." There is a remarkable letter of the queen to the king, dated the 3rd of November, in which she expresses her indignant surprise that he should have made any such engagement. The only notion that the queen had of "royalty" was that it was to be "absolute." Who can believe that Charles ever resigned that fatal idea?

FIRST ENGAGEMENTS: THE BATTLE OF EDGEHILL

On the 22nd of September, Essex moved his army to Worcester. Here the first rencounter took place between the cavalry of Rupert and the parliamentary cuirassiers. The royalists had a decided advantage. Ludlow,[i] who was in the skirmish, gives a ludicrous account of the inexperience, and something worse, of the parliament's raw troops. The lieutenant "commanded us to wheel about; but our gentlemen, not yet well understanding the difference between wheeling about and shifting for themselves, their backs being now towards the enemy whom they thought to be close in the rear, retired to the army in a very dishonourable manner; and the next morning rallied at head-quarters, where we received but cold welcome from our general, as we well deserved." After remaining at Shrewsbury about twenty days, Charles resolved to march towards London. He expected that, as the armies approached each other, many soldiers would come over to the royal standard. He was almost without money, except a sum of six thousand pounds which he received by "making merchandise of honour," to use Clarendon's[l] expression — being the price for which he created Sir Richard Newport a baron. His foot-soldiers were mostly armed with muskets; but three or four hundred had for their only weapon a cudgel. Few of the musketeers had swords, and the pikemen were without corselets.

The royal army moved from Shrewsbury on the 12th of October, on to Wolverhampton, Birmingham, and Kenilworth. Two days after, the earl of Essex marched from Worcester in the direction which Charles had taken. They were only separated by twenty miles when the king first moved from Shrewsbury, but it was ten days before they came near each other. "Neither army," says Clarendon, "knew where the other was." On the night of the 22nd of October, the king was at Edgecote, a village near Banbury. The council broke up late. There was disunion in the camp. The earl of Lindsay by his commission was general of the whole army; but when Charles appointed Prince Rupert his general of horse, he exempted him from receiving orders from any one but the king himself — to such extent did this king carry his overweening pride of blood. Rupert insolently refused to take the royal directions through Lord Falkland, the secretary of state. In the same spirit, when a battle was expected, Charles took the advice of his nephew, rejecting the opinion of the veteran Lindsay.

On Sunday morning, the 23rd, the banner of Charles was waving on the top of Edgehill, which commanded a prospect of the valley in which a part of the army of Essex was moving. The greater portion of the parliament's artillery, with two regiments of foot and one of horse, was a day's march behind. The king, having the advantage of numbers, determined to engage. He appeared amongst his ranks, with a black velvet mantle over his armour, and wearing his star and garter. He addressed his troops, declaring his love to his whole kingdom, but asserting his royal authority "derived from God, whose substitute, and supreme governor under Christ, I am." At two o'clock the royal army descended the hill. "Sir Jacob Astley," writes Warwick,[k] was major-general of the army under the earl of Lindsay; who, before the charge of the battle at Edgehill, made a most excellent, pious, short, and soldierly prayer: for he lifted up his eyes and hands to Heaven, saying, 'O Lord, thou knowest how busy I must be this day; if I forget Thee, do not Thou forget me.' And with that rose up, crying 'March on, boys.'"

"The great shot was exchanged on both sides, for the space of an hour or thereabouts. By this time the foot began to engage; and a party of the enemy being sent to line some hedges on our right wing, thereby to beat us from our ground, were repulsed by our dragoons," says Clarendon. The foot soldiers on each side engaged with little result. But Rupert, at the head of his horse, threw the parliament's left wing into disorder. The disaster was attributable to the desertion of Sir Faithful Fortescue, who went over with his troop to the royalists, when he was ordered to charge. The fiery prince pursued the flying squadrons for three miles; he was engaged in plundering the parliamentary baggage-waggons, whilst the main body of the king's forces was sorely pressed by the foot and horse of Essex. The king's standard was taken. Sir Edmund Varney, the standard-bearer, was killed. The standard was afterwards recovered by a stratagem of two royalist officers, who put on the orange-scarf of Essex, and demanded the great prize from his secretary, to whom it had been entrusted. It was yielded by the unfortunate penman to those who bore the badge of his master. Brave old Lindsay was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. Other royalists of distinction were killed.

"When Prince Rupert returned from the charge," writes Clarendon, "he found this great alteration in the field, and his majesty himself with few noblemen and a small retinue about him, and the hope of so glorious a day quite banished." Many around the king counselled a retreat; but Charles, with equal courage and sagacity, resolved to keep his ground. "He spent the night in the field, by such a fire as could be made of the little wood and bushes which grew thereabouts." When the day appeared, the parliamentary army still lay beneath Edgehill. It was, in most respects, a drawn battle. Gradually each army moved off, one to attack London, the other to defend it. The number of the slain at Edgehill was variously estimated by the two parties. Ludlow very impartially says, "it was observed that the greatest slaughter on our side was of such as ran away, and on the enemy's side of those that stood." There was no general desire in either army to renew the struggle.

THE KING REPULSED AT TURNHAM GREEN (1642 A.D.)

After the battle of Edgehill the king wasted a few days in occupying Banbury and other small places, and on the 26th was with his army at Oxford. Essex was slowly advancing with his army towards London, and at the end of the month was at Northampton. In November Essex arrived, and received the thanks of the two houses. On the 11th of November Charles was at Colnbrook. Thither went a deputation from the parliament, under a safe conduct, to propose that the king should appoint some convenient place to reside, near London, "until committees of both houses of parliament may attend your majesty with some propositions for the removal of these bloody distempers and distractions." The king met the deputation favourably, and proposed to receive such propositions at Windsor. "Do your duty," he said, "we will not be wanting in ours. God in his mercy give a blessing." Ludlow records the duplicity which followed this negotiation: "Upon which answer the parliament thought themselves secure, at least against any sudden attempt: but the very next day the king, taking the advantage of a very thick mist, marched his army within half a mile of Brentford before he was discovered, designing to surprise our train of artillery (which was then at Hammersmith), the parliament, and city." Clarendon endeavours to throw the blame of this dishonour upon Rupert.

The "assault intended for the city" at last became a reality. On the morning of the 12th of November, the sound of distant guns was heard in London. Before noon Rupert was charging in the streets of Brentford. The regiment of Holles was quartered there, and they were not unprepared for the attack. The long and narrow street was barricaded. The contest was obstinately maintained for three hours by Holles' regiment. Hampden was at Acton, and Brooks in a neighbouring cantonment. Again and again the parliamentary forces charged the cavaliers. But the main body of the royal army now invested Brentford. The fighting went on till evening, when the royalists had a decided advantage, and compelled their enemy to retire from the town. They took many prisoners, amongst whom was John Lilburne, who began his career, when an apprentice, by calling down stripes and imprisonment upon his contumacy, and was now a captain of the trained bands. The old enemies of "sturdy John" did not forget his offences. He was tried for his life, and was about to be executed as a rebel, when Essex threatened that for every one of the parliament's officers thus put to death, he would execute three royalist prisoners. Lilburne was released, to be always foremost in opposition, whether to Charles or to Cromwell.

Many of the parliament's men were drowned in the Thames; but the greater number made their way in boats down the stream. Essex had arrived at Turnham Green with some trained bands, who, whilst the fighting was going on, had been exercising in Chelsea fields. It was dark when the trained bands, with the parliamentary regiments then recruited advanced again to Brentford, and the royalists fell back to the king's quarters at Hounslow. Skippon, the general of the city trained bands, came out with his well-disciplined shopkeepers and apprentices; talking now with one company, now with another, and calling them about him to make that famous oration which is more telling than all the rhetoric of Livy's Romans. "Come, my boys, my brave boys, let us pray heartily and fight heartily. I will run the same fortunes and hazards with you. Remember the cause is for God, and for defence of yourselves, your wives, and children. Come, my honest brave boys, pray heartily and fight heartily, and God will bless us." Twenty-four thousand of the parliamentary army were marshalled on that Sunday on Turnham Green.

Pacific counsels again prevailed. Hampden was recalled, when, in pursuance of a settled plan of attack, he was about to march by Acton and Osterley Park to take the royal army in the rear. Essex remained inactive, instead of advancing to Hounslow as had been agreed. The war, according to some writers, might have been brought to a conclusion in one day of certain triumph if the irresolution of Essex had yielded to the counsels of bolder spirits. The men were not yet in the field who were resolved to make war in earnest, whatever might be the consequences. Essex was brave and skilful; but, like many other good men, he fought with reluctance against his countrymen and his familiar friends.

After the royal army had withdrawn from the neighbourhood of London, the citizens, who had seen war so close at their doors, began to talk more earnestly of peace. But the exertions of this moderate party produced a corresponding determination of "the pious and movement party" that the war should be carried on with renewed energy. The Guildhall was the scene of many an angry debate. At length, on the 2nd of January, a petition from the common council was carried to the king at Oxford, in which he was asked to return to the capital, when all disturbance should be suppressed. Charles replied, that they could not maintain tranquillity amongst themselves. Amidst an immense uproar, Pym and Lord Manchester addressed the multitude, and the prospect of peace faded from the people's view.

The eastern counties formed themselves into an "Association," in the organisation of which Cromwell was the master-spirit. Under his vigorous direction, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Herts, not only kept the war away from their own localities, but furnished the most efficient support to its vigorous conduct in other quarters. The counties of Lincoln and Huntingdon soon joined this eastern association, with the like results. In the seven associated counties the cavaliers were never of any importance. During the winter a partisan warfare was going on in many places. The most important incident of these minor contests was the death of Lord Brooke at Lichfield. The war, as it proceeded, gradually assumed a fiercer character. It became to some extent, a war of classes.

In the beginning of 1643, the national feeling was exasperated by the landing of the queen with a foreign army. During a year she had been indefatigable in making the most of the funds she had acquired by the sale of the crown jewels, to purchase arms and ammunition, and to raise men. On the 22nd of February she arrived with four ships, and landed at Burlington. Batten, the admiral of the parliament had failed in intercepting her convoy; but he adopted measures of greater vigour than generosity when he arrived two days after the queen and her men had disembarked. These proceedings are described in the following characteristic letter of Henrietta Maria to Charles:

"One of the ships had done me the favour to flank my house, which fronted the pier, and before I could get out of bed, the balls were whistling upon me in such style that you may easily believe I loved not such music. Everybody came to force me to go out, the balls beating so on all the houses, that, dressed just as it happened, I went on foot to some distance from the village, to the shelter of a ditch, like those at Newmarket; but before we could reach it, the balls were singing round us in fine style, and a serjeant was killed twenty paces from me. We placed ourselves then under this shelter, during two hours that they were firing upon us, and the balls passing always over our heads, and sometimes covering us with dust. At last the admiral of Holland sent to tell them, that if they did not cease, he would fire upon them as enemies; that was done a little late, but he excuses himself on account of a fog he says there was. On this they stopped, and the tide went down, so that there was not water enough for them to stay where they were."

The earl of Newcastle, who came to escort the queen to York, had been authorised by the king to raise men for his service, "without examining their consciences"; and thus his army was styled by the parliament "the queen's army," and "the Catholic army." The prejudice against foreigners and Romanists thus came into renewed activity. To Oxford came commissioners from the parliament, towards the end of March, authorised to negotiate a suspension of arms, and a treaty of peace. Charles displayed his usual vacillation. He made concessions one day, and revoked them another. The parliament peremptorily recalled its commissioners. The battle must be fought out.

We have mentioned that during the Civil War the judges went their usual circuits. In the spring of 1643 this local administration of justice was temporarily suspended. The two houses of parliament, embarrassed by the king's possession of the great seal, ordered that the session of oyer and terminer should not be proceeded with "until it shall please God to end these distractions between the king and people." Charles issued a proclamation, commanding that the Eastern term should be held at Oxford instead of Westminster. The judges were ordered there to attend the king. Had this state of things continued, a greater evil would have ensued than the bloodshed and plunder of the war. But, by what was a practical compromise for the remedy of an enormous social mischief — one that might have led to a general insecurity of life and property — the parliament resolved to establish a great seal: and under this authority, and that of the king, judges executed their functions as usual, after a suspension of a few months.

During these unhappy times England was in a great degree exempt from crimes of violence, except those committed under the pretence of martial necessity. No bands of plunderers infested the country, no lawless and ferocious spirits who, as many passages of the histories of other countries record, considering a time of public commotion as their opportunity, held the peaceful in terror. England was safe from those massacres and spoliations which characterise a nation when the reins of just government are loosened. This immeasurable blessing she owed to her ancient civil organisation, and to that respect for law which has made the constable's staff the efficient representative of the sovereign's sceptre.

MONK BAR, PART OF OLD TOWN WALL OF YORK

The repose of Oxford was soon broken up by new military enterprises. The suspension of arms contemplated in the negotiations which commenced at the end of March, were, on the 15th of April, declared by the parliament to be at an end. On that day Essex marched his army to the siege of Reading. The king himself, on the 24th of April, set out from Oxford to head a force for the relief of the besieged. The army which he led was numerous and well appointed. At Caversham Bridge the royalist forces were repulsed by those of the parliament, and fell back upon Wallingford. That day Reading was surrendered to Essex. The cavaliers were indignant that the commander of the garrison had not longer held out; and he was tried, and sentenced to death. The king reprieved him. Hampden, who had taken an active part in the siege of Reading, now urged Essex to follow up their success by an attack upon Oxford. The bold counsels were overruled. The parliamentary commander gradually became distrusted by his party. His honour and his capacity were unquestionable; but he was too inclined to forego present good in the contemplation of uncertain evils.

Meanwhile, the war was proceeding with doubtful fortune in other quarters. Sir William Waller was successful against the royalists in the south and west. Fairfax was disputing with Lord Newcastle the supremacy of the north. The Cornish men, in arms for the king, had gained a battle over Lord Stamford. What could not be accomplished in the open field by the cavaliers was sought to be effected by a secret plot. The lady Aubigny had received a permission from the parliament, with a pass, to proceed to Oxford to transact some business arising out of the death of her husband, who was killed at Edgehill. On her return to London she was commissioned by the king to convey a box thither, with great care and secrecy. His majesty told her "it much concerned his own service." On the 31st of May, the members of the two houses were listening to a sermon in St. Margaret's church, when a note was delivered to Pym. He hastily left.

That night Edmund Waller, once famous as a poet, but whose "smooth" verse we now little regard, was arrested. His brother-in-law, Tomkins, Challoner (a citizen), and other persons, were also taken into custody. Waller was a member of parliament, and had been at Oxford, in March, with the commissioners There was unquestionably a plot to arm the royalists in London, to seize the persons of the parliamentary leaders, and to bring the king's troops into the capital. Waller, in a base spirit which contrasts with the conduct of most of the eminent of either party, made very abject confessions, with exaggerated denunciations of others, to save his own life. The parliament behaved with honourable moderation. Five persons were condemned by court-martial: two, Challoner and Tomkins, were executed. Waller was reserved, to exhibit in his literary character a subserviency to power which has fortunately ceased to be an attribute of poets — to eulogise the happy restoration of Charles II, as he had eulogised the sovereign attributes of the protector Cromwell. "He had much ado to save his life," says Aubrey,[l] "and in order to do it sold his estate in Bedfordshire, about 1300*l.* per annum, to Dr. Wright, for 10,000*l.* (much under value), which was procured in twenty-four hours' time, or else he had been hanged. With this money he bribed the house, which was the first time a house of commons was ever bribed."

Important events succeeded each other rapidly during this summer. Rupert's trumpet sounded to horse in Oxford streets on the 17th of June. After the occupation of Reading, the troops of Essex were distributed in cantonments about Thame and Wycombe. Rupert dashed in amongst the small towns and villages where these troops were quartered. Hampden had been visiting the scattered pickets, and urging upon Essex a greater concentration of his forces. On the morning of the 19th the prince was with a large force at Chalgrove Field, near Thame. Hampden, with a small detachment, attacked the cavaliers; expecting the main body of the parliamentary army soon to come up with reinforcements. The man who had triumphed in so many civil victories fell in this skirmish. On the first charge he was shot in the shoulder. The parliamentary troops were completely routed before Essex came up. The troops of Rupert were in the plain between the battle field and Thame, where the wounded Hampden desired to go for help. A brook crossed the grounds through which he must pass. By a sudden exercise of the old spirit of the sportsman he cleared the leap, and reached Thame; there to die, after six days of agony. "O Lord, save my bleeding country," were his last words.[g]

Macaulay's Estimate of Hampden

The public life of Hampden is surrounded by no obscurity. His history more particularly from the year 1640 to his death, is the history of England. The celebrated Puritan leader is an almost solitary instance of a great man who neither sought nor shunned greatness, who found glory only because glory lay in the plain path of duty. During more than forty years he was known to his country neighbours as a gentleman of cultivated mind, of high principles, of polished address, happy in his family, and active in the discharge of local duties; and to political men, as an honest, industrious, and sensible member of parliament, not eager to display his talents, stanch to his party, and attentive to the interests of his constituents. A great and terrible crisis came. A direct attack was made by an arbitrary government on a sacred right of Englishmen, on a right which was the chief security for all their other rights. The nation looked round for a defender. Calmly and unostentatiously the plain Buckinghamshire esquire placed himself at the head of his countrymen, and right before the face and across the path of tyranny.

The times grew darker and more troubled. Public service, perilous, arduous, delicate, was required; and to every service the intellect and the courage of this wonderful man were found fully equal. He became a debater of the first order, a most dexterous manager of the house of commons, a negotiator, a soldier. He showed himself as competent to direct a campaign as to conduct the business of the petty sessions. We can scarcely express the admiration which we feel for a mind so great, and, at the same time, so healthful and so well proportioned, so willingly contracting itself to the humblest duties, so easily expanding itself to the highest, so contented in repose, so powerful in action. Almost every part of this virtuous and blameless life which is not hidden from us in modest privacy is a precious and splendid portion of our national history.

His enemies have allowed that he was a man in whom virtue showed itself in its mildest and least austere form. With the morals of a Puritan, he had the manners of an accomplished courtier.

He had indeed left none his like behind him. There still remained, indeed, in his party, many acute intellects, many eloquent tongues, many brave and honest hearts. There still remained a rugged and clownish soldier, half fanatic, half buffoon, whose talents, discerned as yet only by one penetrating eye, were equal to all the highest duties of the soldier and the prince. But in Hampden, and in Hampden alone, were united all the qualities which, at such a crisis, were necessary to save the state, the valour and energy of Cromwell, the discernment and eloquence of Vane, the humanity and moderation of Manchester, the stern integrity of Hale, the ardent public spirit of Sidney. Others might possess the qualities which were necessary to save the popular party in the crisis of danger; he alone had both the power and the inclination to restrain its excesses in the hour of triumph. Others could conquer; he alone could reconcile. A heart as bold as his brought up the cuirassiers who turned the tide of battle on Marston Moor. As skilful an eye as his watched the Scotch army descending from the heights over Dunbar. But it was when to the sullen tyranny of Laud and Charles had succeeded the fierce conflict of sects and factions, ambitious of ascendency and burning for revenge, it was when the vices and ignorance which the old tyranny had generated threatened the new freedom with destruction, that England missed the sobriety, the self-command, the perfect soundness of judgment, the perfect rectitude of intention, to which the history of revolutions furnishes no parallel, or furnishes a parallel in Washington alone.[m]

GLOUCESTER AND NEWBURY

Four months had elapsed between the landing of the queen in England and her return to her royal husband. [Meanwhile, parliament had impeached her of high treason "for assisting her husband with arms."] She was a bold and determined woman, who aspired to direct councils and to lead armies. On the 27th of May she writes to the king from York, "I shall stay to besiege Leeds at once, although I am dying to join you; but I am so enraged to go away without having beaten these rascals, that, if you will permit me, I will do that, and then will go to join you; and if I go away I am afraid that they would not be beaten." She had her favourites, especially Jermyn and Digby, whose advancement she was constantly urging. The scandalous chroniclers of the time did not hesitate in casting the most degrading suspicions upon the queen in connection with one of these. Jermyn was made a peer.

On the 11th of July the queen entered Stratford-on-Avon, at the head of four thousand horse and foot soldiers. She slept at the house in which Shakespeare lived and died — then in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Hall. On the 13th she met Charles where his first battle had been fought, and from Keinton they proceeded to Oxford. The tidings of a victory on the 15th over the parliamentary forces at Roundway Down in Wiltshire greeted their arrival. A previous victory over Sir William Waller at Lansdown, in Somersetshire, filled the royalists with the most sanguine hopes. Such partial successes on the other side as the brave defence of Nottingham Castle by Colonel Hutchinson had no material influence upon the state of affairs.

In the summer of 1643 the power of the parliament is visibly in danger. On the 27th of July, Bristol, a city only exceeded by London in population and wealth, is surrendered to Rupert, after an assault, with terrible slaughter on both sides. A design of Sir John Hotham to surrender Hull to the king was detected. He and his son were committed to the Tower on a charge of betraying the cause of the parliament. London was in a state of unusual agitation. The lords came to resolutions, upon a proposal of peace, of a far more moderate character than had previously been determined on. There was a conference between the two houses, in which the upper house urged that "these unnatural dissensions" would destroy all the former blessings of peace and abundance. The commons, by a majority of nineteen, decided that the proposals of the lords should be considered.

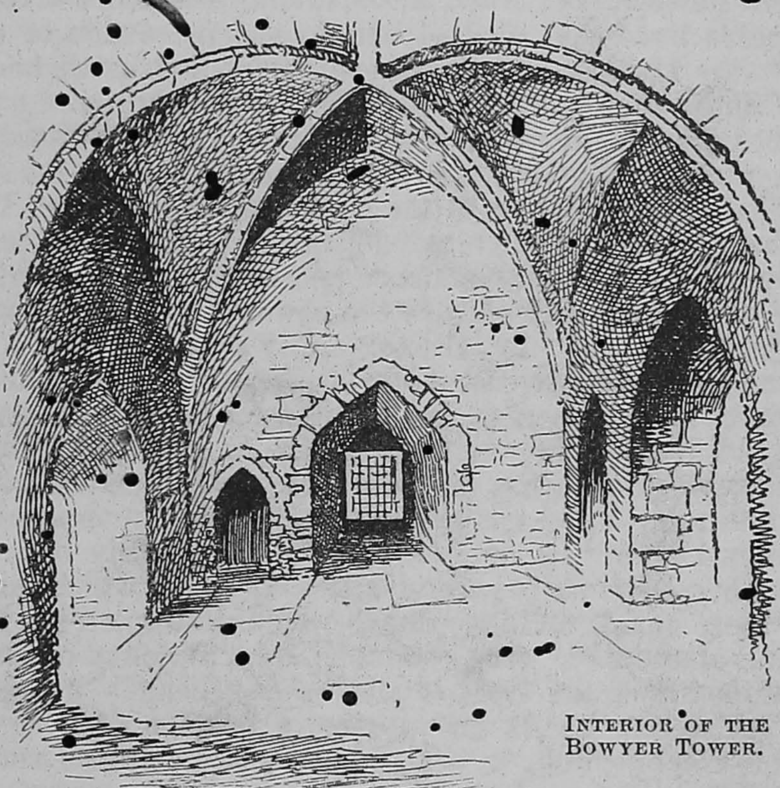
The city was in an uproar. A petition from the common-council called for the rejection of the proposals. Multitudes surrounded the houses to enforce the same demand. The proposals were now rejected by a majority of seven. An attempt was then made to enforce the demand for peace by popular clamour. Bands of women, with men in women's clothes, beset the doors of the house of commons, crying out, "Give us up the traitors who are against peace. We'll tear them in pieces. Give us up that rascal Pym." The military forced them away; but they refused to disperse. They were at last fired upon, and two were killed.

Many peers now left parliament and joined the king at Oxford, amongst whom was Lord Holland. Those who remained, peers or commoners, saw that the greatest danger was in their own dissensions. The royalist army was growing stronger in every quarter. London was again in peril.

Had there been unanimity in the councils of the king at this period of dissensions in London amongst the people; with the two houses divided amonst themselves; men of influence deserting the parliamentary cause; no man yet at the head of the parliamentary forces who appeared capable of striking a great blow, — it is probable that if he had marched upon the capital the war would have been at an end. There would have been peace — and a military despotism. Charles sent Sir Philip Warwick to the earl of Newcastle to propose a plan of co-operation between the armies of the south and north. "But

I found him very averse to this," Warwick[k] writes, "and perceived that he apprehended nothing more than to be joined to the king's army, or to serve under Prince Rupert; for he designed himself to be the man that should turn the scale, and to be a self-subsisting and distinct army, wherever he was." With this serious difficulty in concentrating his forces Charles determined upon besieging Gloucester. The garrison consisted of fifteen hundred men, under Edward Massey, the parliamentary governor. The inhabitants were under five thousand.

The people of Gloucester immediately set fire to all the houses outside the walls. From the 10th of August till the 6th of September these resolute people defended their city with a resolution and bravery unsurpassed in this warfare. All differences having been reconciled in London, the earl of Essex took the command of a force destined for the relief of "the godly city." At the head of fourteen thousand men he set out from London on the 24th of August. On the 5th of September he had arrived by forced marches within five miles of Gloucester. The king sent a messenger to him with pacific proposals. The answer was returned in a spirit of sturdy heroism. "The parliament gave me no commission to treat, but to relieve Gloucester; I will do it, or leave my body beneath its walls." The soldiers shouted, "No propositions." Gloucester was relieved. From the Prestbury hills Essex saw the flames of burning huts rising from the king's quarter. The royal army had moved away. On the 8th the parliamentary general entered the beleaguered city, bearing provisions to the famished people, and bestowing the due meed of honour upon their courage and constancy. On the 10th he was on his march back to London.



INTERIOR OF THE BOWYER TOWER.

Of the army of fourteen thousand men which marched to the relief of Gloucester, four regiments were of the London militia. These regiments were mainly composed of artisans and apprentices. At Prestbury they had to fight their way through Rupert's squadrons and to try how pikemen could stand up against a charge of horse. In less than a fortnight their prowess was to be proved in a pitched battle field. Charles and his army were lying round Sudeley Castle to the north-east of Gloucester. Essex marched to the south. In Cirencester which he surprised he found valuable stores for his men. The king's army moved in the same direction. Essex had passed Farringdon and was rapidly advancing upon Newbury on his road to Reading when his scattered horse were attacked by Rupert and his cavaliers. There was a sharp conflict for several hours and Essex was compelled to halt at Hungerford.

When Essex came near to Newbury on the 19th of September, he found the royal army in possession of the town. The king had come there two hours before him. Essex was without shelter, without provisions. The road to London was barred against him. He "must make his way through or starve." On the morning of the 20th, the outposts of each force became engaged, and the battle was soon general. It was fought all day "with great fierceness and courage"; the cavaliers charging "with a kind of contempt of the enemy"; and the roundheads making the cavaliers understand that a year of discipline had taught them some of the best lessons of warfare. "The London trained bands and auxiliary regiments (of whose inexperience of danger, or any kind of service, beyond the easy practise of their postures in the Artillery Garden, men had till then too cheap an estimation), behaved themselves to wonder; and were, in truth, the preservation of that army that day," says Clarendon; "for they stood as a bulwark and rampire to defend the rest; and, when their wings of horse were scattered and dispersed, kept their ground so steadily, that, though Prince Rupert himself led up the choice horse to charge them, and endured their storm of small shot, he could make no impression upon their stand of pikes, but was forced to wheel about." The men of London, taken from the loom and the anvil, from the shops of Ludgate or the wharfs of Billingsgate, stood like a wall, as such men have since stood in many a charge of foreign enemies. On the night of the battle of Newbury, each army remained in the position it had occupied before that day of carnage. The loss of royalists of rank was more than usually great. Three noblemen fell, for whom there was lamentation beyond the ranks of their party — Lord Carnarvon, Lord Sunderland, and Lord Falkland.

Falkland, especially, still lives in memory, as one of the noblest and purest — the true English gentleman in heart and intellect. What is called his apostasy has been bitterly denounced, and not less intemperately justified, by historical partisans. Arnold,[n] whose intellect was as clear as his feelings were ardent in the cause of just liberty, has thus written of Falkland: "A man who leaves the popular cause when it is triumphant, and joins the party opposed to it, without really changing his principles and becoming a renegade, is one of the noblest characters in history. He may not have the clearest judgment or the firmest wisdom; he may have been mistaken, but as far as he is concerned personally, we cannot but admire him. But such a man changes his party not to conquer but to die. He does not allow the caresses of his new friends to make him forget, that he is a sojourner with them and not a citizen. His old friends may have used him ill, they may be dealing unjustly and cruelly; still their faults, though they may have driven him into exile, cannot banish from his mind the consciousness that with them is his true home, that their cause is habitually just and habitually the weaker, although now bewildered and led astray by an unwonted gleam of success. He protests so strongly against their evil that he chooses to die by their hands rather than in their company; but die he must, for there is no place left on earth where his sympathies can breathe freely; he is obliged to leave the country of his affections, and life elsewhere is intolerable. This man is no renegade, no apostate, but the purest of martyrs: for what testimony to truth can be so pure as that which is given uncheered by any sympathy; given not against enemies amidst applauding friends; but against friends, amidst unpitying or half-rejoicing enemies. And such a martyr was Falkland!"

It was not Falkland's duty to be in this battle. He was urged to stay away. "No," he said, "I am weary of the times; I foresee much misery to my country, but I believe I shall be out of it before night." Clarendon tells us why his life had become a burthen to Falkland: "From the entrance into this unnatural war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him, which he had never been used to. When there was any overture or hope of peace, he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly solicitous to press anything which he thought might promote it; and, sitting among his friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word Peace, Peace; and would passionately profess, 'that the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and desolation the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart.'"

The relief of Gloucester and the battle of Newbury were fatal to many of the sanguine hopes of a speedy victory over disunited rebels which the royalists up to this time had entertained. They had seen how the despised trained bands had been disciplined into good soldiers. They had seen how such men as held the "godly city of Gloucester" for a whole month against the best troops of the king would die rather than surrender. There was a fatal concurrence of events to render it certain that although the queen was bestowing places upon her favourite courtiers the real power of the monarchy was fading away. The royalists called the battle of Newbury "a very great victory." Before this issue had been tried the parliament had appointed commissioners to negotiate a treaty of alliance with the Scots; for the parliament felt weak and dispirited.[1]

THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT WITH SCOTLAND

Sir Henry Vane, the chief negotiator, had acceded to the imperative demand of the Scots parliament that the religious system of Scotland should be adopted as that of England. Vane, who was an Independent, and a supporter of toleration, contrived, after great debate, to satisfy the zealous Presbyterians, who proposed "a covenant." Vane stipulated for a "solemn league and covenant." This obligation was to be taken by both nations. The Scots proposed a clause "for the preservation of the king's person." Vane added, "in preservation of the laws of the land and liberty of the subject." To the clause for "reducing the doctrine and discipline of both churches to the pattern of the best reformed," Vane added "according to the word of God."[2] This solemn league and covenant was to bind those who subscribed to it, "to endeavour, without respect of persons, the extirpation of popery and prelacy."

On the 25th of September, all the members of parliament, assembled in St. Margaret's church, swore to maintain "the solemn league and covenant." The oath was signed by two hundred and twenty-eight members of the commons. It was adopted in the city with enthusiastic demonstrations of religious fervour. On the next day Essex was received in London with a warmth that

[[1] "The parliament," says May,[o] the historian, "was now in a low ebb; they had no forces at all to keep the field, their main armies being quite ruined, and no hope in appearance left, but to preserve awhile those forts and towns which they then possessed; nor could they long hope to preserve them, unless the fortune of the field should change."]

[[2] As Gardiner[b] notes, Vane, who was eager for religious liberty, slipped in these words which the Scots could not reject, but which afterward enabled every Englishman to deny any distasteful part of the creed as not "according to the word of God." Gardiner emphasises the distinction between this Solemn League and Covenant and the covenant solely of the Scots in 1638.]

may have consoled him for some previous complaints of his want of energy, and for annoyances which he had received in his command. The lords and commons gave him an assurance of their confidence: and he remained the general-in-chief, without the divided powers which had created a jealousy between himself and Sir William Waller.

GROWING IMPORTANCE OF CROMWELL

Whilst the members of parliament in London are lifting up their hands in reverent appeal to Heaven as they accept the covenant, and the people are shouting around the earl of Essex as the banners are displayed which he won in the Newbury fight, there is one man, fast growing into one of the most notable of men, who is raising troops, marching hither and thither, fighting whenever blows are needful—work which demands more instant attention than the ceremony of St. Margaret's church. In the early stages of his wonderful history nothing is more interesting than to trace the steps of this man, now Colonel Cromwell. Whatever he says or does has some marks of the vigour of his character—so original, so essentially different in its manifestations from the customary displays of public men. In Cromwell's speeches and writings we must not look for the smooth and equable movement of common diplomatists and orators. His grand earnestness makes the artifices of rhetoric appear petty by comparison. The fluency of the scholarly writer is weak by the side of his homely phrases. He is urging some great friends in Suffolk to raise recruits, and choose captains of horse: "A few honest men are better than numbers. * * * * I had rather have a plain russet-coated captain, who knows what he fights for, and loves what he knows, than that which you call 'a gentleman,' and is nothing else. I honour a gentleman that is so indeed."

In this spirit Cromwell is forming his "ironsides," and at this period is heading them in the earliest of those famous charges which determined so many battles. On the 10th of October, in the skirmish of Winceby, near Horncastle, his career is well nigh ended. His horse was killed at the first charge; and as he rose, he was knocked down by Sir Ingram Hopton, who led the royalists. He seized another horse, and the enemy was routed. Denzil Holles,[p] in his memoirs, more than insinuates doubts of Cromwell's personal courage. He calls him "as errand a coward, as he is notoriously perfidious, ambitious, and hypocritical"; and states, of his own knowledge, that he basely "kept out of the field at Keinton battle, where he, with his troop of horse, came not in, impudently and ridiculously affirming, the day after, that he had been all that day seeking the army and place of fight, though his quarters were but at a village near hand." We must receive this testimony for what it is worth, as coming from one who had become a bitter enemy of Cromwell, as the leader of the Independents. For the ambition of such a man as Cromwell, whether as a soldier or a politician, there was now ample room. His religious party was fast rising into importance. The secretaries of all denominations eagerly gathered under the standard of a leader who insisted that his men should be religious, but he left the particular form of religion to their own choice. The religious principle of the Civil War thus became more and more prominent, when enthusiasts of every denomination regarded it as a struggle for the right of private judgment in matters of faith, and despised every authority but that of the Bible.

Such a leader as Cromwell had tougher materials to conquer with than

Hampden, with his green-coated hunters of the Chilterns. He had themes to discourse upon in his oratory, so forcible, however, regardless of proem and peroration, which, far more than Pym's eloquent declamation, stirred the hearts of a parliament that had come to consider "the power of godliness" to be a higher cause than "the liberties of the kingdoms." Cromwell's opportunity was come. The man who had destroyed arbitrary taxation, and the man who had sent the counsellor of a military despotism to the block, were no more.

The year 1643 was memorable for the deaths of three of the greatest of the early patriots of the Long Parliament — Hampden, Falkland, and Pym. We have seen how two of the illustrious three died on the battle-field. Pym died on the 8th of December, having sunk under a lingering illness. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, his body being carried to its resting place on the shoulders of ten of the leading speakers and influential members of the house of commons.[g]

Clarendon[f] called Pym "the most popular man that ever lived." Parliament voted £10,000 to pay his debts. He had neglected his own affairs in the service of the country.[a]

Gardiner's Estimate of Pym

Peace may be made in two ways, by one side capitulating to the other, or by the discovery of a compromise which may give effect to the better aims of both sides. Pym was resolutely set against a capitulation, and he did not rise to the height of a mediator. His adversaries of the peace party, led by Holles and Maynard, had as little idea of a compromise as he had, and they were foolish enough to suppose it possible to obtain the assent of Charles and his supporters to the establishment of a Puritan church. Pym's policy was at least coherent with itself. In 1621, on his first prominent appearance in political life, he had advocated the formation of an association against popery. The protestation of 1641 was an attempt to carry this plan into practice and to make it at the same time available against royalist intrigues. The parliamentary covenant promulgated after the discovery of Waller's plot in June 1643 was an enlargement of the same project, and the solemn league and covenant in September, 1643, embraced the three kingdoms.

As long as he lived Pym was the soul of the parliamentary resistance to the king, but it is in the covenants and associations which he brought into existence that his permanent contribution to English political development is to be found. Eliot hoped to rally parliament and the constituencies as a whole to the cause which he maintained to be just. Strafford hoped to rouse the devotion of the nation as a whole to the king whose crown was supported by his own masterful intellect. Pym was the founder of party government in England. He recognised from the first that there were differences of religious opinions amongst his fellow-countrymen, and he hoped to rally round a common purpose those who on the whole felt as he did himself, with such liberty of opinion as was possible under such conditions. If the enterprise failed it was partly because he was assailed by intrigue as well as by fair opposition, and in his fierce struggle against intrigue learned to cling to doctrines which were not sufficiently expansive for the government of a nation, partly because the limitations of government itself and the insufficiency of force to solve a complicated religious and political problem were in his time very imperfectly understood. At least Pym prepared the way for the immediate victory of his party by summoning the Scots and by the financial measures which made the campaigns of 1644 and 1645 possible. He did not, however, live to reap the harvest which was due to his efforts.[q]

RELIGIOUS FANATICISM

The men who now came upon the scene as the chief actors were of a different stamp than these earlier tribunes of the people. Henceforward the war will assume a broader character and a fiercer aspect. The prospect of accommodation will grow more and more faint. The religious element will go forward into what all who look impartially upon these times must consider as relentless persecution by one dominant party and wild fanaticism amongst sectaries not yet banded into a common purpose. The arbitrary imposition of the covenant upon every minister of the Anglican church was the first great result of the alliance with the Scots. The Presbyterian parliament of England became more violent for conformity than the court of high commission which the parliament had destroyed. The canons of Laud had fallen lightly upon men who were indifferent about the position of the altar, or the precise amount of genuflexions; but the imposition of the covenant upon all the beneficed clergy was the declaration of an intolerant tyranny against the most conscientious.

The number of incumbents ejected from their livings, for their refusal to sign this obligation, has been variously reckoned. According to Neal[r] the historian of the Puritans, it was sixteen hundred; according to Walker[s] an extreme high churchman, it reached eight thousand. The statement of Walker is evidently a gross exaggeration. The sixteen hundred of Neal was about a fifth of the benefices of England. Whatever was the number of ejected ministers, and however some might have been, as was alleged, of evil lives, the tyranny of this measure is most odious, as coming from men who had themselves struggled against religious persecution; as Hallam[t] says: "The remorseless and indiscriminate bigotry of Presbyterianism might boast that it had heaped disgrace on Walton, and driven Lydiat to beggary; that it trampled on the old age of Hales, and embittered with insult the dying moments of Chillingworth." Amongst the eminent public men who advocated the covenant as a political measure, there were some who abhorred it as an instrument of persecution. The younger Vane, the chief promoter of it, declared upon the scaffold, that "the holy ends therein contained I fully assent to, and have been desirous to observe; but the rigid way of prosecuting it, and the oppressing uniformity that hath been endeavoured by it, I never approved."[g]

THE IRISH "CESSATION" AND THE SCOTCH INVASION

We have seen reasons for suspecting the king of authorizing the rising of the Irish Catholics. These men had now settled down to a kind of independent state; Kilkenny was the seat of government, where a general assembly was held, and a supreme council appointed to act as an executive. Ambassadors were to be sent to the pope and to the great Catholic princes. The English and Scottish forces had, however, meantime been reinforced, and they had frequently beaten the rebels in the field, and recovered several towns and forts. Charles had under various pretexts detained the earl of Leicester in England, that the earl (now marquis) of Ormonde, who was a zealous royalist, might have the authority in Ireland. The parliament, always jealous of the king's proceedings in that country, had sent over two of their members to watch matters there; but Ormonde after some time sent them back, and he removed Parsons, and even committed him, Sir John Temple, and two other officers of state, to prison. The parliament, now with the tide of war rather running against them, viewed Ireland as of minor importance, and the Catholics had a fair prospect of becoming complete masters of the island; but they were composed of two parties, differing in origin though agreeing in religion, and those of the English blood did not wish to cast off their allegiance. Moreover, they knew the power of England, and saw clearly that if the parliament should conquer the king, a fearful vengeance would be taken for the atrocities that had been committed.

The proposals of Ormonde for a cessation of arms during a twelvemonth, though opposed by the mere Irish, were therefore listened to, and on the 15th of September (just four days before the battle of Newbury) the cessation was signed, the Irish agreeing to give the king 30,000*l.*, half in money, half in cattle. In the following November Charles appointed Ormonde lord-lieutenant, and directed him to send over the regiments that were serving in Ireland. The intelligence of the cessation did injury to the cause of the king in England, for many deserted his party on account of it. In the king's defence it may be said, that he only followed the example of the parliament, who had sent to invite the Scots. But there was a wide difference between the Scots and the sanguinary bands whom Charles was willing to bring over from Ireland [1] to aid in restoring his despotism.*u*

The year 1644 opened with great events. On the 19th of January the Scottish army entered England. They marched from Dunbar, "in a great frost and snow"—"up to the knees in snow," said the narratives. Leslie, now earl of Leven, commanded them. The marquis of Newcastle was not strong enough long to oppose them. He had given up his attempt to take Hull, and was in winter-quarters at York. Leslie's army marched on to Newcastle, which they summoned to surrender. The governor and garrison were faithful to their trust. The Scots were straitened for provisions; and the royalist army of fourteen thousand men was intercepting their supplies. They determined to advance further into the heart of the country. At this juncture the English regiments that had been recalled by the king from Ireland were besieging the parliamentary garrison at Nantwich. Sir Thomas Fairfax hurried to the relief of the place, and totally defeated this Anglo-Irish army, which was under the command of Sir John Byron. [They are said to have lost 500 killed and 1500 prisoners. Among these last was Colonel Monk, afterward famous.]

THE MONGREL PARLIAMENT AT OXFORD

Negotiation after negotiation between the king and the parliament having failed, and the appeal to the sword still remaining of doubtful issue, some strong measure was thought expedient to lower the character of the two houses sitting at Westminster. The king's notion was to issue a proclamation declaring the parliament to be dissolved; forbidding them to meet; and requiring all persons to reject their authority. Charles very unwillingly accepted Hyde's own counter-proposition. It was that of summoning the peers and commons that had adhered to the royal cause to meet him in parliament at Oxford. On the 22nd of December, 1643, the proclamation convoking this parliament was issued. On the 22nd of January, 1644, the parliament, or more truly convention, met at Oxford. A letter written from this assembly

[[1] It is to be remembered, however, that these troops were not native Irishmen, but English soldiers hardened to the ruthless methods employed in Ireland.]

to the earl of Essex, expressing a desire for peace, was signed by forty-three peers, and one hundred and eighteen commoners. Others were absent on the king's service. In the same January, according to Whitelocke, two hundred and eighty members appeared in the house of commons, besides those absent on the parliamentary services. A large majority of the commons were with the Westminster parliament; a large majority of peers with that of Oxford.

The measure might have been productive of advantage to the royal cause, had it not soon been manifest that the king and queen were impatient under any interference with the authority of royalty. This was more fatal than the absolute refusal of the parliament at Westminister to recognise "those persons now assembled at Oxford, who, contrary to their duty, have deserted your parliament," as they wrote to the king on the 9th of March. The parliament at Oxford continued to sit till the 16th of April, voting taxes and loans, passing resolutions of fidelity, but irritating the king in their refusal to be mere instruments for registering his edicts. But they produced no visible effect upon public opinion; and Charles congratulated the queen upon their being "freed from the place of all mutinous motions, his mongrel parliament," when he had willed its adjournment.

Whilst at Oxford the king's "mongrel parliament" only proved a hindrance to the vigorous prosecution of the war, the parliament at Westminster had adopted the rational course of strengthening their executive authority. A council was formed under the title of "The committee of the two kingdoms," consisting of seven lords, fourteen members of the commons, and four Scottish commissioners. The entire conduct of the war, the correspondence with foreign states, whatever belongs to the executive power as distinguished from the legislative, devolved upon this committee. In the spring of 1644 the parliament had five armies in the field, paid by general or local taxation, and by voluntary contributions. Including the Scottish army there were altogether 56,000 men under arms; the English forces being commanded, as separate armies, by Essex, Waller, Manchester, and Fairfax.

In the west, the royal forces under Hopton had advanced as far as Arundel. Waller, who had about ten thousand men, was at Farnham, whence marching by night he surprised and cut to pieces a royal regiment at Alton, and then reduced Arundel (Jan. 6). The king having sent his general, the earl of Brentford, to reinforce Hopton, the two armies, about equal in number, engaged at Alresford (Mar. 29); the royalists were defeated with the loss of five hundred men, and Waller then took and plundered Winchester. Newark-upon-Trent, one of the strongest holds of the royalists, had been for some time besieged by the parliamentary forces. Prince Rupert, who was in Cheshire, having drawn together a good body of horse, prepared to relieve it. He marched with his usual rapidity, and came so unexpectedly on the besiegers (Mar. 22), that after a brief resistance they were glad to be allowed to depart, leaving their arms, ordnance, and ammunition. Lord Fairfax, being joined by his son Sir Thomas, engaged (April 11) at Selby, Colonel Bellasis, who commanded the royalists in Yorkshire, and routed him; Newcastle, who was at Durham, immediately fell back to York, where he was besieged by the Scots and the troops of Fairfax, to whose aid, some time after (June 3), came the troops of the eastern counties (fourteen thousand in number) under Lord Kimbolton, now earl of Manchester, and his lieutenant-general, Oliver Cromwell. Essex and Waller were at this time both gradually approaching Oxford with the intention of confining the king's forces to that city.

The queen, who was in a situation that made the thought of remaining in a city exposed to siege very irksome, determined to go to a place of greater safety. She went to Exeter in April, and never saw Charles again. He remained shut up in Oxford. Its walls were surrounded by lines of defence; but the blockading forces had become so strong that resistance appeared to be hopeless. On the night of the 3rd of June the king secretly left the city and passed safely between the two hostile armies. There had been jealousies and disagreements between Essex and Waller. The committee of the two kingdoms had assigned to Waller the command of the army of the west, in the event of the separation of the two armies. Essex, supported by the council of war, resolved to march to the west himself. He was directed by the committee to retrace his steps, and go in pursuit of the king. Essex replied to the committee that their orders were opposed to military discipline; and he marched on. Waller, meanwhile, had gone in pursuit of the king into Worcestershire. Charles suddenly returned to Oxford; and then, defeated Waller who had hastened back to encounter him at Cropredy Bridge, near Banbury. Essex was before the walls of Exeter, in which city the queen had given birth to a princess. The king hastened to the west. He was strong enough to meet either of the parliamentary armies, thus separated.


PRINCE RUPERT
(1619–1682)

Meanwhile the north of England became the scene of the most momentous conflict that distracted England had yet beheld. The dashing enterprise of Rupert in the relief of Lathom House, so bravely held by Charlotte de la Trémouille, countess of Derby, became of small importance amidst the greater event that was to follow in the north. The moated house of the Stanleys had been defended by the heroic countess for eighteen weeks against a detachment of the army of Fairfax. Their artillery could produce little impression upon the thick walls and lofty towers; and the demand to submit herself, her children and followers to the mercy of parliament, produced from the lady, immortalised by history and romance, the reply, that "the mercies of the wicked are cruel." Rupert hung the walls of Lathom House with the parliamentary banners which he had captured in a fierce battle at Bolton; and he went on towards York to a fiercer strife and a perilous defeat. The combined English and Scottish armies were besieging York. Rupert received a letter from the king, containing these words: "I command and conjure you, by the duty and the affection which I know you bear me, that all new enterprises laid aside, you immediately march, according to your first intention, with all your force to the relief of York." He did march. Marston Moor saw the result.

MARSTON MOOR, LOSTWITHIEL, AND NEWBURY (1644 A.D.)

As Rupert advanced towards York with twenty thousand men, the allied English and Scots retired. Their councils were not unanimous. Some were for fighting, some for retreating, and at length they moved to Tadcaster. Rupert entered York with two thousand cavalry. The earl of Newcastle was in command there. He counselled a prudent delay. The impetuous Rupert said he had the orders of the king for his guidance, and he was resolved to fight. Newcastle was indignant with the prince but he left him to his own course. On the 2nd of July, having rested two days in and near York and enabled the city to be newly provisioned, the royalist army went forth to fight. They met their enemy on Marston Moor. The two armies looked upon each other for two hours, with scarcely a cannon-shot fired. Newcastle asked Rupert what office he was to take. He replied that the earl might repose, for he did not intend to begin the action till the morrow. Newcastle went to his carriage, and left the prince to his supremacy.

The sun was in the west on the July evening when the battle began.[1] The sun had scarcely set when the battle was finished; and there were four thousand one hundred and fifty bodies lying dead on that plain. The issue would have been more than doubtful, but for Cromwell, who for the first time had headed his Ironsides in a great pitched battle. The right wing of the parliamentary army was scattered. Rupert was chasing and slaying the Scottish cavalry. The centre of each army, each centre composed of infantry, were fighting with the sturdy resolution of Englishmen, whatever be the quarrel. The charges of Fairfax and Cromwell decided the day. The flight of the Scottish horse proclaimed that the victory of the cavaliers was complete; and a messenger who reached Oxford from Newark announced such news to the enraptured courtiers as made the gothic pinnacles red with bonfires. In another day or two the terrible truth was known.

The victory of the parliamentary armies was so complete,[2] that the earl of Newcastle had left York, and had embarked at Scarborough for the continent. [He said he could not bear the laughter of the court.] Rupert marched away also, with the wreck of his army, to Chester. Each had announced his determination to the other, as they gloomily entered York on the night of the battle. Fifteen hundred prisoners, all the artillery, more than a hundred banners, remained with the victors. And the men who had achieved this success were the despised Puritans; those who had been a laughing-stock for half a century. "We had all the evidence," writes Cromwell to his brother-in-law, Colonel Valentine Walton, "of an absolute victory obtained by the Lord's blessing upon the godly party principally. We never charged but we routed the enemy. The left wing, which I commanded, being our own horse, saving

[1 "Of this battle, the bloodiest of the whole war, I must leave the reader to imagine it in general the most enormous hurly-burly of fire and smoke, and steel-flashings, and death-tumult, ever seen in those regions: the end of which, about ten at night, was, 'Four thousand one hundred and fifty bodies to be buried, and total ruin to the king's affairs in those northern parts.' The armies were not completely drawn up till after five in the evening; there was a ditch between them; they stood facing one another, motionless, except the exchange of a few cannon-shots, for an hour and half. Newcastle thought there would be no fighting till the morrow, and had retired to his carriage for the night. There is some shadow of surmise that the stray cannon-shot, which proved fatal to Oliver's nephew, did also, rouse Oliver's humour to the charging point, bring on the general battle. 'The Prince of Plunderers, invincible hitherto, here first tasted the steel of Oliver's Ironsides, and did not in the least like it. 'The Scots delivered their fire with such constancy and swiftness, it was as if the whole air had become an element of fire,' in the ancient summer gloaming there.'—CARLYLE.]

[2 According to Gardiner Rupert and Newcastle were decidedly outnumbered by the parliamentary troops.]

a few Scots in our rear, beat all the prince's horse. God made them as stubble to our swords."

The queen, sinking under a serious illness, unable to call back the high spirit which had made her so determined in her councils and her actions, now fled to France. Essex was approaching with his army towards Exeter. She asked a safe conduct from him to go to Bath or Bristol. He offered to wait upon her himself to London;[1] but he could not obey her desire to go to any other place without directions from the parliament. On the 9th of July she wrote a letter from Truro to bid her husband adieu. "I am hazarding my life that I may not incommode our affairs." She embarked from Falmouth on the 14th, and landed at Brest.

Soon after her departure the king's arms had a considerable success over Lord Essex at Lostwithiel, in Cornwall. The parliamentary party were in alarm. The army was indeed in a sad condition. Essex wrote in vain for assistance; in vain urged a diversion, to take off the pressure of the royalist army by which he was surrounded. By the latter end of August he was encompassed by the royalists. The greater part of his army desired to capitulate, though his cavalry had succeeded in passing the enemy's posts. Essex hastily left the camp to avoid that humiliation, leaving Skippon in command. The old campaigner proposed to his officers to follow the example of the cavalry, at all risks. But Charles offered honourable terms of capitulation, only requiring the surrender of the artillery, arms, and ammunition.

The army of Essex returned as fugitives to London, or dispersed through the country. He wrote from Plymouth an account of "the greatest blow that ever befel our party." His fidelity to the cause he had adopted not only saved him from reproach, but the parliament hastened to give him a new mark of their confidence. The king was resolved to march to London from the west. Montrose was in arms in Scotland, and had gained two battles. The time for a great blow was thought to have arrived. Three armies under Essex, Manchester, and Waller were called out for the defence of the capital.

Essex, though retaining his authority, did not join the troops which fought the second battle of Newbury on the 27th of October. Manchester was there in command. This battle was hotly contested without any decisive results. The king withdrew to Oxford, renewing his project of advancing to London. The serious differences between the Presbyterians and the Independents were brought to an issue by this second battle of Newbury. There were no rejoicings in the city that the king had been checked in his approach. There was gloom and dissatisfaction amongst the people, which was evidently encouraged by men of bolder resolves than those who had the conduct of military affairs.[g]

After the battle of Newbury, when the king retired, Waller's cavalry pursued until a twice repeated order from Manchester brought him up. Waller and Cromwell begged Manchester to bring up his infantry, but he felt the risk too great. He preferred to pause and capture Donnington Castle. The attack was repulsed and shortly after the king relieved the castle, and got away safely again. This weak conclusion due to Manchester's hesitating policy embittered Cromwell against him.[a]

[[1] The queen, who had lain-in on the 16th of June, sent about the end of the month to Essex for a safe conduct to go to Bath for her health. He replied that he could not without the direction of parliament, but that he would not only give her a safe conduct, but accompany her himself to London — where she was impeached! "It is painful," says Godwin[x] "to see the effect of civil broils as displayed in such instances as this; and we cannot but wonder at this style of reply from a commander so noted for good-breeding and a generous disposition as Essex, in which the brutality of the thought is only exceeded by the ironical language in which it was conveyed." — KEIGHTLEY.[u]]

PARLIAMENTARY RIGOUR

There was nothing in which the sufferings caused by a state of revolution were more evident than in the finances, and the parliament went, in this respect, far beyond everything that the king had formerly ventured. Clarendon *f* therefore exclaims, "Before the war, two subsidies, £150,000, were said to be an enormous sum; now £1,742,936 have been imposed." So early as November, 1642, the parliament demanded a payment of the twentieth part of the value of estates. The persons appointed to levy this tax were authorised by the law to value, to break open chests and trunks, to take away and sell, to imprison those who refused payment so long as they thought proper, and remove their families from London and vicinity. However, as notwithstanding such rigorous measures, this mode of direct taxation did not produce enough, heavy taxes on consumption were imposed in May 1643, and gradually extended and augmented on beer, wine, brandy, cider, tobacco, sugar, meat, salt, saffron, starch, alum, hops, drugs, paper, leather, glass, silks, etc.[1] At the same time interest at eight per cent. was given upon loans, the estates of many Catholics and bishops were sold, and the property of all clergymen who opposed the new laws of the church was sequestrated. Lastly, every one who had directly or indirectly assisted the royalists, carried on their business for them, received them into their houses, or gone to theirs, was branded with the name of delinquent, and by way of punishment compelled to pay the value of two years of his income.

Several pamphlets in favor of the king, did not fail to produce an effect, so that the parliament, finding that the liberty of the press was disadvantageous to it, passed laws instituting a rigid censorship, caused warehouses to be searched, presses to be broken to pieces, printers, sellers, and bookbinders to be imprisoned. In a similar manner, Montagu was expelled from the house of commons, and imprisoned, because he would not take an oath to live and die with the earl of Essex; for it appeared to the house (according to the journals) to be a great crime that a member would not be guided by the declarations of others, but by his own judgment, whereby it was assumed that the conviction of everybody must agree with that of the parliament. This, however, was so far from being the case, that many secret associations against it, for instance, that of Waller, were discovered, which led to punishments and new oaths. Nay, the two Hothams, father and son, who had before so greatly insulted the king, had been induced, by repentance or ambition, to enter into negotiations with him, as we have seen, for which they had been arrested, and, in the sequel, were executed.*y*

THE SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE AND THE NEW MODEL

The late successes of the king were attributed to the want of harmony among the parliamentary generals. Waller had been from the first a rival of Essex, and Manchester and Cromwell, his second in command, had opposite views and feelings. The religious differences of Presbyterian and Independent had now extended to the army also; Cromwell was at the head of the latter party, Manchester and Waller belonged to the former, while Essex preferred the Episcopalian church. Further, both he and Manchester wished to preserve the constitution in the state, while Cromwell desired a republic. It was therefore suspected, and not without reason, that neither of these noblemen

[1] "With the fifth part of what was afterwards raised by taxation," says Clarendon, "the king and the state would have been saved."

was inclined to weaken the king too much. The affair of Donnington Castle brought the parties who had been for some time menacing each other to issue. Cromwell, when called on in the house of commons to state what he knew of it, accused Manchester of an averseness to ending the war by the sword, and of thinking that the king was now low enough for a peace to be made.

Next day Manchester took notice of this in the lords, and at his desire a day being fixed for the purpose, he gave his account of the Donnington affair, laying the chief blame on Cromwell. He also stated some speeches of Cromwell, proving him to be hostile to the peerage, and to the amity between England and Scotland; such as his saying that it would never be well with England till the earl of Manchester were plain Mr. Montagu, that the Scots had crossed the Tweed only to establish presbytery, and that in that cause he would as soon fight against them as the king. He added, that it was Cromwell's design to form an army of sectaries who might dictate to both king and parliament. The commons appointed a committee to inquire if this accusation of one of their members in the other house were not a breach of privilege. Meantime some of the Presbyterian party and the Scottish commissioners met at Essex House, and sending for the two lawyers Whitelocke and Maynard, took their opinion on the subject of accusing Cromwell as an incendiary between the two nations. The lawyers, however, being of opinion that the evidence was not sufficient, the plan was abandoned.

On the 9th of December the commons resolved themselves into a committee to consider the condition of the kingdom with regard to the war. After a long silence Cromwell rose and recommended that instead of an inquiry they should devise some general remedy of the evils. The next speaker said that the fault lay in the commands being divided. A third proposed that no member of either house should hold any civil or military command during the war. This was supported by Vane and opposed by Whitelocke, Holles, and others. An ordinance to this effect, however, passed the commons (21st), a vain attempt having been made to have the earl of Essex excepted. In the lords it met with much opposition; for, as they justly objected, it would exclude their entire order from all offices of trust and honour. They accordingly rejected it (Jan. 13, 1645).

Another project which was going on at the same time, was the "new model" of the army. On the 21st the names of the principal officers of it were put to the vote in the commons. Sir Thomas Fairfax was named commander-in-chief, Skippon major-general; twenty-four colonels were appointed, but nothing was said as to the post of lieutenant-general. The lords passed the ordinance[1] for the new model (Feb. 15); and an ordinance similar to the one they had rejected, but only requiring members to lay down the offices which they held, and being silent as to their reappointment, was sent up to them. This "Self-Denying Ordinance" was passed on the 3rd of April, Essex, Manchester and Denbigh having laid down their commands the day before.[u] While one party extolled this law as highly necessary and wise, as a most noble action, nay, as an unexampled and wonderful event, a second party declared that it was the most rash, dangerous, and unjust resolution that any parliament had ever passed.

RELIGIOUS BIGOTRIES AND LAUD'S EXECUTION (1645 A.D.)

As by Charles' giving up the right to dissolve it, all the power must fall into its hands, the parliament by the Self-Denying Ordinance in truth sacri-

[[1] The word "ordinance" though it had been used in mediæval times of a royal edict without parliamentary assent, was now employed for a parliamentary act without royal assent.]

ficed itself, and created in the army a power which would be the greater and more independent, because Fairfax and Cromwell obtained the right of directing the levies of recruits, and of appointing all the officers, even the colonels. For the confirmation of everything done by them, which the parliament had reserved to itself, soon became a mere formality. This remarkable turn and change, with respect to the temporal power and predominance, cannot be fully comprehended till we examine the course of ecclesiastical and religious affairs. The English revolution differs from most others, and is doubly interesting and instructive, from the circumstance that it is by no means external force which excites, impels, and decides; but that thoughts everywhere manifest themselves, and all has a reference to ideas, and this not merely in the temporal matters of state and policy, but also in spiritual affairs of doctrine and church discipline. Thus, we find almost all possible gradations, from ultra royalists and ultra Catholics, to unbridled anarchists and believers in the millennium; and each of these gradations (so blind are vanity and arrogance) was considered by its advocates as absolutely true, of eternal duration, while they rejected and condemned whatever differed from it in however trifling a degree. They did not see, they did not even presage, that as the rapid revolution of things drove them from the lowest depression to the greatest elevation, from oppression to power, they must incessantly culminate and sink again.

The struggle between Catholics and Protestants in general appeared to both parties to be long since ended in theory, and the use of violence towards those who persevered in wilful blindness was not only permitted, but justified. Nay, setting aside all other reasons, toleration was impossible, because the party which granted it, while the other refused, would always have the disadvantage. The contest against the Catholics was followed by that against the Episcopal constitution. Without regard to the above mentioned equivocal expression in the treaty with the Scotch, it was rejected in October, 1643, and everything determined according to the opinions of the Puritanical majority of the house of commons. Accordingly, a law was passed that all paintings, statues, stone altars, lattice work, chandeliers, fonts, crosses, chalices, organs, ornamental floors and windows, should be removed from the churches. Naturally enough, the populace went beyond the directions of the violent legislators, and an indiscriminate destruction of images succeeded, in which, especially the tombs of bishops and kings, nay, all historical monuments placed in the sanctuaries of religion, were treated as worthy of destruction. The beards, noses, fingers, and arms of the statues were broken off, crowns torn away, organs demolished and the pipes melted into bullets, windows broken, inscriptions effaced, and ornamented pavements pulled up.

The parliament, though informed of these proceedings, confirmed, on the 9th of May, 1644, the former law, and merely added that no monument of a king, prince, or nobleman should be destroyed, unless he had passed for a saint. In order to root out every particle of foreign superstition, the pretended purifiers of religion ran into a Mohammedan hatred of art, and an ignorant incredible abhorrence of what was holy and consecrated. Besides this, all the theatres were closed, the *Book of Sports* treating of amusements permitted on Sunday was burnt by the hangman, all travelling on that day declared to be impious, and the figure of the cross no longer tolerated, even in the signs of public houses. The sermons often lasted from nine o'clock in the morning till four in the afternoon, or far longer than the human mind is capable of forming an uninterrupted series of thought, or of receiving it, so that we need not doubt the correctness of the observation that these discourses were often absurd and always tiresome; and as every extreme generally produces its contrary, we find, with this intolerant austerity, the most scandalous excesses committed by the image-breakers in consecrated places.

Meantime the parliament had, as we have seen, solemnly sworn to the covenant, at Westminster, on the 25th of September, 1643, and required the same oath from every person in office, and every clergyman in the kingdom. Collier [z] is perhaps right when he affirms that the Presbyterians expelled far more at this time than the Papists had done under Mary, and the bishops under Elizabeth. All this was, of course, recommended and approved from the pulpit. Thus, Stephen Marshall said in a sermon, "What soldier's heart is not appalled at the thought of piercing little children in a conquered city or of holding them up by the legs and dashing their heads against the wall. But if this work is done to avenge God's church (the Presbyterians) upon Babylon (the Church of England), happy is he that taketh the little ones and dasheth them against the stones." This increased intolerance was manifested towards no individual with more violence than Archbishop Laud, who had been imprisoned for three years, and was almost forgotten. "Poor Canterbury," so Baillie,[bb] the Scotch clergyman, writes, "is so contemptible that nobody thinks of him; he was only a ring in Strafford's ear." Yet, chiefly to please the Scotch, the proceedings against the old bishop were now resumed by the parliament, and very unjustly placed under the direction of his old adversary Prynne. His enemies now possessed the power (as he formerly had), and took care to exercise it. The main accusation, that he had attempted to overthrow the laws, religion, and the rights of parliament, was divided into numerous branches, which we have not space to detail.

Laud defended himself with boldness, acuteness, and wit; nay, he spoke rather as an accuser, than submissively and asking favour. Though everything was represented in the most unfavourable light, the judges declared, on the 17th of December, 1644, that they could not find the archbishop guilty of treason, and left the decision to the house of lords. The latter communicated the difficulty that had arisen to the lower house, which answered: That there was in the first place, treason against the king, on which the inferior tribunals decide according to the law; secondly, treason against the kingdom on which the parliament decided. However, as in the case of Strafford's trial, the form of the proceeding was changed into a bill of attainder, which was passed on the 4th of January, 1645, by the house of lords; and with much difficulty his petition was acceded to that he might not be hanged and quartered, but only beheaded. A pardon granted to the archbishop by the king, dated the 12th of April, 1643, was over-ruled and rejected.

On the 10th of January, 1645, Laud ascended the scaffold, and acknowledged that he was a great sinner, but that he had never endeavoured to subvert the laws of the realm, or change the Protestant religion, and that he had not done anything deserving death, according to the laws of the kingdom. He thanked God for suffering him to die for his honour; prayed for the happiness of the king, the restoration of the church to truth, peace, and prosperity; for the parliament according to its ancient and just power; and that the unhappy and distracted nation might penitently cease from war and bloodshed, and enjoy its hereditary rights and lawful liberties. "Now," said he, "the blind lead the blind, and all will fall into the ditch. As others would not honour the images which the king set up, I will not worship the vain phantoms which the people invent, nor will I abandon the temple and the truth of God to follow the bleating of Jeroboam's calves in Dan and Bethel. I am no enemy to parliaments, and acknowledge their utility; but *corruptio optimi est pessima.* For my part, I freely forgive everybody." Laud submitted to the fatal stroke with courage and composure. Immediately before him, was executed Hotham, who had first accused Laud in parliament.

The trial and the condemnation of Laud are much less to be excused than that of the dangerous and powerful Lord Strafford; for the single points laid to his charge appear to be mere trifles, and the vague reproach of overthrowing the constitution, in church and state, he might have flung back with double force upon his accusers. They, besides, never attended the proceedings and examination of the witnesses, but deciding in the lower house entirely after the representations of their counsel; and of the lords, there were never more than fourteen present at the trial; and at the passing of the sentence only twelve, or, as others say, only seven. Except the speaker, not a single member had attended the trial from the beginning to the end. That an old man, seventy-two years of age, who was wholly powerless, was brought to the scaffold, after the overthrow of the Episcopal system, and four years' imprisonment, with the violation of so many legal forms, and without any motives of political necessity, was a proof of the blind passion of the pretended defenders of liberty, justice, and law. They could not, or would not see, what disgrace they prepared for their own reputation, and what honour for the archbishop, by thus raising him to the dignity of a martyr.


VISCOUNT STRAFFORD, WILLIAM HOWARD
(1612–1680)

Loud complaints of this and other despotic acts being made, the parliament, following the course which it had blamed in its opponents, again made the censorship of the press more severe; but was not able thereby to restrain its excesses, much less to repress arbitrary proceedings of another kind.

THE WARRING CREEDS AND INTOLERANCE

On the 4th of January, 1645, a few days before the execution of Laud, it had been resolved by the assembly of divines (in session since July 1, 1643) that the book of common prayer should be laid aside; the form of divine worship hitherto observed should be abolished; and a new directory, which had been framed by the assembly of divines, a creed, a catechism, and a scheme of a Presbyterian constitution of the church, were drawn up. In the creed all was on strict Calvinistic principles, and peculiar stress was laid on the doctrine of predestination. It was left to a future general assembly to decide a question which was stated to be of the highest importance, namely, whether there had been at Ephesus a classical presbytery, and in Jerusalem a simple congregation. Many of the old forms and arrangements, such as crosses, altars, and confessions of the sick, were abolished. "Nobody shall

[1645 A.D.]

write or preach against the new ordinances; he who shall in future use the old common prayer book either in the church or in public places, nay, even in his own house and family, shall pay for the first offence £5, for the second £10, and for the third be imprisoned for a year, and not allowed to give bail. The church having the right of the keys, may, through its priests, classes, and synods, censure, remove, depose, and excommunicate."

In this manner the Presbyterians had, in their opinion, obtained a complete victory; but, at the very moment when they were rejoicing at it and proclaimed it aloud, the real power, as usually happens in revolutions, had already passed into other hands. So long as the only question was a contest against the Papists and Episcopalians, there appeared to be scarcely any difference among the assailants, and this contributed to their victory. Now, however, that the Puritans wished to enforce their principles with the same partiality as those whom they had overcome had done before, many really liberal-minded men resisted this practical tyranny and were equally ready in adducing theoretical arguments in support of their assertions. Irritated by the unconditional claims of the Puritans, and excluded from all toleration, the Independents now opposed them, and affirmed that it was quite the same thing whether Christendom was tyrannised over by a pope, twenty bishops, or a thousand priests; and thus an external union and slavish subordination was not only necessary in spiritual Christianity, but was also contrary to Christian liberty; that every Christian congregation was in itself a complete perfect church, which was, immediately and independently of other churches, under Christ, by which, however, the idea of a universal Christian church, in a truly spiritual sense was not abolished, only it was maintained that no ecclesiastical constitution was absolutely of divine institution.

The Independents gave to every male communicant the right of voting in all ecclesiastical affairs or in determining points of doctrine, and in the appointment and removal of clergymen. The Erastians[1] rejected all church government whatever, and assigned only to the state the superintendence of all religious communities, merely however with regard to public safety and order. Lastly, appeared the Levellers, at the farthest extreme of the course we have pointed out: since they did not, like the Presbyterians, stop at the independence of a national church with a connected organisation; or, like the Independents, at that of the several congregations; but claimed for every individual an absolute right of self-government in religious matters, without denying that a similarity of sentiments might lead to a natural union.

In connection with these religious views, political actions were developed; and if the Episcopalians generally promoted unlimited monarchy, and the Puritans an essential limitation of it, the Independents for the most part recommended, and endeavoured to obtain, a republican constitution;[2] and the Levellers were in danger of rejecting civil as well as ecclesiastical authority and of running into pure anarchy.

At that time the victorious Presbyterians considered themselves as the only true divine church, the only one agreeable to God, and stigmatised all persons who entertained different sentiments as damnable heretics. The latter, however they differed in other respects, agreed that such discrepancies are natural; that liberty of conscience is an inalienable right; and that it is the indispensable duty of every one to inquire and decide for himself in matters of religion.

[[1] A small party named from Thomas Erastus (Lieber), a German divine who died in 1583.]

[[2] However, we are only half entitled to look on the Independents as necessarily republicans, for under other circumstances they were zealous adherents of the house of Hanover.]

It was and is of little importance what the Independents themselves taught on any particular point, but that they maintained the idea of toleration, and church government, in a new and highly important manner; nay, that they placed it at the head of their whole system. It is true that they contradicted themselves, inasmuch as they more or less excluded Romanists and Episcopalians from this toleration; this exception, however, was founded chiefly on the circumstance that these set up unlimited claims, and that political reasons had essential influence. It was only by degrees that Chillingworth, Hale, Locke, etc., freed the doctrine of the Independents from defects and exaggeration. Though the Independents were not able to get their views adopted in the assembly at Westminster, they met with much approbation among the people, and even in parliament. And thus the Presbyterians found that their apparently absolute victory availed them nothing, because the house of commons did not confirm their resolutions, and the people did not voluntarily adopt and carry them into effect. The heads of the Presbyterians, Holles, Long, Waller, etc., found themselves overpowered by the enthusiasm and worldly wisdom of their opponents, Cromwell, Vane, Whitelocke, Selden, Fiennes, St. John, Haslerig, and Martin; and the Self-Denying Ordinance was for the latter not merely a political but a theological victory, because above two-thirds of the officers and most of the soldiers in the newly-formed army were of the party of the Independents.

In this divided opposition both parties needed a mediator or an ally. Hence the king acquired new importance, and he thought that the disunion of his adversaries would enable him to become master of them all; though the events of the war had not led to any positive superiority but to misery of all kinds. Necessity and arrogance served equally as an occasion or pretext for acts of plunder and violence; whence an acute observer says, "The vexatious austerity of the Puritans was no less oppressive than the boastful licentiousness of many royalists." The one party plundered in the name of God, the other in the name of the king. On both sides the people's minds were agitated by the most powerful motives: liberty, religion, law, love of the king and of the country. No one dared to remain neutral; though, as we have said, not merely the timid and selfish would willingly have withdrawn, but even the most noble-minded men scarcely knew what party to join, or how they should lead everything to a middle and moderate course.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AT UXBRIDGE (1645 A.D.)

This deplorable state of things, and the position of the great religious and political parties in parliament and in the assembly at Westminster, had led, even before the passing of the Self-Denying Ordinance, to fresh attempts to negotiate a peace. On the 20th of November, 1644, four deputies from the house of commons, and two from the lords, repaired to Oxford, to submit to the king the conditions proposed by parliament. They received an answer, which they brought back to the parliament, at the end of November. Four lords, eight commoners, and four Scotchmen were commissioned to negotiate for peace, at Uxbridge, with the king's commissioners.*y*

On the 30th of January the commissioners on both sides met at Uxbridge. The royalists were sixteen in number, those of the parliament twelve, together with four Scottish commissioners; both parties were attended by their divines. After the preliminaries had been arranged, they commenced with the subject of religion. The parliament insisted on the unqualified abolition of Episcopacy and the establishment of Presbytery: the king would not abandon the former, which he regarded as of divine institution; but he was willing to limit it, to reform abuses in it, and to grant indulgence to tender consciences in matters of ceremonies. This subject having been debated for three days to no purpose, they next passed to the militia. The parliament demanded that it should be entirely vested in them and in persons in whom they could confide. They relaxed so far as to demand it only for seven years, after which it should be settled by bill or agreement between the king and parliament. The king was willing to surrender it for three years, provided it then returned fully to the crown. With respect to Ireland, the parliament required the "Cessation" to be declared null and void, and the conduct of the war and government of that country to be committed to them; the royal commissioners justified the king in making the Cessation, and asserted that he was in honour bound to maintain it. These matters were debated over and over till the 22nd of February, when the parliament having refused to prolong the treaty, the commissioners returned to Westminster and Oxford, and preparations were made for another appeal to the sword.

This treaty, the inutility of which must have been apparent, had been entered into solely in compliance with the wishes of those on both sides who were weary of the evils of war and sincerely desirous of peace. Among these the king himself cannot be included, for he was determined to concede none of the points at issue, and his usual duplicity was displayed even in the commencement; for when he had been induced to style in his answer the two houses the parliament of England, he writes to the queen, "If there had been but two besides myself of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a parliament," and he adds that it is so registered in the council book. He was besides negotiating for foreign aid, and treating for a peace and an army with the Irish rebels; and he was so much elated by exaggerated accounts of the successes of Montrose in Scotland, that he was in full expectation of being shortly able to resume the plentitude of his despotism.

In effect, when the situations and tempers of the parties are considered, it is manifest that there was no room for accommodation, that one or other must be subdued, and despotism of one kind or other be the result.

THE VICTORIES OF MONTROSE IN SCOTLAND

In the summer of the preceding year, the earls of Montrose and Antrim [1] had come to Oxford with tenders of their services to the crown. They were both inveterate enemies of Argyll, who had now the chief power in Scotland, and Montrose asserted that if Antrim could raise fifteen hundred or two thousand men in Ireland and land them in the Highlands, he himself would be able to join them with so many of the Highland clansmen, loyal to the king and enemies of Argyll, as would make such a diversion, as would, if not recover the kingdom, at least oblige the Scottish army in England to return to its defence. The king listened to the proposal, and gave them the necessary commissions. Antrim forthwith passed over to Ireland, and raising about eighteen hundred men among his clan there, sent them over under his kinsman Sir Alister M'Donnel named Colkitto.

Montrose having left Oxford with a good company, suddenly disappeared, and with only two attendants eluded the vigilance of both nations till he

[1] Randal M'Donnel, Earl of Antrim, an Irish Catholic nobleman, had married the widow of Buckingham, who was the daughter and heiress of the earl of Rutland. Her wealth gave him consideration; but Clarendon describes him as a vain, weak man.

reached the foot of the Grampians, where he remained concealed till he heard of the landing of the Irish. He directed them to join him in Athole, where at their head he unfurled the royal standard, and summoned the clans to arms. They responded to his call; he poured down on the Lowlands; at Tippermuir (Sept. 1) he defeated the lord Elcho, and then entered and plundered the town of Perth. He then moved northwards; the bridge of Dee was defended by Lord Burleigh, but his men fled at the first shock, and the ferocious followers of Montrose entered Aberdeen pell-mell with them. The town was given up to pillage and massacre for four days. The Irish, we are told, displayed a thriftiness in their barbarity such as one might rather have looked for in the Scots, for they stripped their victims naked before they murdered them, lest their clothes should be spoilt.

The approach of Argyll with a superior force obliged Montrose to quit Aberdeen on the fifth day. He moved toward the Spey, and finding its opposite bank guarded he buried his ordnance in a morass, and went up the stream till he reached the forests of Strath Spey and the mountains of Badenoch. He then descended into Athole and Angus, still followed by Argyll, and suddenly crossing the Grampians, again moved northwards in hopes of rousing the Gordons to arms. At Fyvie Castle he was nearly surrounded, but after sustaining the repeated attacks of a superior force, he retired by night, and effected his retreat to Badenoch. Argyll, wearied out, as it was now far in the winter, returned to his castle of Inverary, where he deemed himself in perfect security. But the energetic and vindictive Montrose amidst the snows of December (13th), penetrated by passes only trodden by the herdsmen in summer into Argyllshire. The savage Irish, and no less savage clansmen, let all their fury loose on the devoted district; the inhabitants were massacred, the cattle driven off or destroyed, the houses and corn burnt. Argyll himself only escaped by putting to sea in an open boat.

After seven weeks spent in the work of devastation, Montrose moved toward Inverness. Argyll, who had rallied the scattered Campbells, was now with three thousand men at Inverlochy, at the western extremity of the chain of Highland lakes. By a secret and circuitous route, Montrose returned and fell on his vanguard by night. The moon giving her light, the troops skirmished till day. In the morning (Feb. 2, 1645) the fight began: Argyll, in whose character there was little of chivalry, viewed from a boat in the lake the noble but unavailing struggles of his gallant Campbells, and the slaughter of one half of their number. Montrose, elate with his victory, wrote to the king promising soon to come to his aid with a gallant army; and this letter arriving during the treaty of Uxbridge, aided to prevent the sanguine monarch from complying with terms on which peace might have been effected. Montrose returned to the north; the Grants and Gordons joined him; he spread his ravages as before; Dundee was stormed and partly burnt (Apr. 4). But the approach of a superior force under Baillie and that soldier of fortune Hurry, now again against the king, obliged him to return to the mountains with some loss. Baillie then entered Athole, while Hurry moved northwards after Montrose, to whom he gave battle at Aldean, near Nairn, and was defeated with the loss of two thousand men. Baillie himself was soon after overthrown at Alford on the Don.

THE NEW MODEL ARMY, AND NASEBY

The English parliament had now completed their New Model. It consisted of six thousand horse divided into ten regiments, one thousand dragoons, and fourteen thousand foot in twelve regiments of ten companies each. These regiments were composed of men from the old armies, chiefly those of a religious cast and inclined to the party of the Independents. A more rigorous discipline was introduced than had hitherto prevailed, and thus was formed that noble army, which, actuated by a higher principle than the mere love of pay and plunder, never encountered a defeat, and has left its memory a subject of admiration to posterity. The king had given given the nominal command of his forces to the prince of Wales, but the real power to Prince Rupert as his lieutenant. He had also sent the prince to Bristol, ostensibly to command in the west, but really because, as he himself used to express it, "he and his son were too great a prize to be ventured in one bottom."

Goring and Greenvil had separate commands in the west, and the license in which these profligate commanders indulged their men, and the atrocities committed by them, gave origin to a defensive association among the country-people in the counties of Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset, and Devon, and a similar association appeared in Gloucester and Worcester. The object of these people, who were named, from their principal weapon, clubmen, was to preserve their property from the hands of both parties; and as the royalists were the greater plunderers, their hostility was chiefly directed against them. Many of the loyal gentry however countenanced them, in hopes of being able hereafter to render them serviceable to the royal cause. About a third of the kingdom still obeyed the king; his army was more numerous than the New Model, but it was scattered and divided; its officers were at discord, and the men demoralised. He was, however, the first to take the field, and leaving Oxford (May 7) at the head of ten thousand men, of whom more than one half were cavalry, he proceeded to raise the siege of Chester. The enemy retired at the rumour of his approach.[u]

It was apprehended that Charles intended to join his army with the triumphant forces of Montrose in Scotland; and the Scottish army in England, which was then advancing to the south-east, hastily fell back upon Westmoreland and Cumberland to guard the approaches to Carlisle and the western borders. But Charles, after his success at Chester, turned round to the south-east, and soon carried the important city of Leicester by assault. This movement revived all the apprehensions about the associated counties in the east; and Fairfax, abandoning the siege of Oxford, marched into Northamptonshire, where he arrived on the 7th of June. His friend Cromwell was then in the Isle of Ely, most actively organising the militia there. At this critical moment, Fairfax and a general council of war, which he had called, requested the house of commons to dispense again in Cromwell's case with the Self-Denying Ordinance, and appoint him lieutenant-general, that second post in the army, which in all probability had purposely been left vacant from the beginning for Master Oliver. The house, which must have known by this time that no man so entirely possessed the confidence of the cavalry and of a great part of the army, sent him down a commission as lieutenant-general for three months; and Cromwell joined Fairfax just in time to be present at that great battle which was to decide the important question, "what the liberties and laws of England, and what the king's power and prerogative, should hereafter be."

The king, whose head-quarters were at Daventry, was amusing himself with field-sports, and his troops were foraging and plundering in all directions, when, on the 11th of June, old Sir Marmaduke Langdale brought him news of the unexpected approach of Fairfax. The royalist outposts were concentrated and strengthened; but, on the morning of the 12th, Fairfax beat them up at Borough Hill, and spread the alarm into the very lodgings of the king. The parliamentarians, however, who were then very weak in cavalry, did not think fit to venture any further attempt. On the morning of the 13th, at about six o'clock, Fairfax called a council of war, and, in the midst of their debates, to the exceeding joy of the whole army, Lieutenant-General Cromwell reached head-quarters with a choice regiment of 600 horse raised by the associated counties of the east. Then all deliberation and hesitation were at an end, the drums beat, the trumpets sounded to horse, and the whole body of parliamentarians were drawn up under arms.

On Saturday, June the 14th, by three o'clock in the morning, Fairfax put himself in march from Gilling to Naseby. At five o'clock he halted close to Naseby, and shortly after several bodies of his majesty's horse showed themselves on the top of a hill in battle array. [At the very opening of the battle, Rossiter rode up with cavalry sufficient to raise the parliamentary army to nearly 14,000, almost twice the force of Charles who had 7,500.] The field-word of the royalists was "God and Queen Mary!" that of the parliament, "God our strength!" The royalists began the battle, "marching up in good order, a swift march, with abundance of alacrity, gallantry, and resolution." As in other battles, fortune at first seemed to flatter Charles, for the left wing of the parliament was worsted by the furious onslaught of Rupert. Ireton was wounded in the thigh with a pike, in the face with a halbert, and his horse being killed under him, he was made prisoner, and kept by the royalists during the greater part of the battle. Rupert, however, with his usual rashness, spurred on too far; the scattered foot rallied in his rear round their guns; and the broken horse of the left wing formed, closed, and rode up to support the centre and the right. Cromwell's charge, though gallantly met by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, was brilliant and decisive; after firing at close range and standing to it at the sword's point, the left wing of the royalists was broken, and driven far beyond all the king's foot. [Fairfax with his own hand killed an ensign, and seized his colours. When the soldier to whose charge he committed them boasted of the deed as his own, Fairfax said, "Let him retain that honour; I have to-day acquired enough beside."]

There was terrible fighting after this: the unflinching Skippon was dangerously wounded, and Cromwell was several times in peril. But a tremendous charge, conducted by the parliamentarians from several points at once, completely broke up the last steady body of the king's infantry. According to Clarendon, *f* Rupert's cavalry thought they had acted their parts, and could never be brought to rally again in order, or to charge the enemy. They stood, with the rest, spiritless and inactive, till Cromwell and Fairfax were ready to charge them with horse and foot, and to ply them with their own artillery. Despair made Charles courageous, and, placing himself among them, he cried out, "One charge more, and we recover the day!" but he could not prevail with them to stand the shock of horse, foot, and ordnance, and they presently fled in disorder, both fronts and reserves, hotly pursued by Cromwell's horse, who took many prisoners.

Charles left behind him on the field five thousand prisoners, including an immense number of officers of all ranks, besides many of his household servants.[1] There were also taken twelve brass pieces of ordnance, two mortar

[[1] The worst fate was reserved for the unhappy women who followed the camp. About a hundred being of Irish birth, were knocked on the head without mercy. The faces of the English harlots were gashed in order to render them forever hideous, and it is not improbable that some officers' and soldiers' wives shared the fate of their frailer sisters. Puritanism was intolerant of vice, and it had no pity for the sex on which its hideous burden falls most heavily."—GARDINER.[b] Later parliament gave an order at Fairfax's request that all the Irish prisoners should be put to death without mercy; this seems not to have been entirely carried out.]

pieces, eight thousand stand of arms, forty barrels of powder, all the bag and baggage, the rich pillage which the royalist soldiers had got just before at Leicester, above one hundred colours, the king's baggage, several coaches, and his majesty's private cabinet of papers and letters, which last were a means of sealing his doom. [The slain were one hundred killed in the battle and three hundred in the retreat.] With Cromwell's horse thundering close in his rear, the king got into Leicester; but not judging it safe to remain there, he rode off to Hereford. At Hereford, Prince Rupert, before any decision was taken as to what the king should do next, left his uncle, and made haste to Bristol, that he might put that place into a condition to resist a powerful and victorious enemy, which he had reason to believe would in a short time appear before it. Meanwhile Fairfax marched with his victorious army to Leicester, which was soon surrendered to him, and, leaving a garrison there, he moved westward, that he might both pursue the king and raise the siege of Taunton. The day after the battle the lord-general sent Colonel John Fiennes and his regiment up to London with the prisoners and colours taken, and with a short letter to the speaker of the house of commons, wherein Fairfax humbly desired that the honour of this great, never-to-be-forgotten mercy might be given to God in an extraordinary day of thanksgiving.

Cromwell, on the day of the battle, wrote to the parliament, averring that this was none other but the hand of God, and that to him alone belonged the glory. "The general," continued Cromwell, "served you with all faithfulness and honour, and the best commendation I can give him is, that I dare say he attributes all to God, and would rather perish than assume to himself. . . . Honest men served you faithfully in this action. Sir, they are trusty; I beseech you in the name of God not to discourage them. . . . . He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience, and you for the liberty he fights for." [This sentence was expurged by the commons when they published the letter.]

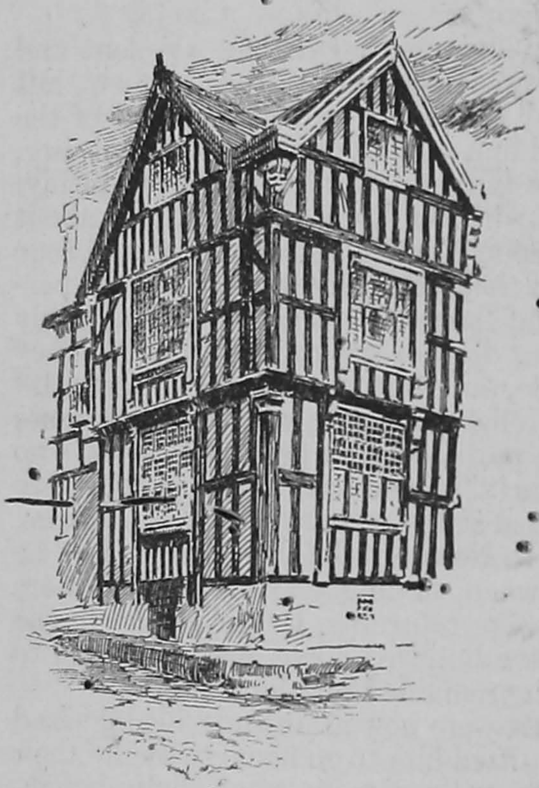
THE KING'S LETTERS AND INSINCERITY

But these letters were far inferior in interest to the epistles taken in the king's cabinet, now publicly read in London at a common hall, before a great assembly of citizens and many members of both houses of parliament, where leave was given to as many as pleased or knew the king's hand-writing to peruse and examine them all, in order to refute the report of those who said that the letters were counterfeit. And shortly after, a selection from them was printed and published by command of parliament.

"From the reading of these letters," says May,[o] "many discourses of the people arose. For in them appeared his transactions with the Irish rebels, and with the queen for assistance from France and the duke of Lorraine. Many good men were sorry that the king's actions agreed no better with his words. . . . . They were vexed also that the king was so much ruled by the will of his wife as to do everything by her prescript, and that peace, war, religion, and parliament should be at her disposal. It appeared, besides, out of those letters, with what mind the king treated with the parliament at Uxbridge, and what could be hoped for by that treaty." The reading of these letters is generally considered to have been as fatal to his cause as the field of Naseby where they were taken. The royalists themselves were startled by his contemptuous ingratitude; and men who had hitherto inclined to loyalty began to lose all respect for his character. From this time nothing prospered with the king.[cc]

A frequent topic in these letters is a treaty with the duke of Lorraine for his army of ten thousand men, to aid the royal cause in England. Charles also writes to the queen (Mar. 5), "I give thee power to promise in my name, to whom thou thinkest most fit, that I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman Catholics in England as soon as God shall enable me to do it, so as by their means or in their favours I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it." Sir Kenelm Digby was at this time going to Rome to solicit aid from the pope, and the king had written to Ormonde (February 27), commanding him "to conclude a peace with the Irish, whatever it cost; so that my Protestant subjects there may be secured, and my regal authority there be preserved"; he had even sent Glamorgan on his secret mission to Ireland.

Each day brought tidings of losses. Leicester had surrendered when Fairfax appeared. He then marched to the relief of Taunton, whence Goring retired at his approach; but Fairfax brought him to action at Lamport in Somerset (July 10), and defeated him: Bridgewater, deemed impregnable, surrendered (23rd). Bath and Sherborne submitted. In the north, Scarborough, Pontefract, and Carlisle had yielded; and the Scots, who had been engaged in the siege of this last, came and sat down before Hereford. The king, quitting Wales, hastened to Newark, and finding that the Scottish horse were in pursuit of him, he burst into and ravaged the eastern counties, and at length (August 28th) reached Oxford in safety.



HEREFORDSHIRE HEADQUARTERS OF PRINCE RUPERT BEFORE BATTLE OF LEDBURY

Here he was cheered with intelligence of another victory gained by Montrose. This indefatigable chief, having again issued from the mountains with a force of five thousand men, spread devastation over the country to the Forth. Baillie was advantageously posted at Kilsyth, near Stirling, and he wished to act on the defensive, but, like Pompey at Pharsalia, he was overruled by the committee of estates, and obliged to move from his strong position and prepare for battle. Ere his men were drawn up (August 15th) his horse were driven back on the foot, and the Irish and clansmen rushed on with wild yells and savage gestures. His troops broke and fled; they were pursued for the space of fourteen miles, and five thousand men, it is said, were slain. All Scotland was now open to Montrose. Glasgow and other towns submitted; the citizens of Edinburgh sent him their royalist prisoners; the marquis of Douglas and other nobles joined him, and a parliament was summoned to meet at Glasgow.

At this news, the Scottish horse under David Leslie, who were now (August 26th) at Nottingham, hastened back to their own country; and the king leaving Oxford with five thousand men, came and raised the siege of Hereford.

[1645 A.D.]

He was then proceeding to the relief of Bristol; but at Raglan Castle he learned to his utter dismay, that it had surrendered (September 10th). The king in his anger revoked his commission, and ordered him to quit the kingdom.[u] Prince Rupert had a garrison of only 1,500, and the town lay in a hollow. He surrendered after a furious assault had shown him that there was no hope of resistance.[a] Despising his majesty's orders, Prince Rupert came to Belvoir Castle, ten miles short of Newark. Charles, greatly incensed, commanded him to stay where he was. But Rupert proceeded instantly to Newark, and Sir Richard Willis, who was governor of that place, and Gerrard, one of the king's principal officers, heedless of the king's commands, went out with an escort of 100 horse to meet the prince. Without being announced, and followed by a numerous retinue, all in arms, Rupert presented himself before his uncle, telling him that he was come to give an account of his surrender of Bristol, and to clear himself from unjust imputations which had been cast upon him by his majesty and the lord Digby.

Charles, greatly embarrassed, scarcely answered a syllable. Violent and indecent altercations ensued, not only between the king and his nephew, but also between his majesty and Sir Richard Willis, the governor. Most of the officers present took part with Willis, holding up his majesty's chief adviser, Digby, as a traitor, and defying the fallen kingly power by an act of mutiny. Rupert and his brother, Prince Maurice, with Sir Richard Willis, and about 200 horse, insolently turned their backs upon Newark and the king, and rode to Belvoir Castle, whence they sent one of their company to ask from the parliament "leave and passports to go beyond the seas." The commons readily sent them the passes, but the two princes did not yet quit England. They were subsequently reconciled to their uncle, and shut up with him in Oxford.[cc]

King Charles now led his forces to the relief of Chester, which Colonel Jones was besieging. He was followed by the parliamentary general Poyntz, who fell on his rear while he was attacking Jones (23rd); and the king was obliged to retire in disorder with the loss of six hundred slain and one thousand prisoners. He hastened to Bridgenorth and thence to Newark (October 4th). Here he halted for the remainder of the month, when, finding that his enemies were increasing around it, and that the Scots were returning, he stole away in the night (November 3rd), with a party of five hundred horse, and contrived to reach Oxford on the second day, where he remained for the winter.

The brilliant hopes excited by Montrose were now at an end; his highland followers had, after their usual manner, quitted him to go home to secure their plunder; and having stationed himself with the remainder at Philip-haugh, near Selkirk (September 13, 1645), in Ettrick Forest, he was suddenly fallen on by Leslie, and after doing all that was in man to avert defeat, he was totally routed, and forced to fly once more to the mountains.[1] Digby and Langdale, who were coming to join him with fifteen hundred English horse, after routing a party of the enemy at Doncaster, and being themselves defeated by Colonel Copley at Sherborne, reached Dumfries; but getting no account of Montrose, they disbanded their men and passed over to the Isle of Man, whence Digby proceeded to Dublin.

[[1] Then ensued a butchery more horrible than any that had followed upon any of Montrose's victories. The wild clansmen of the north had contented themselves with taking vengeance upon men. The trained and disciplined soldiers of the Covenant slaughtered with hideous barbarity not only the male camp followers, but 300 Irish women, the wives of their slain or captured enemies, together with their infant children. According to a later tradition, fourscore women and children, who had perhaps escaped from the general massacre, were thrown from a bridge near Linlithgow, to be drowned as English Protestants had been drowned at Portadown. — GARDINER.[b]]

THE MISSION OF GLAMORGAN IN IRELAND

The negotiation with the duke of Lorraine was now at an end, and the king's only hopes lay in Ireland, where he had been carrying on a mysterious treaty with the insurgents. His wish had been to convert the cessation into a permanent peace; the native Irish, headed by their clergy, would be content with nothing short of the establishment of their religion. To this Ormonde, as a Protestant, neither could nor would consent; Charles then looked out for another agent, and such he found in Lord Herbert, eldest son of the marquis of Worcester, a Catholic, his personal friend, and romantically and devotedly loyal. Herbert, now created earl of Glamorgan, received in the month of January (1645) various instructions and commissions to treat with the Irish confederates, the king pledging himself to make good whatever he should conclude. They were sealed with the private signet and blanks left for the names of the pope and other princes, which he was to insert himself, "to the end," said Glamorgan, "the king might have a starting-hole to deny having given me such commissions, if excepted against by his own subjects; leaving me, as it were, at stake, who for his majesty's sake, was willing to undergo it, trusting to his word alone."

Thus furnished, Glamorgan proceeded to Ireland (April 30th), where Rinuccini, a papal nuncio, was now expected, to whom, as well as to the pope, he had letters from the king. Having communicated his instructions to a certain extent to Ormonde, negotiations were entered into with the supreme council of the Irish at Kilkenny, to which town Glamorgan proceeded; and he there (August 25th) concluded a secret treaty, by which the Catholics were to enjoy the public exercise of their religion, and all the churches and their revenues which were not actually in the possession of the Protestant clergy: they in return, were to supply the king with a body of ten thousand armed men, and to devote two-thirds of the church revenues to his service, during the war. A public treaty was, meantime, going on with Ormonde, who scrupled on the subject of religion. But while he hesitated, the parliament got hold of the secret treaty; for the titular archbishop of Tuam, a martial prelate, happening to be killed in a skirmish between the Scots and Irish (October 17th), copies of all the documents were found in his carriage, and transmitted to London.

When Ormonde got information of this, which was not till Christmas, he called a council, and it was determined, at the suggestion of Digby, to arrest Glamorgan for high-treason; and Digby wrote in very strong and indignant terms to the king. Charles, in a message to the parliament (January 29th, 1646), solemnly disavowed Glamorgan's proceedings, averring that he had only given him a commission to raise soldiers.[1] To Ormonde, who had Glamorgan's warrant now in his hands, the king wrote evasively, asserting that he had no recollection of it, and that if he did give such a warrant, it was with an understanding that it was not to be employed without the lord-lieutenant's approbation. Glamorgan, of whose innocence there could be no doubt, was not long a prisoner. He hastened to Kilkenny to resume the treaty (January 22nd), and obtained an immediate aid of six thousand men; but while he was waiting for transports to carry them to the relief of Chester, he learned the fall of that city, and the total ruin of the royal cause in England. He therefore disbanded his army, but still remained in Ireland.

After the surrender of Bristol the whole south and west of England were

[[1] Gardiner thinks that Glamorgan undoubtedly did overstep his instructions, though Charles is not entirely blameless in disavowing his acts.]

speedly reduced. While Fairfax was employed in the western counties Cromwell took Winchester (October 5th) and Basing House, the fortified mansion of the marquis of Winchester (14th); and in the north, Lathom House, which the intrepid countess of Derby[1] had defended for two years, Lord Scroop's castle of Bolton, and other places surrendered. The new year opened with the taking of Dartmouth by Fairfax (January 18th), who then resumed the siege of Exeter. At Torrington (February 16th) he totally routed Lord Hopton and his Cornish troops. He followed him into Cornwall, where the people submitted at his approach, and by a treaty (March 14th) Hopton disbanded his army, and surrendered all his arms, stores, and ammunition. The prince of Wales had gone to Scilly, whence he soon after passed over to Jersey, and finally joined his mother at Paris. Penryn and other places surrendered, and the lord-general came back to Exeter, which at length was yielded on articles (April 13th). The whole west being now reduced, Fairfax led his army back to Newbury.

Chester had surrendered early in February. Sir Jacob Astley, with a body of three thousand men whom he was leading to Oxford, was attacked (Mar. 22) and totally defeated at Stow in the Wolds, on the borders of Gloucestershire, by Colonel Morgan and Sir William Brereton. "Now you have done your work and may go play, unless you fall out among yourselves," said Sir Jacob to those who had made him a prisoner. The king's only hopes in fact lay in the divisions among his enemies; and had he known (which he never did know) how to act with judgment, he might have recovered a sufficient portion of his regal authority. The breach between the two religious parties was widening every day; the cordiality between the English parliament and their Scottish brethren was also on the wane. Charles intrigued with all these parties. "I am not without hope," he writes to Digby, "that I shall be able to draw either the Presbyterians or Independents to side with me for extirpating one or the other that I should be really king again." He used Montreuil, the French envoy, as his agent in his dealings with the Scots. His great object was to get to London, where he had numerous adherents, and where the peace-party was now strong. For this purpose he was urgent for a personal treaty, but to this the parliament, suspecting his object, would only consent on condition of his giving a previous assent to bills which they were preparing; the three first of which were the same as those offered at Uxbridge. The commons even went so far as to pass a vote (Mar. 31, 1646), that if the king came within their lines, the militia of London should apprehend those who came with him or resorted to him, and "secure his person from danger," *i.e.* confine him. They also ordered such as had borne arms against the parliament to quit London by the 6th of April.

The king's plan of playing the parties in parliament against one another was not a bad one if he had possessed skill to execute it. This will appear by the following view of that assemby. Until the end of the year 1645 the constitutional party had the preponderance. As a proof may be cited their vote on the 1st of December, in a debate on the proposition for peace. It was as follows. That Fairfax should be made a baron and have 5000*l.* a year settled on him, and his father be made an earl: Cromwell, Waller, and Haslerig also to be barons, the two former with 2500*l.*, the last with 2000*l.* a year; Northumberland, Essex, Warwick, and Pembroke to be dukes, and Salisbury and Manchester marquesses; Say, Roberts, Wharton, Willoughby of Parham, and Howard of Escrick to be earls; Holles, a viscount, and Stapleton and Sir

[1] This heroic lady was a Frenchwoman, a daughter of the noble house of La Trémouille.

Henry Vane senior barons. As these were nearly all Presbyterians, this vote though it speaks little for the disinterestedness of the parliament, proves the strength of that party and their attachment to the monarchic form of government. But when, in consequence of deaths and the secession or expulsion of the royalists, it was found that nearly two hundred seats were vacant, the Presbyterians were obliged to give way and issue writs for new elections, and the house in the beginning of the following year presented an altered appearance. The royalists alone being excluded and the Self-Denying Ordinance being now a dead letter, the officers of the army and others of the Independent party obtained seats; for, as Ludlow[i] candidly confesses, "honest men (*i.e.* his own party) in all parts did what they could to promote the elections of such as were most hearty for the accomplishment of our deliverance," by which he means the establishment of a commonwealth. The parties now were more evenly balanced, though the preponderance was still on the Presbyterian side, and the royal name and authority if judiciously managed would have sufficed to incline the beam.

THE KING SURRENDERS TO THE SCOTS (1646 A.D.)

To resume the narrative: the parliamentary troops began to close in on Oxford, and the king must either resolve to sustain a siege and finally surrender himself a prisoner, or to fly from the town. He chose the latter, and on the night of the 27th of April, he quitted Oxford, having cut his hair and beard, and riding with a portmanteau behind him as the servant of his faithful follower Ashburnham; one Dr. Hudson, a loyal military clergyman who knew the country well, being their guide. They took the road to London. They passed through Uxbridge and Brentford, and thence turned to Harrow-on-the-Hill, where the king finally determined to give up all thoughts of London, and to follow his original design. He proceeded by St. Albans, and finding that his escape in the disguise of a servant was known, he assumed that of a clergyman. At length (30th) he came to Downham in Norfolk, where he remained while Hudson went to Montreuil at Newark. Montreuil had been for some time negotiating on the part of the king with the leaders of the Scottish army. The affair is involved in obscurity; but it would appear that the Scots had overreached the sanguine Frenchman, and led him to give the king hopes of what they never intended to perform. It was arranged that they should receive the monarch in their camp — a measure from which they proposed to themselves many advantages; but at the same time they required it to be done in such a manner as not to implicate them with the English parliament. Their plan was to send a party of cavalry to Harborough, whither the king was to come, as it were, accidentally on his way to Scotland, and he was to command their attendance on him. This plan however had been given up, and Charles on arriving at that place had found none there to meet him. Montreuil, though he now distrusted the Scots, thought when Hudson came to him that the king's only chance was to put himself into their hands. Charles therefore came (May 5) to Montreuil's abode at Southwell, and after dinner the envoy took him to Kelham, Leven's headquarters. Leven raised his hands in real or affected surprise; he and his officers showed the monarch the most marked attention; he assigned him Kelham House for his residence; but when Charles, to try if he was free, gave the word to the guard, Leven said, "I am the older soldier, sir; your majesty had better leave that office to me." They wrote off immediately to the parliament, saying that "they were astonished at the providence of the king's coming into their army, which was so private that it was long ere they could find him there," etc.; and the king having ordered Bellasis to surrender Newark to them, they set out (May 9) on their march homewards, for the commons had voted that the king's person should be disposed of by both houses, and that he should be sent to Warwick castle. Poyntz, with a body of five thousand horse, was ordered to watch the Scottish army; but their march was so rapid that on the 18th the houses had intelligence of their arrival at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Next day they voted that they "had no further need of the army of their brethren the Scots in this kingdom," and voted them 100,000*l.*; half to be paid when they gave up Newcastle, Carlisle, and other places held by them; the other half when they had entered Scotland.

At Newcastle the king was treated with suitable respect, but none of his friends were given access to him. As the establishment of presbytery was a *sine quâ non* with the Scots, he undertook, unaided as he was, to discuss the matter with their great champion Henderson. From the general insincerity of his character it was thought at the time that Charles was not in earnest in his maintenance of Episcopacy, but his sincerity in this matter is now beyond question. He had consented to its abolition in Scotland, but it was with a secret design of restoring it when he should have the power. He had in a similar manner, as we have seen, agreed to the abolition of Protestantism in Ireland; and as his attachment to the Protestant faith cannot be questioned we fear he meant to deceive the Catholics also. Yet at this very time he wished to throw himself into their hands. In a letter to Glamorgan (July 20) he says, "Tell the nuncio, that if once I can come into his and your hands, which ought to be extremely wished for by you both, as well for the sake of England as Ireland, since all the rest as I see despise me, I will do it." He also, while at Newcastle, meditated an escape by sea, but whether he intended to go to France or Ireland is uncertain. At this very time too, he was harassed by letters from the queen, Jermyn, Colepeper, and others, at Paris, and the foreign residents there, urging him to give up the church; the queen even threatening to go into a monastery if he refused. Yet he stood firm. In truth he saw that he should gain nothing by it, for nothing short of the militia would content the parliament, and this the queen and his other friends would not allow him to part with.

There were two points now under debate between the English and the Scots; the one the disposal of the royal person, the other the settlement of the arrears due to the Scottish army. The Scots declared (July 4) "that as they came into England out of affection, and not in a mercenary way, so they will be as willing to return home, and want of pay shall be no hindrance thereunto." In reply to this it was voted that the kingdom had no more need of them, and "is no longer able to bear them." The Scots (Aug. 12) then proposed to evacuate the kingdom, provided they were paid for their losses, etc.; it was voted (Aug. 14th) to give them 100,000*l.* and to have their accounts audited. "The houses," says Whitelocke,[v] "now saw the advantage of keeping up their army, as that which the more inclined the Scots to come to this offer." The Scots (19th) stated their demands at 500,000*l.*, but agreed (Sept. 1) to take 400,000*l.*, which sum the parliament consented to give; and so far the transaction appears to have had no reference to the king.

In the end of August the parliament sent nineteen propositions to the king; they were in substance the same with the Uxbridge articles, but the militia, with power to employ it, was to remain with the parliament for twenty years. To these the king gave a positive refusal, veiled indeed under the demand of a personal treaty. The enemies of peace and royalty exulted, the moderate party were dejected at this event. The arrangements having been effected respecting the Scottish arrears, it was voted (Sept. 18) that the king's person should be disposed of as the two houses should think fit, but that no dispute on this subject should interfere with the treaties or the return of the Scots army. The Scottish commissioners strongly asserted the right of their nation to a share in the disposal of the king.

In November the Scottish parliament met; Hamilton, who was now at liberty, exerted himself strongly in favour of the king; all were of opinion that he should accept the propositions, but Charles was immovable on the subject of the church. A vote was notwithstanding obtained (Dec. 16) to maintain his personal freedom and right to the English throne. The general assembly, however, having declared it unlawful to support him while he refused to assent to the covenant, and the parliament, being aware of the madness of engaging in a war with England, and advised by Holles and the leading Presbyterians there that the surrender of the king was the only means of causing the Independent army to be disbanded, who were the great enemies of the king and of peace; they accordingly gave him up to commissioners sent to receive him (Feb. 1, 1647). Charles gladly left the Scots, and he was conducted to one of his mansions named Holdenby or Holmby House near Althorpe, in Northamptonshire.

CHARLES A CAPTIVE IN ENGLAND

Charles himself said that he "was bought and sold," and the charge of selling their king has been down to the present day reiterated against the Scots.[1] There are no doubt many circumstances in the affair which have a suspicious appearance. It seems certain that they would not have gotten so large a sum from the parliament as they did if the person of the king had not been in their hands, and they probably took advantage of this circumstance to insist on their demands. But there are no sufficient grounds for charging them with inviting him to their camp with this design; they did not give him up till they had no choice but that or war; they acted under the advice of the friends of monarchy in the English parliament; they stipulated in the most express terms for the safety of his person; nay, to the very last, if he would have given them satisfaction on the subject of religion, they would have declined surrendering him. Like the monarch himself, they were unhappily situated; but we do not think that they can be justly charged with the guilt of having sold their king.

The civil war, after a duration of nearly four years, was now at an end. Oxford, Worcester, and other places had surrendered; the old marquis of Worcester defended Raglan Castle against Fairfax and five thousand men, but he was obliged at last to open his gates (Aug. 19); and two days later Pendennis Castle in Cornwall also surrendered. Harlech Castle in North Wales was the last to submit (Mar. 30, 1647). Favourable terms were granted in all cases, and the articles were honourably observed. Much and justly as intestine warfare is to be deprecated, the English may look back with pride to this civil contest, unexampled in the history of the world. It does not, like the civil wars of other countries, disgust us by numerous butcheries and other

[1] "If it be not admitted they sold him," says Sir P. Warwick,[k] "it must be confessed they parted with him for a good price." [Gardiner[b] points out how gladly the Scotch would have protected Charles had he been willing to comply with what they felt to be just and due their creed. He thinks that the Scots "get less than justice" in the account of this transaction, as Charles' one idea in taking refuge with them was to get the two nations at war.]

savage atrocities; all was open and honourable warfare; a generous humanity for the most part was displayed on both sides; and those who were finally victorious, to their honour, sent none of the vanquished to the scaffold. While awarding praise we cannot in justice pass over the Catholic nobility and gentry of England. Urged by an impulse of generous loyalty, as appears to us, rather than by any cold calculations of interest, they ranged themselves on the side of the king, though they knew but too well that he was at all times ready to sacrifice them, and that they were the persons on whom the vengeance of the parliament would fall most heavily; in the royal cause they wasted their estates, and shed their blood; and dead must he be to generous feeling who honours not the names of the marquesses of Worcester and Winchester, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the other Catholic nobles and knights who fought on the side of royalty in the civil contest.

Montrose on receiving orders from the king laid down his arms and retired to the continent. Ormonde had by the royal command concluded a peace with the Irish Catholics, but the nuncio and the clergy having assembled at Waterford declared it void (Aug. 6). The nuncio then assumed the supreme power, and at the head of the united armies of Preston and Owen O'Neil[1] advanced against Dublin. As Ormonde had wasted the country they were obliged to retire, but he was well aware that it must fall into their hands if not relieved from England. The king was now a captive, and powerless; the Irish Catholics were entirely ruled by their priesthood, and nothing short of the extirpation of Protestantism and the English interest would content them. To avert this Ormonde entered into treaty with the parliament, and he agreed (Feb. 22, 1647) to put Dublin and the other garrisons into their hands. The sequestration was taken off from his own estate, and he had permission given him to reside for some time in England.

The Presbyterian system was at this time established by ordinance of parliament; each parish was to have its minister and lay elders; a number of adjoining parishes were to form a classis with its presbytery of ministers and elders; several classes a province with its assembly; and finally, a national assembly over all. But the system never came into full operation except in London and Lancashire; the parliament could not be brought to allow of the divine right of presbytery; they greatly limited the power of the keys, and they allowed of appeals from ecclesiastical courts. In their zeal for uniformity, hatred of toleration, lust of power, and tyrannical exercise of it, the Presbyterian clergy fell nothing short of the prelatical party who had been their persecutors. The moderate party in parliament lost at this time a great support by the death of the earl of Essex (Sept. 14). He died in consequence of overheating himself in the chase of a stag in Windsor Forest. He was buried with great state in Westminster Abbey (Oct. 22); the members of both houses, the civil and military officers, and all the troops in London attending the funeral.[u]

Gardiner[b] ascribes the military downfall of Charles to two facts: in the first place his cause appealed to the cavalier and aristocratic elements, while the great middle class and trade elements, the farmers and yeomen either kept aloof or sided against him; in the second place, he offended the English by his incessant appeals for aid, to the Welsh (who made up a large part of his army at Naseby), to the Irish, French, Lorrainers, Dutch and Scotch. Cromwell on the other hand stood for the national spirit.[a]

[1] Preston was the general of the Catholics of the English blood, O'Neil of the Ulster Irish.