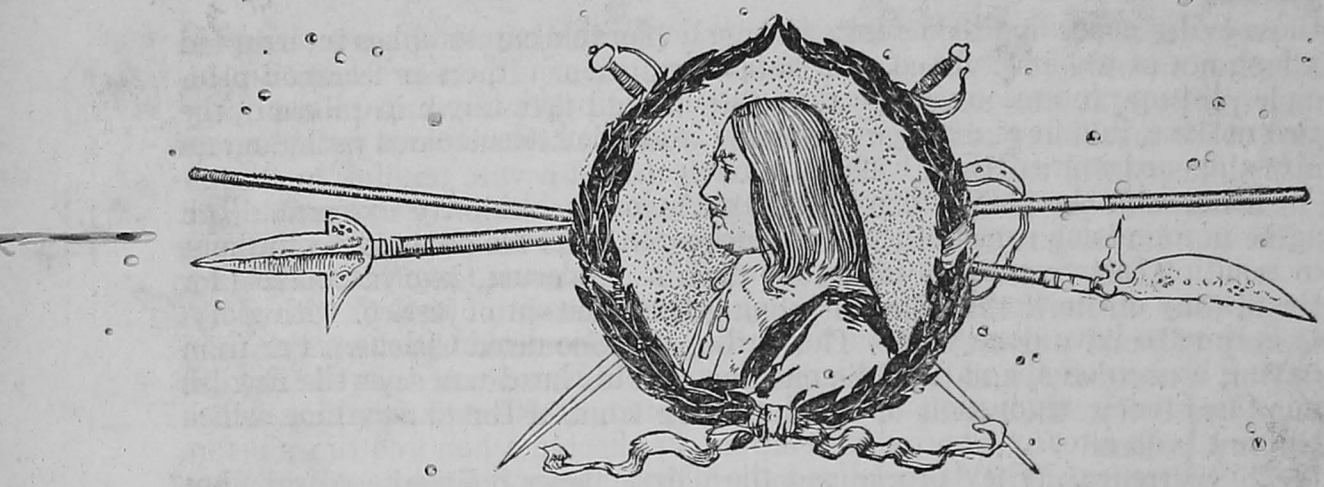

CHAPTER III

THE VICTORIOUS COMMONWEALTH

[1649–1651 A.D.]

The execution of Charles I — the work of military violence cloaked in the merest tatters of legality — had displayed to the eyes of the world the forgotten truth that kings, as well as subjects, must bear the consequences of their errors and misdeeds. More than this the actors in the great tragedy failed to accomplish, and, it may fairly be added, must necessarily have failed to accomplish. It is never possible for men of the sword to rear the temple of recovered freedom, and the small minority in parliament which had given the semblance of constitutional procedure to the trial in Westminster Hall were no more than instruments in the hands of the men of the sword. Honestly as both military and political leaders desired to establish popular government, they found themselves in a vicious circle from which there was no escape. — S. R. GARDINER.[b]

GUIZOT'S COMPARISON OF THE ENGLISH AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONS

UNTIL the occurrence of the French Revolution, the English Revolution was the greatest event in the annals of modern Europe. The French Revolution exceeded it in magnitude, but did not lessen its intrinsic greatness; both victories were won in the same war, and tended to the furtherance of the same cause; and instead of eclipsing each other, they became magnified by comparison. If we are to put faith in an opinion which is very prevalent, it would seem that these two revolutions were extraordinary events, which emanated from unheard-of principles, and aimed at unprecedented designs; which forced society out of its ancient and natural course; which, like whirlwinds or earthquakes, were mysterious phenomena guided by laws unknown to men, and bursting forth suddenly, like providential *coups d'état*, possibly to destroy, and possibly to revivify the earth. Both friends and enemies, panegyrists and detractors, employ the same language on this point: according to the former, these glorious crises brought truth, liberty, and justice to light, for the first time; before their occurrence, absurdity, iniquity, and tyranny prevailed, and the human race is indebted to them alone for its deliverance from

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those evils; according to the latter, these deplorable catastrophes interrupted a long era of wisdom, virtue, and happiness; their authors proclaimed principles, set up pretensions, and committed crimes previously unparalleled; the two nations, in a fit of madness, deviated from their accustomed path, and an abyss opened immediately beneath their feet.

Thus, whether they are extolled or deplored, blessed or execrated, all agree in forgetting every other consideration in presence of these revolutions, in isolating them completely from the past, in rendering them responsible for the destiny of the world, and in loading them alone with curses or with glory. It is time to have done with such puerile and false declamations. Far from having broken off the natural course of events in Europe, neither the English nor the French revolution asserted, attempted, or effected anything which had not been already asserted, attempted, or effected a hundred times before their occurrence. They proclaimed the illegitimacy of absolute power: but free consent to laws and taxes, and the right of armed resistance, were among the constituent principles of the feudal system; and the church had often repeated these words of St. Isidore, to be found in the canons of the fourth council of Toledo: "He is king who rules his people justly; if he does otherwise, he shall be no longer king." They attacked privilege, and laboured to introduce more equality into the social system: but, throughout all Europe, kings have done the same. They demanded that public employments should be thrown open to all citizens, and be bestowed on merit alone, and that the government should consent to this competition; but this is the fundamental principle of the internal constitution of the church; and the church has not only carried it into effect, but has openly professed it. Whether we consider the general doctrines of the two revolutions, or the applications which they made of them — whether we contemplate the government of the state or civil legislation, property or persons, liberty or power — we shall find nothing of their own invention, nothing which is not to be met with, and which did not at least originate, in more regular times.

Nor is this all: the principles, designs, and efforts which are exclusively attributed to the French and English revolutions, not only preceded them by several centuries, but are the same principles and efforts to which society in Europe is indebted for all its progress. Was it by its disorders and privileges, by its brute force, and its subjugation of other men beneath its yoke, that the feudal aristocracy contributed to the development of nations? No: but it struggled against royal tyranny; it availed itself of the right of resistance, and maintained the maxims of liberty. And why have nations blessed their kings? For their pretensions to divine right, their assumptions of absolute power, their lavish expenditure, or their luxurious courts? No: but kings attacked the feudal system and aristocratic privilege; they introduced unity into legislation and into the administration of affairs; they promoted the development of equality. And whence have the clergy derived their strength? In what way have they helped forward civilisation? By separating themselves from the people, by affecting to dread human reason, and by sanctioning tyranny in the name of heaven? No: but by assembling the great and the little, the rich and the poor, the strong and the weak, beneath the roof of the same church, and under the same law of God; by honouring and cultivating learning, instituting schools, favouring the diffusion of knowledge, and rewarding activity of mind. Consult the history of the masters of the world; analyse the influence of the various classes that have determined its fate; wherever any good is manifest, whenever the continued gratitude of mankind bears witness to a service rendered to humanity — a step has been taken towards

the object aimed at by the French and English revolutions; we are in presence of one of the principles which they endeavoured to render victorious.

Let us then cease to portray these revolutions as monstrous apparitions in the history of Europe; let us hear no more of their unprecedented pretensions and infernal inventions; they helped civilisation to advance along the road which it has been pursuing for centuries; they professed the maxims, and pushed forward the labours to which man has, in all ages, been indebted for the development of his nature and the improvement of his condition; they did that which has in turn constituted the chief merit and glory of clergy, nobles, and kings. If it be asked in what respect these two revolutions are distinguished from every other epoch: what is the reason that, while they merely continued the common work of all ages, they deserved their name, and positively changed the face of the world? This is the answer — Various powers have successively held sway in European society, and marched in turn at the head of civilisation. After the fall of the Roman Empire and the invasion of the barbarians, amidst the dissolution of all social ties and the destruction of all recognised powers, the predominance everywhere fell to daring and brutal force; the conquering aristocracy took possession of everything, persons and lands, people and country. In vain did a few great men, Charlemagne in France, and Alfred in England, endeavour to reduce this chaos to the unity of a monarchical system. All unity was impossible. The feudal hierarchy was the only form which society would consent to accept. This hierarchy prevailed universally, in the church as well as in the state; the bishops and abbots became barons; the king was the chief seigneur. In spite of the rude and unstable character of this organisation, Europe was indebted to it for its first steps out of barbarism. It was among the proprietors of fiefs — in their mutual relations, laws, customs, feelings, and ideas — that European civilisation commenced.

The fief-holders were a great burden on the people. The clergy alone endeavoured to claim for all a little reason, justice, and humanity. Those who had no place in the feudal hierarchy could find no asylum but the churches, and no protectors but the priests. This protection, though insufficient, was nevertheless an immense boon, for it was the only one. The priests, moreover, alone offered any sustenance for the moral nature of man, for that unconquerable necessity of thinking, knowing, hoping, and believing, which overcomes all obstacles, and survives all misfortunes. The church soon acquired prodigious power throughout all Europe. Royalty, then in its infancy, lent it fresh strength by borrowing its assistance. The predominance passed from the hands of the conquering aristocracy into those of the clergy. With the assistance of the church, and by its own inherent strength, the royal power increased, and raised itself above its rivals; but the clergy had no sooner assisted it, than they attempted to subjugate it. In this new emergency, the royal power invoked the help, sometimes of the now less formidable barons, but more frequently of the people: the townsmen, who were already strong enough to be valuable allies, though not sufficiently powerful to require a high price for their services. By their aid, the royal power triumphed in its second conflict, and became in its turn the dominant power, invested with the confidence of the nations. Such is the history of old Europe: the feudal aristocracy, the clergy, and the royal power, alternately possessed it, and successively presided over its destiny and progress. To their co-existence and conflict it was long indebted for all the liberty, prosperity, and enlightenment it had obtained; in a word, for the development of its civilisation.

In England in the seventeenth century, and in France in the eighteenth,

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all conflict between these three powers had ceased; they were living together in peace and tranquillity. We might almost say that they had lost their historical character, and even their recollection of the labours which had formerly given them strength and renown. Their aristocracy no longer defended public liberties, it did not even defend its own; the royal power no longer laboured to abolish aristocratic privilege, it seemed even to have become favourable to the possessors of that privilege in return for their servility; and the clergy, the spiritual power, was afraid of the human mind, and, being unable to lead it, endeavoured to arrest its progress by menaces. Meanwhile, civilisation pursued its course, and daily became more general and active. Abandoned by their old leaders, surprised at their apathy and ill temper, and indignant at finding that less was done for them as their desires and strength grew greater, the people began to think that it was their duty to attend to their own interests; and assuming the entire responsibility of their affairs, about which no one seemed any longer to care, they simultaneously demanded liberty from the crown, equality from the aristocracy, and intellectual freedom from the clergy. Then revolutions broke forth.

They effected, for the benefit of a new power, a change which Europe had already witnessed on several occasions: they gave to society, leaders who were willing and able to guide it in its progress. On this ground alone, the aristocracy, the church, and the king, had in turn possessed the preponderance. The people now seized it in virtue of the same right, by the same means, and in the name of the same necessities. Such is the real work, the true character, of both the English and French revolutions. After having considered them as absolutely alike, it has been said that they were similar only in appearance. The English Revolution, we are told, was political rather than social; the French Revolution attempted to change both society and the government together — the one sought to establish liberty, the other equality — the one was rather religious than political, and merely substituted one set of dogmas for another, and one church for another church; the other was pre-eminently philosophical, and asserted the complete independence of reason. The comparison is ingenious, and not altogether void of truth; but it is almost as superficial and frivolous as the opinion which it assumes to supersede. Just as great differences are visible beneath the external resemblance of the two revolutions, so an even deeper resemblance is concealed beneath their differences.

From the very causes which produced its ebullition more than a century before the revolution in France, the English Revolution, it is true, retained a deeper impress of the old social condition of the country; there, free institutions, born amid barbarism, had survived even the despotism which they had been unable to prevent; the feudal aristocracy, in part, at least, had made common cause with the people. The royal power, even in the days of its predominance, had never been fully or undisturbedly absolute; the national church had itself commenced the work of religious reform, and stimulated the minds of the people to boldness of inquiry and speculation. Everywhere, in the laws, manners, and creed of the nation, the revolution found its work half effected; and from the government which it aspired to change, it derived, at the same time, both succour and obstruction, useful allies and powerful adversaries. Thus it presented a singular combination of elements apparently the most diverse; it was at once aristocratic and popular, religious and philosophical, invoking laws and theories by turns; sometimes announcing a new yoke for consciences, sometimes proclaiming their entire liberty; now narrowly confined within the limits of fact, and now indulging in the most daring

speculations — it was, in a word, placed between the old and new state of society, rather as a bridge to connect than as an abyss to separate them.

In the French Revolution, on the other hand, the most terrible unity prevailed; the spirit of innovation held undivided sway over its proceedings; the *ancien régime*, far from taking its proper place and part in the movement, sought only to defend itself against it, and succeeded scarcely for a moment in the attempt, for it was equally destitute of strength and virtue. On the day on which the revolution broke out, one fact alone remained positive and influential, and that was the general civilisation of the country. In this great but solitary result were concentrated all the old institutions, all the old manners, beliefs, and recollections — indeed, the whole life of the nation. The many active and glorious centuries which had elapsed had produced nothing but France. Hence arose the immensity of the results of the revolution, and the portentous magnitude of its errors — it possessed absolute power.

The difference is certainly great, and well worthy of consideration; it is particularly striking when we consider the two revolutions in themselves as isolated events, when we detach them from general history, and endeavour to distinguish their peculiar physiognomy and individual character. But, if they resume their place in the course of time — if we examine what they have done for the development of European civilisation — we shall see the resemblance reappear, and rise above all diversities. Originating in the same causes, by the decay of the feudal aristocracy, the church, and the royal power, they laboured to effect the same work — to secure the domination of the people in public affairs. They struggled for liberty against absolute power, for equality against privilege, for progressive and general interests against stationary and individual interests. Their positions were different, and their strength unequal; what the one clearly perceived, the other saw only imperfectly; in the career which the one followed to the end, the other soon stopped short; on the same field of battle, the one found victory and the other defeat; the one erred from cynicism, the other from hypocrisy; the one was marked by great prudence, the other by great power; but they varied only in the means they employed, and the success they achieved; they were the same in tendency and in origin; their desires, efforts, and progress aimed at the same object; all that the one attempted or accomplished, the other also effected or attempted. Although guilty of religious persecution, the English Revolution unfurled the banner of liberty of conscience; in spite of its aristocratic alliances, it established the predominance of the commons; as its chief occupation was with civil order, it demanded a simpler legislative system, parliamentary reform, the abolition of entails and of the right of primogeniture; and although deceived in many premature expectations, it liberated English society, to an immense extent, from the monstrous inequality of the feudal régime — in a word, such is the analogy between the two revolutions, that the first would never have been properly understood unless the second had occurred.

THE ORGANISATION OF THE ENGLISH REPUBLIC

We have already related the downfall of an ancient monarchy, and the violent death of a king who was worthy of respect, although he governed his people badly and unjustly. We have now to relate the vain efforts of a revolutionary assembly to found a republic; and to describe the ever-tottering, but strong and glorious government of a revolutionary despot, whose bold and prudent genius commands our admiration, although he attacked

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and destroyed, first legal order, and then liberty, in his native land. Such men are full of contradiction and of mystery: in them are mingled and combined, in undiscoverable proportions, capabilities and failings, virtues and vices, enlightenment and error, grandeur and weakness; and after having filled the age in which they lived with the splendour of their actions and the magnitude of their destiny, they remain personally obscure in the midst of their glory, alternately cursed and worshipped by the world which does not know them.

At the opening of the Long Parliament, on the 3rd of November, 1640, the house of commons consisted of five hundred and six members. In 1649, after the execution of the king, when it abolished kingship and proclaimed the commonwealth, there scarcely remained a hundred who took part in its sittings and acts. During the month of February, the house divided ten times; and at the most numerous division, only seventy-seven members were present to record their votes. Thus mutilated and reduced to the condition of a victorious coterie, this assembly set to work, with an ardour full at once of strong faith and deep anxiety, to organize the republican government.[d] Some had wished the royal authority to be transferred to Charles II, under the conditions which had been proposed to his father; for all that had been alleged against him was inapplicable to his son. Others proposed to pass him over, because he had borne arms against the parliament, and to give the English crown by election to his younger brother. Others disapproved of elections and deviations from the strict line of succession. But the republicans were more powerful than the several classes and gradations of the royalists.

The final discussion, however, was with the parliament, or rather with the army. Already, on the 20th of January, that is before the execution of Charles, the army had proposed an agreement upon the future constitution and government, in which it demanded the speedy dissolution of the parliament; a new regulation of the representation; elections every two years, mostly according to the population; the exclusion of all the adversaries of the parliament; the election by it of the administrative council of state; religious liberty (but without the re-establishment of the papacy and the bishops), the abolition of the excise, and a change in many laws. The parliament returned hearty thanks to his excellency the general and the army, for their indefatigable, great, and excellent services; and resolved that this document should be immediately printed, to show the affection and unanimity that prevailed between the army and the parliament.

On the very day of Charles's death it was declared to be high treason to acknowledge any person whatever as king of England; and immediately afterwards every member was excluded from parliament who had voted for a treaty with the king, or who had latterly not approved of everything that was done, or had withdrawn himself. The number of members was reduced to about seventy, of whom it often happened that not one half appeared in the house. On the 26th of February, 1649, the conquerors decided, by a majority of forty-four to twenty-nine, "The house of lords is useless and dangerous, and is therefore abolished"; and on the 7th of March, it was further decided, "Royalty is useless, burdensome, and dangerous for England, and contrary to the freedom as well as to the safety and interests of the people. A council of state, consisting of forty-nine members, undertakes the administration of public affairs."

In a declaration of the 21st of March, the reasons for the introduction of a republic were set forth. "The office of the king," says this declaration, "was established by an agreement of the people, and filled by election. It was

very seldom that any one performed his duties, whereas the greater number have been the cause of much misery and bloodshed. Charles I, in particular, was justly condemned and executed for treachery, murder, and other odious crimes; his sons, as nothing better can be expected from them, and the eldest has already borne arms against the parliament, are declared unworthy of the throne, and all the inhabitants of the kingdom are released from their oaths and duties to them. Rome, Venice, Switzerland, the Netherlands, have proved to what a height of prosperity republics rise, and that wealth, liberty, and justice there go hand in hand. The great are there no longer able to oppress the poor; ambition vanishes; disputes about succession, and civil wars, are prevented; and liberty of conscience, persons, and property is untouched. The pure form of a republic, and the public safety, made it necessary to abolish the upper house, with its objections, which only caused delay: but the lords may be chosen members of the house of commons. He who will not take an oath to a constitution without a king and upper house is incapable of holding any office in the church and state. The new great seal has on one side the map of England and Ireland, and on the reverse, bears the inscription, 'In the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored.'"

It was then declared that God had wonderfully revealed himself, and destroyed in England tyranny, superstition, and popery; for which all owed him gratitude and obedience. But, instead of that, they were guilty of the most crying sins and blasphemy. That such a state of things might have an end, and the great enterprise further prosper, that all dissensions might be reconciled in brotherly love, and all conspiracies of wicked people might cease, a day of fasting and prayer was ordered. This external means, however, did not produce the intended result; on the contrary, the discontent in England increased, and open war ensued with Scotland and Ireland.[e] On the 7th of February the parliament had voted the creation of a council of state, "to be henceforth the executive power"; and five members, Scott, Ludlow, Lisle, Holland, and Robinson, chosen from among the staunchest republicans, were ordered "to present to the house instructions to be given to the council of estates; and likewise the names of such persons as they conceive fit to be of that council."[1] Six days after, on the 13th of February, Scott presented his report to the house. All the practical functions of the government were vested in the council of state under the control and in obedience to the instructions of parliament — the sole depositary of the national sovereignty.

On the two following days, the house proceeded to appoint the forty-one councillors of state, voting specially on each name. Five ex-peers of the realm, the three chief judges, the three leaders of the army, Fairfax, Cromwell, and Skippon, and thirty country gentlemen and citizens, nearly all of whom were members of the house, were elected. The nomination of the five peers met with objections; the democrats wished to exclude them, as well as the house of lords itself, from all participation in the government of the commonwealth; but the more prudent politicians, on the contrary, gave an eager welcome to these noblemen, who were still powerful by their wealth and name. The entire list proposed by the commissioners of the parliament was adopted, with the exception of two names, Ireton and Harrison, who were

[1] We may here mention that, at this period, England had not yet adopted the reformed Gregorian Calendar, and that her chronology was ten days behind that of the Continent. The 7th of February in England, in the seventeenth century, would therefore correspond with the 17th of February on the Continent. We have adopted the English date in speaking of English events.

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probably thought too devotedly attached to Cromwell, and for whom two republicans were substituted, conspicuous for their uncompromising distrust of the army and its leaders. They were all appointed for a year.

When they met for the first time, on the 17th of February, 1649, they were required to sign an engagement, expressing approbation of all that had been done in the king's trial, in the overthrow of kingship, and in the abolition of the house of lords. Nineteen in all, signed the engagement; but twenty-two persisted in refusing it. They stated that they were resolved, in future, faithfully to serve the government of the house of commons, as it was the supreme power, the only one which remained in existence, and therefore necessary to the liberties and safety of the people; but, from various motives, and in terms more or less distinct, they refused to give their sanction to all the past. The house, in great excitement, proceeded at once to deliberate on this report, forbidding all the members present to leave the hall without express permission; but political good sense acted as a check upon passion: to originate dissensions among the republicans, in the first days of the commonwealth, would, it was felt, be madness; the regicides knew that, if left alone, they would not be strong enough to maintain their position. The matter was arranged without further difficulty; the pledge of fidelity which the dissidents offered for the future was accepted, and they took their seats besides the regicides in the republican council of state.

This compromise was to a very great extent the work, on the one hand, of Cromwell, and on the other, of Sir Harry Vane, the most eminent, the most sincere, the most able, and the most chimerical of the non-military republicans. He was an ardent revolutionist, and he detested revolutionary violence. When, on the 6th of November, 1648, the army had expelled the entire Presbyterian party from the house of commons, Vane had boldly denounced that act, and ceased to take part in the sittings of the mutilated house. He had protested still more strongly against the trial of the king, and ever since that period he had resided at his country-seat at Raby, completely unconnected with public affairs. But the commonwealth was the object at once of his faith and of his aspirations; as soon as it appeared, he belonged to it, heart and soul. He it was, who, setting aside the past, suggested the oath of fidelity for the future, and Cromwell, quite sure that this would be enough to secure Vane to the service of the council of state and to the parliament, was one of the most eager to express his entire approval of the suggestion. Cromwell was right, for no sooner had they taken their seats than this same Vane, and that same majority of the council of state who had refused to take any share in the responsibility of the regicides, elected as their president, John Bradshaw, the president of the high court which had condemned Charles I; and three days after, Vane, with several of his colleagues, proceeded to "a small house in Holborn, which opens backwards into Lincoln's Inn Fields," to offer the post of Latin secretary to the council to a kinsman of Bradshaw's, who had recently maintained, in an eloquent pamphlet, "that it is lawful to call to account a tyrant, or wicked king, and after due conviction, to depose and put him to death!" That man was Milton.

At the same time that it was engaged in the constitution of the council of state, the house turned its attention also to the courts of law. Of the twelve principal judges, ten had been appointed by the parliament itself since the outbreak of the civil war; and yet, on the 8th of February, 1649, six of them refused to give any oath of fidelity to the commonwealth, and the other six would only consent to continue the discharge of their functions on

condition that, by a formal declaration of the house, the ancient laws of the country should be maintained, and that the judges should continue to take them as the rule of their decisions. These demands were complied with, and the six judges who had tendered their resignation were not replaced until the following summer. The earl of Warwick, the lord high admiral, lived on intimate terms with Cromwell; but he was a decided Presbyterian, who inspired the republicans with no confidence, and who himself preferred his own ease to their service. His office was taken from him on the 20th of February, 1649; the powers of the admiralty were vested in the council of state, which delegated them to a committee of three members, of whom Vane was the chief; and the command of the fleet passed into the hands of three officers, Edward Popham, Richard Deane, and Robert Blake — the last a literate and warlike Puritan, who had already given proof of his great qualities as a soldier, and who was destined to augment at sea the power and glory of the commonwealth, which he served with austere and unflinching devotedness.[d]

EXECUTIONS AND MUTINIES.

While the commons were thus converting the ancient monarchy of England into a republic, a high court of justice was sitting in judgment on the royalists of rank who were prisoners in their hands. On the night after the death of the king, the duke of Hamilton had made his escape from Windsor, but he was recognised and arrested by some troopers next day as he was knocking in disguise at an inn gate in Southwark. Lord Capel also escaped out of the Tower, but he was discovered and seized by two watermen at a house in Lambeth. These two noblemen, with Lord Norwich and Sir John Owen, were some days after (10th) brought before a high court of justice presided over by Bradshaw, and arraigned for treason. They were all sentenced to lose their heads (March 6).

The house proceeded to vote on their several cases; it was determined that the duke and Lord Capel should not be reprieved; the votes for and against were equal in the cases of Holland and Norwich, and the speaker, by his casting vote, condemned the former and saved the latter. Colonel Hutchinson seeing Sir John Owen without any one to make an exertion in his favour, took pity on him and prevailed on Ireton to give him his interest, and by their joint influence he was saved by a majority of five. Hamilton, Holland and Capel were beheaded the next day (9th) in Palace Yard: they met their fate with courage and constancy, especially the last, who behaved, we are told, "like a stout Roman."

The new government was in fact that species of tyranny denominated oligarchy, and depending, like all other tyrannies, for its existence on the power of the sword. But it was here that its chief source of danger lay; the fanatic principles of the levellers were widely spread among the Prætorian guards of the new commonwealth, and it was not long ere they broke out into action. The fearless John Lilburne, the sworn foe to despotism of every kind, led the way by a petition against the "Agreement of the People"; petitions from officers and soldiers, and from the well-affected in various parts, poured in, calling for annual parliaments with entirely new members; the enforcement of the Self-Denying Ordinance; the abolition of the council of state and the high court of justice; requiring legal proceedings to be in English, and the fees of lawyers to be reduced; the excise and customs to be abolished, and the estates of delinquents to be sold; liberty of conscience,

THE PROSCRIBED ROYALIST

(From the painting by Sir John Everett Millais, P.R.A., in the Pender Collection)

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abolition of tithes, and fixed salaries of 100*l.* a year for the ministers of the Gospel.

To quell the spirit of the army vigorous means were employed. Five troopers, the bearers of a remonstrance from several regiments were sentenced by a court-martial to ride the wooden horse, have their swords broken over their heads, and be cashiered. Lilburne, who was keeping up a constant fire of pamphlets, ("England's New Chains Discovered"; "A Second Part" of the same; and "The Hunting of the Foxes from Newmarket and Triploe-heath to Westminster, by five small Beagles," alluding to the five troopers, etc.) was, with his associates Walwyn, Prince and Overton, committed to the Tower (March 29). Numerous petitions, especially from the women, were presented in their favour, but without effect. "They were bid," says Walker *f* to go home and wash their dishes, to which some of them replied, they had neither dishes nor meat left." A very different answer, he says, from what they used to receive "when they had money, plate, rings, bodkins and thimbles to sacrifice to these legislative idols." Mutinies broke out in the regiments destined for Ireland; the first was at Bishopsgate, in the city, where a troop of horse seized the colours and refused to march. For this five of them were sentenced to be shot, but with the exception of one named Lockier they were pardoned by the general. At the funeral of Lockier (April 30) the corpse, adorned with bundles of rosemary dipped in blood, was preceded by one hundred men in files; six trumpeters sounding a soldier's knell went on each side of it; his horse covered with mourning was led after it; then came thousands of people with sea-green and black ribbons at their breasts. The women brought up the rear; thousands more of the better sort met them at the grave.

This funeral convinced the government of the necessity of acting with energy, for the mutiny was spreading fast. A captain Thompson, at the head of two hundred men, set forth at Banbury a manifesto named "England's Standard Advanced." They were, however, surprised by Colonel Reynolds (May 13); Thompson fled, and his men surrendered. A body of more than one thousand men moved from Salisbury to Burford, where Fairfax came up with them. At midnight Cromwell forced his way into the town and made four hundred of them prisoners, several of whom were shot by sentence of a court-martial (19th); the rest were pardoned. Thompson was slain shortly after at Wellingborough (21st), and the mutiny was finally suppressed. On Cromwell's making a report to that effect to the house (26th) a general day of thanksgiving for that great mercy was ordered. There was another kind of levellers at this time, named the "diggers," whose principle it was that the barren earth was to be made fruitful. They accordingly repaired to St. George's Hill, near Walton, in Surrey, and began to dig a common there, and to sow beans and other plants in it. Fairfax sent two troops of horse and easily dispersed them, as their number was only thirty.

SCOTLAND AND CHARLES II; THE FATE OF MONTROSE

It is now time that we should take a view of the state of affairs in Scotland at this conjuncture. The parliament there, now under the control of Argyll, had sent instructions to their commissioners to protest against the trial and execution of the king. No notice had been taken of the Scottish protest. When tidings of the execution of the king reached Edinburgh the parliament had forthwith (Feb. 5) proclaimed Charles II, provided he

would take the covenant and adhere to the solemn league between the two kingdoms. Afterwards, when they found themselves treated with contempt by the English parliament, and their commissioners actually sent under a guard to the frontiers, they appointed commissioners to proceed to the Hague to treat with the king. These on arriving (March 26) found Lanark (later duke of Hamilton), Lauderdale and Callendar, the chiefs of the engagers, and the royalists Montrose, Kinnoull and Seaforth already there. The antipathies and disputes of these parties caused distraction and confusion; and Charles, whose real design was to repair to Ormonde and the Catholics in Ireland, was little inclined to give them satisfaction.

The murder of Dorislaus, which occurred soon after, made it expedient for Charles to quit the Hague. This civilian had been sent as envoy from the parliament to the states. On the very evening of his arrival (May 3), as he was at supper in an inn, six gentlemen entered the room with drawn swords, and dragging him from his chair, murdered him on the ground. Ascham, the republican envoy to the court of Madrid, was also assassinated by the royalists. Clarendon does not, by any means, condemn the deed. The assassins of Dorislaus escaped, but it was known that they were Scotchmen and followers of Montrose. Charles immediately left the Hague and proceeded to Paris, whence, after a delay of three months, he went to Jersey in order to take shipping for Ireland. But the intelligence which he received from that country showing that his cause there was hopeless, he renewed his negotiations with the Scots.

Many months passed without anything being done; but early in the following year (March 15, 1650) he met the commissioners, who were the earls of Cassilis and Lothian, two barons, two burgesses, and three ministers, at the prince of Orange's town of Breda. But though urged by his mother, the prince of Orange and several of his other friends, to take the covenant and comply with the other demands, he still protracted the treaty.

The truth is, Charles, who had all the insincerity distinctive of his family, had in view another mode of recovering his throne. The restless and enterprising Montrose having obtained some supplies of arms and money from the northern courts, had embarked at Hamburg with about six hundred men, Germans and Scottish exiles. He sailed to the Orkney Isles, where by a forced levy he raised his troops to about fourteen hundred, with whom he passed over to the opposite coast; but as he marched through Caithness and Sutherland the people, instead of joining him as he expected, fled at his approach. At Corbinsdale, in Fifeshire, he was encountered (April 17) by a party of three hundred horse, under Strachhan; the main army of four thousand men under David Leslie not being yet come up. The unwarlike islanders, when charged by cavalry, threw down their arms and fled; the Germans retreated to a wood, where they surrendered.

Montrose, in the disguise of a peasant, escaped by swimming across a river, but he was betrayed (May 8) by a person with whom he had taken refuge, and was conducted a prisoner to Edinburgh. Every insult that could be devised was heaped on him by his ungenerous captors. The magistrates of Edinburgh met him at the gates, and by their directions he was placed, bareheaded and pinioned, on a high seat in a cart, and thus led by the executioner to the common gaol, his officers walking two and two before the cart. Within two days he was brought before the parliament to receive his sentence. The chancellor in a bitter tone enumerated all his offences. He replied that he had always acted by the royal command.

He was then sentenced to be hung on a gallows thirty feet high, his head

[1650 A.D.]

to be fixed on a spike in Edinburgh, his arms on the gates of Perth and Stirling, his legs on those of Glasgow and Aberdeen, his body to be buried by the hangman on the Burrow moor. He heard this sentence with an unchanged countenance. The clergy then came to torture him; they told him that his punishment here was but a shadow of what awaited him in the next world. He repelled them with disdain: he was prouder, he said, to have his head placed on the prison walls than his picture in the king's bed-chamber, and he wished he had flesh enough to be dispersed through Christendom to attest his loyalty. He appeared on the scaffold (May 20th) in a splendid dress, and addressed the people in explanation of his dying unabsolved by the church; the executioner then hung the book containing the history of his exploits about his neck; he smiled at their malice, and said he wore it with more pride than the Garter. His behaviour at his last moments gained many proselytes to the cause for which he suffered.

COTTAGE IN MERTON

Montrose was only thirty-eight years of age. His mind was irregularly great, always aiming at what was beyond his power to achieve. He never displayed the talents of a great commander, but as a partisan or guerilla he was not to be excelled. Personal aggrandisement or the gratification of personal enmity was the impelling cause of most of his actions. His barbarous death has in some measure effaced the memory of the cruelties which he had committed. Sir Francis Hay Spotswood, grandson of the archbishop, Colonel Sibbald and Colonel Hurry, his companions, were all executed a few days after Montrose. His friend Lord Frendaught balked the public vengeance by a voluntary death.

When the news of Montrose's defeat reached Charles, he lost no time in declaring that he had forbidden him to proceed in his design, and that he was not sorry for what had befallen him. He then submitted without reserve to the demands of the commissioners. Beside taking the covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant, he bound himself not to tolerate Roman Catholicism in any part of his dominions, and to govern by the advice of the parliament and the kirk. He then embarked (June 2) on board of a Dutch fleet employed to protect the herring fisheries, and after a tedious voyage of three weeks reached the mouth of the Spey (23rd). [The treaty was actually signed while the fleet was anchored in the roads of Helgoland, June 11th; hence it is called the Treaty of Helgoland.] A court was arranged for him

with all the proper officers, but none of the engagers were permitted to approach it; and none of his English followers, but the duke of Buckingham, Lord Wilmot and a few servants, were suffered to remain with him.

He soon found that he was to be a mere pageant of royalty, and the insolence of the despotic fanatic clergy made his life wearisome. Evermore he was compelled to listen to their invectives against the iniquity of his father's house, the idolatry of his mother, and his own connection with malignants. Long prayers, tedious sermons, rigid fasts, and Judaical sabbaths were inflicted on him, and the slightest levity in look or conduct was severely reprehended. How long a licentious youth (for such was Charles) and these sour religionists could have agreed is uncertain; but the time for the experiment was brief; for Charles had been but one short month in Scotland when (July 22) Cromwell, flushed with victory in Ireland, crossed the Tweed at the head of an English army.

CROMWELL IN IRELAND

In Ireland, when the nuncio Rinuccini and the clergy had got the supreme power into their hands, they had exercised it weakly, passionately and injudiciously; but the marquis of Clanricarde and some other peers rallied against them, and finally obliged the nuncio to fly to the camp of his friend Owen O'Neil. Lord Inchiquin, who had been hitherto on the side of the parliament, having declared for the royal cause, the council invited Ormonde to return and resume the lieutenancy; and on his arrival, the insolent, turbulent Italian found it necessary to quit the kingdom in which his presence had been productive only of evil. The account of the execution of Charles I had caused the Scottish army in Ulster to declare for the royal cause. Owen O'Neil, who was closely connected with the party of the nuncio, refused to be included in it, and formed an alliance with the parliamentary commanders. Ormonde being joined by Inchiquin from Munster, was enabled to appear at the head of a combined army of eleven thousand men, Protestants and Catholics, before the walls of Dublin (June 19), while Inchiquin reduced Drogheda. Monk, who commanded at Dundalk, had concerted with O'Neil a plan for drawing the lord-lieutenant away from Dublin; but Inchiquin fell on and routed a body of O'Neil's troops who were convoying the ammunition sent him by Monk for this purpose, and then compelled Monk himself to surrender. He also reduced Newry, Carlingford, Trim, and other towns, and then rejoined Ormonde before Dublin. Owen O'Neil meantime advanced toward Londonderry, which was hard pressed by the royalists, and he obliged them to raise the siege.

The parliament had appointed Cromwell to the command in Ireland (March 15), but he hesitated to accept it; the council of officers then directed two from each regiment to meet and seek God as to what advice to offer him, and at length he declared himself willing to undertake that service. He was appointed lord-lieutenant, with supreme authority both civil and military, for three years. He demanded a force of twelve thousand men with all needful supplies, and 100,000*l.* in money.[1] These preparations caused so much delay, that Cromwell did not leave London till the 10th of July; on which day, when three ministers had offered up prayers for his success, and he himself, Goffe and Harrison "did" says Whitelock, "expound some places of Scripture excellently well and pertinent to the occasion," he left

[1] Cromwell received £3,000 for his outfit, £10 per day as general while he remained in England, and £2,000 per quarter in Ireland, besides his salary as lord-lieutenant. — LINGARD.

[1649 A.D.]

Whitehall with a train of carriages, each drawn by six horses, with his life-guard of eighty gentlemen, all of whom had been officers, and a numerous suite of attendants. Ere their departure, his officers presented a petition to parliament, praying that drunkenness, profane swearing, etc., might be restrained; legal proceedings be in English, cheap and certain; lands and houses with their encumbrances be registered in each parish; tithes be abolished, and two shillings in the pound be levied on the land for the support of the clergy and the poor.[i]

It had been fixed that the expedition should sail from Milford Haven; but the impatience of the general was checked by the reluctance and desertion of his men. The recent transaction between Monk and O'Neil had diffused a spirit of distrust through the army. It was pronounced an apostasy from the principles on which they had fought. The exaggerated horrors of the massacre in 1641 were recalled to mind; the repeated resolutions of parliament to extirpate the native Irish, and the solemn engagement of the army to revenge the blood which had been shed, were warmly discussed; and the invectives of the leaders against the late king, when he concluded a peace with the confederate Catholics, were contrasted with their present backsliding, when they had taken the men of Ulster for their associates and for their brethren in arms. To appease the growing discontent, parliament annulled the agreement. Monk, who had returned to England, was publicly assured that, if he escaped the punishment of his indiscretion, it was on account of his past services and good intentions. Peters from the pulpit employed his eloquence to remove the blame from the grandees; and, if we may judge from the sequel, promises were made, not only that the good cause should be supported, but that the duty of revenge should be amply discharged.

While the army was thus detained in the neighbourhood of Milford Haven, Jones, in Dublin, reaped the laurels which Cromwell had destined for himself. The royal army had advanced on both banks of the Liffy to the siege of that capital. Jones, sallying from the walls (Aug. 2), overpowered the guard, and raised an alarm in the camp. It was in vain that Ormonde, aroused from his sleep, flew from post to post; a general panic ensued, and the whole army on the right bank fled in every direction. The artillery, tents, baggage, and ammunition fell into the hands of the conquerors, with two thousand prisoners, three hundred of whom were massacred in cold blood at the gate of the city. This was called the battle of Rathmines, a battle which destroyed the hopes of the Irish royalists and taught men to doubt the abilities of Ormonde. At court, his enemies ventured to hint suspicions of treason; but Charles, to silence their murmurs and assure him of the royal favour, sent him the order of the Garter.

CROMWELL MASSACRES THE PRISONERS

The news of this important victory hastened the departure of Cromwell. He sailed from Milford with a single division (Aug. 18, 1649 [1]); his son-in-law, Ireton, followed with the remainder of the army, and a fortnight was allowed to the soldiers to refresh themselves after their voyage. The campaign was opened with the siege of Drogheda (Sept. 3). Ormonde had thrown into the town a garrison of two thousand five hundred chosen men, under the command of Sir Arthur Ashton, an officer who had earned a brilliant reputation by his services to the royal cause in England during the civil war (Sept. 11).[h]

[1 On the occasion of the crossing, which was rough, a spectator noted that Cromwell "was as sea sick as ever I saw a man in my life."]

Cromwell's Own Account of His Irish Massacres[1]

Your army came before the town upon Monday following. Where having pitched, as speedy course was taken as could be to frame our batteries; which took up the more time because divers of the battering guns were on shipboard. Upon Monday, the batteries began to play. Whereupon I sent Sir Arthur Ashton, the then governor, a summons, to deliver the town to the use of the parliament of England. To the which receiving no satisfactory answer, I proceeded that day to beat down the steeple of the church on the south side of the town, and to beat down a tower not far from the same place. Our guns not being able to do much that day, it was resolved to endeavour to do our utmost the next day to make breaches assaultable, and by the help of God to storm them. The place pitched upon was that part of the town wall next a church called St. Mary's; which was the rather chosen because we did hope that if we did enter and possess that church, we should be the better able to keep it against their horse and foot until we could make way for the entrance of our horse. The batteries planted were two: one was for that part of the wall against the east end of the said church; the other against the wall on the south side. Being somewhat long in battering, the enemy made six retrenchments: three of them from the said church to Duleek Gate; and three of them from the east end of the church to the town wall and so backward. The guns, after some two or three hundred shot, beat down the corner tower, and opened two reasonable good breaches in the east and south wall.

Upon Tuesday, about five o'clock in the evening we began to storm: and after some hot dispute we entered, about seven or eight hundred men; the enemy disputing it very stiffly with us. And indeed, through the advantages of the place, and the courage God was pleased to give the defenders, our men were forced to retreat quite out of the breach, not without some considerable loss. Although our men that stormed the breaches were forced to recoil, as is before expressed; yet, being encouraged to recover their loss, they made a second attempt: wherein God was pleased so to animate them that they got ground of the enemy, and by the goodness of God, forced him to quit his intrenchments. And after a very hot dispute, the enemy having both horse and foot, and we only foot, within the wall — they gave ground, and our men became masters both of their retrenchments and of the church; which indeed, although they made our entrance the more difficult yet they proved of excellent use to us; so that the enemy could not annoy us with their horse, but thereby we had advantage to make good the ground, that so we might let in our own horse; which accordingly was done, though with much difficulty.

Divers of the enemy retreated into the Mill-Mount: a place very strong and of difficult access; being exceedingly high, having a good graft, and strongly palisadoed. The governor, Sir Arthur Ashton, and divers considerable officers being there, our men getting up to them, were ordered by me to put them all to the sword. And indeed, being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the town: and, I think, that night they put to the sword about 2,000 men; divers of the officers and soldiers being fled over the bridge into the other part of the town, where about 100 of them possessed St. Peter's church-steeple, some the west gate, and others a strong round tower next the gate called St. Sunday's. These being summoned to yield to mercy, refused. Whereupon I ordered the steeple of St.

[1 In a letter to William Lenthall, speaker of the Long Parliament, dated Dublin, September 17th, 1649.]

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Peter's church to be fired, when one of them was heard to say in the midst of the flames: "God damn me, God confound me; I burn, I burn."

The next day, the other two towers were summoned; in one of which was about six or seven score; but they refused to yield themselves; and we knowing that hunger must compel them, set only good guards to secure them from running away until their stomachs were come down. From one of the said towers, notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men. When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head; and every tenth man of the soldiers killed and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes. The soldiers in the other tower were all spared, as to their lives only; and shipped likewise for the Barbadoes. I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood; and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future. Which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret. Since this great mercy vouchsafed to us, I sent a party of horse and dragoons to Dundalk; which the enemy quitted, and we are possessed of — as also of another castle they deserted, between Trim, and Tredah [Drogheda], upon the Boyne.

And now give me leave to say how it comes to pass that this work is wrought. It was set upon some of our hearts, that a great thing should be done, not by power or might, but by the spirit of God. And is it not so, clearly? That which caused your men to storm so courageously, it was the spirit of God, who gave your men courage, and took it away again; and gave the enemy courage, and took it away again; and gave your men courage again, and therewith this happy success. And therefore it is good that God alone have all the glory. It is remarkable that these people, at the first, set up the mass in some places of the town that had been monasteries; but afterwards grew so insolent that, the last Lord's day before the storm, the Protestants were thrust out of the great church called St. Peter's and they had public mass there: and in this very place near one thousand of them were put to the sword, fleeing thither for safety. I believe all their friars were knocked on the head promiscuously but two; the one of which was father Peter Taaff, brother to the lord Taaff, whom the soldiers took, the next day, and made an end of. The other was taken in the Round Tower, under the repute of a lieutenant, and when he understood that the officers in that tower had no quarter he confessed he was a friar; but that did not save him. I do not think we lost one hundred men upon the place, though many be wounded.[k]

FURTHER ATROCITIES IN IRELAND

According to other reports, by royalist and even parliamentary writers, not only did the carnage last two days, but officers who were discovered after the lapse of five or six days, during which they had been concealed by the humanity of some of the soldiers, were put to death in cold blood; and at the moment of the massacre, women and children met with the same fate as armed men. "It was," says a contemporary panegyrist of Cromwell, "a sacrifice of three thousand Irish to the ghosts of ten thousand English, whom they had massacred some years before." The sacrifice did not produce the effect which Cromwell had anticipated would justify it; it did not suffice to prevent the further effusion of blood; another such example had to be made. Wexford, a month afterwards, defended itself with the same obstinacy as Drogheda, and witnessed a similar massacre.[d]

According to a story which Gardiner[b] doubts but Lingard[h] accepts, three hundred women who gathered round the cross in the market place, were put to the sword without mercy. The Irish commanders disdained to imitate the cruelty of their enemies. "I took," says Lord Castlehaven,[l] "Athy by storm, with all the garrison (seven hundr d men) prisoners. I made a present of them to Cromwell, desiring him by letter that h would do the like with me, as any of mine should fall in his power. But he little valued my civility. For, in a few days after, he besieged Gowran; and the soldiers mutinying, and giving up the place with their officers, he caused the governor, Hammond, and some other officers, to be put to death." Ormonde[m] also says, in one of his letters, "the next day Rathfarnham was taken by storm, and all that were in it made prisoners; and though five hundred soldiers entered the castle before any officer of note, yet not one creature was killed; which I tell you by the way, to observe the difference betwixt our and the rebels making use of a victory."[a]

Other places, it is true, from intimidation or treachery, surrendered: Cork, Ross, Youghal, and Kilkenny, submitted without resistance; but other places again, Callan, Gowran, and Clonmel, made a bold defence; and some, Waterford for instance, resisted so vigorously that Cromwell was obliged to raise the siege. And, even where success seemed won most easily, it was sullied by acts of wanton cruelty: at Gowran the soldiers obtained their lives on surrendering the place, but on the condition of giving up their officers, who were all put to death. The bishop of Ross was hanged in his Episcopal robes, under the walls of a fortress defended by his troops. Clonmel made an heroic resistance, and when at length it surrendered, Cromwell found not a single man belonging to the garrison in it; whilst he was signing the articles of capitulation with the inhabitants, they had left the town by night with their arms and baggage, to recommence the war elsewhere.

It is the ordinary artifice of bad passions to impute the cruel satisfaction with which they glut themselves, either to some great idea whose accomplishment they are earnestly pursuing, or to the absolute necessity of success. History would be dishonoured by admitting these lying excuses: it is her duty to refer evil to its source, and to render to the vices of mankind that which is their due. Human fanaticism also lies, or allows itself to be deluded by pride, when it pretends to be the executor of the high decrees of divine justice: it is not the office of man to pronounce upon nations the sentences of God. Cromwell was not bloodthirsty; but he was determined to succeed rapidly and at any cost, from the necessities of his fortune, far more than for the advancement of his cause: and he denied no outlet to the passions of those who served him. He was an ambitious and selfish, though really great, man, who had narrow-minded and hard-hearted fanatics for his instruments.

His great and true means of success did not consist in his massacres, but in his genius, and in the exalted idea which the people had already conceived of him. Sometimes by instinct, sometimes from reflection, he conducted himself in Ireland towards both his friends and his enemies with an ability as pliant as it was profound; for he excelled in the art of treating with men, and of persuading, or seducing, or appeasing those even who naturally regarded him with the greatest distrust and aversion. At the same time that he gave up to murder and pillage the towns which fell into his hands, he maintained in other respects the severest discipline in his army, not suffering it to do the inhabitants any wrong, and taking care that it paid for all it consumed. That very man who boasted that at Drogheda "all the friars were knocked on the head promiscuously," and who always pompously excepted the Catholics

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from his promises of Christian toleration, that very man maintained, by means of Irish monks, a most active police among his enemies, who kept him always well informed of their designs and movements, and were sometimes influential enough to procure their failure by promoting dissensions among them. He laboured incessantly to detach all men of importance from the royal cause.[d]

Gardiner[b] condemns the conduct of Cromwell in instigating the massacre. Nor will he agree with those modern critics who claim that Cromwell only exercised the laws of war as practised by Tilly and others. He considers it adequate answer to these apologists, to demand whether Cromwell did here in Ireland on this occasion as he himself had done in England. The answer is not doubtful; everywhere except at Basing House, Cromwell had shown a merciful disposition toward the vanquished; that he should have permitted the slaughter of prisoners of war seems an inexcusable atrocity.

Morley[n] is equally scathing in his estimate of this deed of vengeance. He reminds the reader that if we are to excuse such conduct as that of Cromwell, we shall scarcely know where to draw the line in estimating the claim that "in the long run the gibbet, stake, torch, sword, and bullet are the truest mercy." Nor may we view with greater leniency Cromwell's plea that he was inflicting a righteous vengeance upon men whose hands were imbrued with the innocent blood shed in Ulster eight years earlier. In making such a plea, Cromwell can scarcely have spoken in good faith, for he must have known that there was little likelihood of finding a single man who had taken part in the Ulster atrocities of 1641 among the three thousand men whom he caused to be butchered at Drogheda, and the unnumbered friars who, it is alleged, were slaughtered promiscuously. Equally futile must be regarded the claim that the massacre at Drogheda was a measure calculated to prevent further uprisings, since the war was not finished until almost three years later. Morley concludes his indictment by a sarcastic reference to Cromwell's claim that he had "massacred, destroyed, or banished no one in Ireland who was not actually in arms." But even if this criticism be just, we can hardly doubt that Cromwell in permitting the massacre at Drogheda acted according to his best judgment, in the carrying out of a carefully planned policy, and not through any momentary ebullition of passion.[a]

THE BATTLE OF DUNBAR (1650 A.D.)

It was the negotiation between the Scots and their nominal king that arrested Cromwell in the career of victory, and called him away from the completion of his Irish conquest. The rulers of the commonwealth were aware of the intimate connection which the Solemn League and Covenant had produced between the English Presbyterians and the kirk of Scotland, whence they naturally inferred that, if the pretender to the English were once seated on the Scottish throne, their own power would be placed on a very precarious footing. From the first they had watched with jealousy the unfriendly proceedings of the Scottish parliament. Advice and persuasion had been tried, and had failed. There remained the resource of war; and war, it was hoped would either compel the Scots to abandon the claims of Charles, or reduce Scotland to a province of the commonwealth. Fairfax, indeed (he was supposed to be under the influence of a Presbyterian wife and of the Presbyterian ministers), disapproved of the design; but his disapprobation, though lamented in public, was privately hailed as a benefit by those who were acquainted with the aspiring designs of Cromwell, and built on his elevation the flattering hope of their own greatness. By their means, as soon as the lord-lieutenant had

put his troops into winter quarters, an order was obtained from parliament for him to attend his duty in the house; but he resumed his military operations, and two months were suffered to elapse before he noticed the command of the supreme authority, and condescended to make an unmeaning apology for his disobedience.

On the renewal of the order, he left the command in Ireland to Ireton, and, returning to England, appeared in his seat (June 4). He was received with acclamations; the palace of St. James's was allotted for his residence, and a valuable grant of lands was voted as a reward for his eminent services. In a few days followed the appointment of Fairfax to the office of commander-in-chief, and of Cromwell to that of lieutenant-general of the army designed to be employed in Scotland. Each signified his "readiness to observe the orders of the house"; but Fairfax at the same time revealed his secret and conscientious objections to the council of state. A deputation of five members, Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, Whitelocke, and St. John waited on him at his house; the conference was opened by a solemn invocation of the Holy Spirit, and the three officers prayed in succession with the most edifying fervour. Then Fairfax said that, to his mind, the invasion of Scotland appeared a violation of the Solemn League and Covenant which he had sworn to observe. The next day another attempt ended with as little success, the lord-general alleging the plea of infirm health and misboding conscience, and the chief command of all the forces raised, or to be raised by order of parliament, was conferred on Oliver Cromwell. Thus he obtained at the same time the praise of moderation and the object of his ambition. Immediately he left the capital for Scotland (June 29); and Fairfax retired to his estate in Yorkshire, where he lived with the privacy of a country gentleman, till he once more drew the sword, not in support of the commonwealth, but in favour of the king. To a spectator who considered the preparations of the two kingdoms, there could be little doubt of the result. Cromwell passed the Tweed (July 22), at the head of sixteen thousand men, most of them veterans, all habituated to military discipline, before the raw levies of the Scots had quitted their respective shires.

By order of the Scottish parliament, the army had been fixed at thirty thousand men; the nominal command had been given to the earl of Leven, the real, on account of the age and infirmities of that officer, to his relative, David Leslie, and instructions had been issued that the country between Berwick and the capital should be laid waste, that the cattle and provisions should be removed or destroyed, and that the inhabitants should abandon their hemes under the penalties of infamy, confiscation, and death. In aid of this measure, reports were industriously circulated of the cruelties exercised by Cromwell in Ireland; that, wherever he came, he gave orders to put all the males between sixteen and sixty to death, to deprive all the boys between six and sixteen of their right hands, and to bore the breasts of the females with red-hot irons. The English were surprised at the silence and desolation which reigned around them; for the only human beings whom they met on their march through this wilderness, were a few old women and children who on their knees solicited mercy. But Cromwell conducted them by the sea-coast; the fleet daily supplied them with provisions, and their good conduct gradually dispelled the apprehensions of the natives (July 28). Cromwell employed all his art to provoke, Leslie to avoid, an engagement. It was in vain that for more than a month the former marched and countermarched; that he threatened general, and made partial, attacks. Leslie remained fixed within his lines; or, if he occasionally moved, watched the motions of the

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enemy from the nearest mountains, or interposed a river or morass between the two armies. The English began to be exhausted with fatigue; sickness thinned their ranks; the arrival of provisions depended on the winds and waves; and Cromwell was taught to fear, not the valour of the enemy, but the prudence of their general.

The reader will already have observed how much at this period the exercises of religion were mixed up with the concerns of state and even the operations of war. Both parties equally believed that the result of the expedition depended on the ill of the Almighty, and that it was, therefore, their duty to propitiate hi anger by fasting and humiliation. In the English army the officers prayed and preached; they "sanctified the camp," and exhorted the men to unity of mind and godliness of life. Among the Scots this duty was discharged by the ministers; and so fervent was their piety, so merciless their zeal, that, in addition to their prayers, they occasionally compelled the young king to listen to six long sermons on the same day, during which he assumed an air of gravity, and displayed feelings of devotion, which ill-accorded with his real disposition. But the English had no national crime to deplore; by punishing the late king, they had atoned for the evils of the civil war; the Scots, on the contrary, had adopted his son without any real proof of his conversion, and therefore feared that they might draw down on the country the punishment due to his sins and those of his family. It happened that Charles, by the advice of the earl of Eglinton, presumed to visit the army on the links of Leith.

He was received with shouts of enthusiasm by the soldiers, who, on their knees, pledged the health of their young sovereign; but the committee of the kirk complained that his presence led to inebriety and profaneness, and he received a request, equivalent to a command, to quit the camp. The next day a declaration was made, that the company of malignants, engagers, and enemies to the covenant, could not fail of multiplying the judgments of God upon the land; an inquiry was instituted into the characters of numerous individuals; and eighty officers, with many of their men, were sashiered, that they might not contaminate by their presence the army of the saints. Still it was for Charles Stuart, the chief of the malignants, that they were to fight, and therefore from him, to appease the anger of the Almighty, an expiatory declaration was required in the name of the parliament and the kirk. In this instrument he was called upon to lament, in the language of penitence and self-abasement, his father's opposition to the work of God and to the Solemn League and Covenant, which had caused the blood of the Lord's people to be shed, and the idolatry of his mother, the toleration of which in the king's house could not fail to be a high provocation against him who is a jealous God, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children; to declare that he had subscribed the covenant with sincerity of heart, and would have no friends or enemies but those who were friends or enemies to it; to acknowledge the sinfulness of the treaty with the bloody rebels in Ireland, which he was made to pronounce null and void; to detest popery and prelacy, idolatry and heresy, schism and profaneness; and to promise that he would accord to a free parliament in England the propositions of the two kingdoms, and reform the Church of England according to the plan devised by the assembly of divines at Westminster.

When first this declaration, so humbling to his pride, so offensive to his feelings, was presented to Charles for his signature, he returned an indignant refusal (August 13). The two committees of the kirk and kingdom protested that they would never prosecute his interest without his acknowledgment of

the sins of his family and of his former ways. This protestation was printed and furtively sent to the English camp; the officers of the army presented to the committee of estates a remonstrance and supplication expressive of their adhesion; and the ministers maintained from their pulpits that the king was the root of malignancy, and a hypocrite, who had taken the covenant without an intention of keeping it. Charles, yielding to his own fears and the advice of his friends, on August 16th, subscribed, with tears, the obnoxious instrument. If it were folly in the Scots to propose to the young prince a declaration so repugnant to his feelings and opinions, it was greater folly still to believe that professions of repentance extorted with so much violence could be sincere or satisfactory; yet his subscription was received with expressions of joy and gratitude; both the army and the city observed a solemn fast for the sins of the two kings, the father and the son; and the ministers, now that the anger of heaven had been appeased, assured their hearers of an easy victory over a "blaspheming general and a sectarian army."

If their predictions were not verified, the fault was undoubtedly their own. The caution and vigilance of Leslie had triumphed over the skill and activity of "the blasphemer." Cromwell saw no alternative but victory or retreat: of the first he had no doubt, if he could come in contact with the enemy; the second was a perilous attempt, when the passes before him were pre-occupied, and a more numerous force was hanging on his rear. At Musselburgh (August 30th), having sent the sick on board the fleet (they suffered both from the "disease of the country," and from fevers caused by exposure on the Pentland hills), he ordered the army to march the next morning to Haddington, and thence to Dunbar; and the same night a meteor, which the imagination of the beholders likened to a sword of fire, was seen to pass over Edinburgh in a southeasterly direction, an evident presage, in the opinion of the Scots, that the flames of war would be transferred to the remotest extremity of England. At Dunbar, Cromwell posted his men in the vicinity of Broxmouth House; Leslie with the Scots moving along the heights of Lammermuir, occupied a position on Doon Hill, about two miles to the south of the invaders; and the advanced posts of the armies were separated only by a ravine of the depth and breadth of about thirty feet. Cromwell was not ignorant of the danger of his situation; he had even thought of putting the infantry on board the fleet, and of attempting to escape with the cavalry by the only outlet, the high road to Berwick; but the next moment he condemned the thought as "a weakness of the flesh, a distrust in the power of the Almighty; and ordered the army to seek the Lord, who would assuredly find a way of deliverance for his faithful servants." On the other side the committees of the kirk and estates exulted in the prospect of executing the vengeance of God upon "the sectaries"; and afraid that the enemy should escape, compelled their general to depart from his usual caution, and to make preparation for battle.

Cromwell, with his officers, had spent part of the day in calling upon the Lord; while he prayed, the enthusiast felt an enlargement of the heart, a buoyancy of spirit, which he took for an infallible presage of victory; and, beholding through his glass the motion in the Scottish camp, he exclaimed, "They are coming down; the Lord hath delivered them into our hands." During the night, he advanced the army to the edge of the ravine; and at an early hour in the morning of September 3rd, the Scots attempted to seize the pass on the road from Dunbar to Berwick. After a sharp contest, the Scottish lancers, aided by their artillery, charged down the hill, drove the brigade of English cavalry from its position, and broke through the infantry, which had advanced to the support of the horse. At that moment the sun made its

CROMWELL AT DUNBAR

(From the painting by Andrew C. Gow, R.A., in the Tate Gallery)

[1650 A.D.]

appearance above the horizon; and Cromwell, turning to his own regiment of foot, exclaimed, "Let the Lord arise, and scatter his enemies." They instantly moved forward with their pikes levelled; the horse rallied; and the enemy's lancers hesitated, broke, and fled. At that moment the mist dispersed, and the first spectacle which struck the eyes of the Scots, was the rout of their cavalry. A sudden panic instantly spread from the right to the left of their line; at the approach of the English they threw down their arms and ran. Cromwell's regiment halted to sing Psalm cxvii; but the pursuit was continued for more than eight miles; the dead bodies of three thousand Scots strewed their native soil; and ten thousand prisoners, with the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, became the reward of the conquerors. Of the prisoners, five thousand one hundred, something more than one-half, being wounded, were dismissed to their homes, the other half were driven "like turkeys" into England.[1] Of these, one thousand six hundred died of a pestilential disease, and five hundred were actually sick on October 31st.[h]

Cromwell now marched confidently back to the capital. The hope of resistance was abandoned; the gates of Edinburgh and Leith were opened, and the entire country to the Forth acknowledged the supremacy of English arms.

Gardiner[b] considers Dunbar and Naseby to have been the two great decisive battles of Cromwell's career. In his view, the specific result of Naseby was to render the re-establishment of a purely personal government forever impossible in England. Dunbar overthrew the Solemn League and Covenant, making it impossible in future for Scotland to impose upon England a form of ecclesiastical or political government that did not meet the approval of the majority of Englishmen. Meantime it forever removed the stricter covenanters from the seats of political control in Scotland itself.[a]

CHARLES II'S "START," AND HIS CORONATION

Still the presumption of the six ministers who formed the committee of the kirk was not humbled. Though their predictions had been falsified, they were still the depositaries of the secrets of the Deity; and, in a "Short Declaration and Warning," they announced (Sept. 12) to their countrymen the thirteen causes of this national calamity, the reasons why "God had veiled for a time his face from the sons of Jacob." It was by the general profaneness of the land, by the manifest provocations of the king and the king's house, by the crooked and precipitant ways of statesmen in the Treaty of Breda, by the toleration of maligants in the king's household, by suffering his guard to join in the battle without a previous purgation, by the diffidence of some officers who refused to profit by advantages furnished to them by God, by the presumption of others who promised victory to themselves without eyeing of God, by the rapacity and oppression exercised by the soldiery, and by the carnal self-seeking of men in power, that God had been provoked to visit his people with so direful and yet so merited a chastisement.

To the young king the defeat at Dunbar was a subject of real and ill-dissembled joy. Hitherto he had been a mere puppet in the hands of Argyll and his party; now their power was broken, and it was not impossible for him to gain the ascendency. He entered into a negotiation with Murray, Huntley, Athol, and the numerous royalists in the highlands; but the secret, without the particulars, was betrayed to Argyll, probably by Buckingham, who dis-

[1 Cromwell claimed to have lost only twenty slain. Many of the prisoners were shipped to New England where they underwent a brief servitude.]

approved of the project; and all the cavaliers but three received an order to leave the court in twenty-four hours — the kingdom in twenty days. The vigilance of the guards prevented the execution of the plan which had been laid; but one afternoon, under pretence of hawking, Charles escaped from Perth, and riding forty-two miles, passed the night in a miserable hovel, called Clova, in the braes of Angus. At break of day he was overtaken by Colonel Montgomery, who advised him to return, while the viscount Dudhope urged him to proceed to the mountains, where he would be joined by seven thousand armed men. Charles wavered; but Montgomery directed his attention to two regiments of horse that waited at a distance to intercept his progress, and the royal fugitive consented to return to his former residence in Perth. The Start (so this adventure was called) proved, however, a warning to the committee of estates. They prudently admitted the apology of the king, who attributed his flight to information that he was that day to have been delivered to Cromwell; and they allowed him, for the first time, to preside at their deliberations, and they employed his authority to pacify the royalists in the Highlands, who had taken arms in his name under Huntley, Athol, Seaforth and Middleton. These, after a long negotiation, accepted an act of indemnity, and disbanded their forces.

In the mean while Cromwell in his quarters at Edinburgh laboured to unite the character of the saint with that of the conqueror; and, surrounded as he was with the splendour of victory, to surprise the world by a display of modesty and self-abasement. To his friends and flatterers, who fed his vanity by warning him to be on his guard against its suggestions, he replied, that he "had been a dry bone, and was still an unprofitable servant," a mere instrument in the hands of almighty power; if God had risen in his wrath, if he had bared his arm and avenged his cause, to him, and to him alone, belonged the glory. Assuming the office of a missionary, he exhorted his officers in daily sermons to love one another, to repent from dead works, and to pray and mourn for the blindness of their Scottish adversaries; and, pretending to avail himself of his present leisure, he provoked a theological controversy with the ministers in the castle of Edinburgh, reproaching them with pride in arrogating to themselves the right of expounding the true sense of the Solemn League and Covenant; vindicating the claim of laymen to preach the gospel and exhibit their spiritual gifts for the edification of their brethern; and maintaining that, after the solemn fasts observed by both nations, after their many and earnest appeals to the God of armies, the victory gained at Dunbar must be admitted an evident manifestation of the divine will in favour of the English commonwealth. Finding that he made no proselytes of his opponents, he published his arguments for the instruction of the Scottish people; but his zeal did not escape suspicion; and the more discerning believed that, under the cover of a religious controversy, he was in reality tampering with the fidelity of the governor.[h]

To raise a new army was now the first object of the Scottish government, but this could hardly be effected if the religious test were retained in all its rigour. The commissioners of the kirk, on being consulted, passed two resolutions to the following effect: those who had made defection or had been hitherto backward in the work, ought to be admitted to make profession of repentance, and on doing so might be allowed to serve and to defend their country. Mock penitents now appeared in abundance; royalists, engagers, and all the excluded crowded to court and camp. But a new schism hence arose, for the more rigid and fanatic portion of the clergy protested against the resolutions as an insult to God and a betrayal of the good cause.

[1651 A.D.]
The kirk was now split into resolutioners and protesters, or remonstrants: for the five most fanatic counties of the west, Renfrew, Ayr, Galloway, Wigton, and Dumfries, presented a remonstrance against the treaty with the king, and required him to be excluded from the government. On the first day of the new year, however, Charles was solemnly crowned at Scone, January 1, 1651. When he had sworn on his knees and with upraised hand to observe the two covenants, to maintain presbytery, govern according to the laws of God and the land, and root out false religion and heresy, the crown was placed on his head by the marquis of Argyll, and the nobility and people swore allegiance to him.

During the ceremony, and after the conclusion, Douglas, the minister, addressed the king, reminding him that he was king by compact with his people; that his authority was limited by the law of God, the laws of the people, and the association of the estates with him in the government; that, though every breach did not dissolve the compact, yet every abuse of power to the subversion of religion, law, or liberty, justified opposition in the people; that it was for him, by his observance of the covenant, to silence those who doubted his sincerity; that the evils which had afflicted his family arose out of the apostasy of his father and grandfather; and that, if he imitated them, he would find that the controversy between him and God was not ended, but would be productive of additional calamities. The reader may imagine what were the feelings of Charles while he listened to the admonitions of the preacher, and when he swore to perform conditions which his soul abhorred, and which he knew that on the first opportunity he should break or elude. But he passed with credit through the ceremony; the coronation exalted him in the eyes of the people; and each day brought to him fresh accessions of influence and authority.[h] His friends were now admitted to parliament, and to gain Argyll more entirely to his side he hinted at a marriage with his daughter; but that wary nobleman was not to be caught by an offer in which he knew he was not sincere.

By the joint exertions of all parties, an army of twenty thousand men was assembled at Stirling in the month of April. The king himself took the chief command, with Hamilton for his lieutenant, and Leslie for his major-general. The passes of the Forth were secured, and the army was encamped in a strong position at the Torwood, near Stirling. Cromwell, who had been suffering so severely from ague as to have obtained permission to return to England, finding himself unexpectedly better at the approach of summer, resumed operations in July. By means of a fleet of boats which had been collected at Queensferry Overton passed over and fortified a hill at Inverkeithing; he was followed by Lambert; the Scottish force sent to oppose them was driven off (July 21st); Cromwell lost no time in transporting the remainder of the army; the whole of Fife was rapidly reduced, and Perth opened her gates August 2nd.

The communications of the royal army with the north were now cut off, and if it remained in its present position it must either starve, disband, or fight at a disadvantage. In this dilemma the king proposed the desperate expedient of a march into England; Argyll alone opposed it in the council, and when his reasons were rejected he obtained permission to retire to his estates. The king then at the head of fourteen thousand men left Stirling (July 31st) on his way for England. Cromwell immediately sent Lambert with a body of three thousand horse to hang on his rear, and he ordered Harrison to advance from Newcastle with an equal number to press on his flank; he himself, leaving Monk with five thousand men to complete the conquest of Scotland, moved rapidly (August 7th) in the direction of York.

THE BATTLE OF WORCESTER AND THE FLIGHT OF CHARLES (1651 A.D.)

Charles entered England at Carlisle; at Warrington (August 16th) Lambert and Harrison attempted to prevent his passage of the Mersey, but they were not in time to break down the bridge, and he passed them by, and marching rapidly through Cheshire and Shropshire came to Worcester (August 22nd), where he was solemnly proclaimed by the mayor and some of the gentlemen of the county. The aspect of his affairs was, however, by no means cheering. The royalists had not been prepared, and few of them came to join him; the committee of the kirk forbade anyone to be employed who did not take the covenant; and the attempts of Massey the defender of Gloucester, who was now one of the royal commanders, to raise men in Lancashire, failed in consequence of it. At the first intelligence of the king's march into England the council of state were in great alarm, for they supposed that it must have been concerted with the Presbyterians, and they expected the royalists everywhere to rise: they even suspected Cromwell of treachery. They soon however resumed their courage; they caused the declaration which Charles had published to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman; and they proclaimed him and all his abettors guilty of high-treason; they put suspected persons into prison, and ordered the militia of the adjoining counties to march toward Worcester.

CHARLES II
(1630–1685)

The very day that Charles entered Worcester, a Presbyterian clergyman named Love, and a layman named Gibbons, were beheaded on Tower Hill for their share in a conspiracy, in favour of royalty as is later described. Cromwell himself soon arrived (August 28th), and found himself at the head of thirty thousand men, while the royalists were not half the number and but a sixth part of them English. That very day Lambert made himself master of the bridge over the Severn at Upton, in the defence of which Massey received a severe wound which deprived the royal army of his valuable services. On the 3rd of September (the day of the victory at Dunbar) Fleetwood, advancing from Upton on the west bank of the Severn, proceeded to force the passage of the Team, while Cromwell threw a bridge of boats over the Severn to come to his aid. The Scots having the advantage of the

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numerous hedges in that part, fought gallantly; but Cromwell having passed over some regiments, they were at length driven back to the city.

Meantime the remainder of the royal forces issued from the town and attacked the troops on the east side. At first their efforts were successful, but they were finally driven back by Cromwell's veteran reserve and forced into the city. Cromwell stormed the fort named Fort Royal,[1] and turned its guns on the town, which the royalists speedily abandoned. The battle had lasted five hours; the Scots had fought nobly. "This has been," said Cromwell in his despatch, "a very glorious mercy, and as stiff a contest for four or five hours as ever I have seen." Of the vanquished three thousand men were slain, of the victors only two hundred; but as the whole country rose against the Scots, whose speech betrayed them, the number of the prisoners amounted to ten thousand. Among these were the earls of Derby, Cleveland, and Shrewsbury of the English nobility, and the duke of Hamilton (who was mortally wounded), the earls of Lauderdale, Rothes, and Kelly, and the lords Sinclair, Kenmore, and Spynie of the Scottish; also the generals Leslie, Middleton, and Massey. The earl of Derby and two others were tried by a court-martial at Chester and put to death; the others were kept in prison, from which Massey and Middleton escaped.

"It is certain," says Godwin,[a] "there was on the whole a great spirit of clemency displayed in the limits the government thought proper to prescribe to itself on this occasion. Of the common soldiers taken prisoners, the greater part were sent to the plantations [as slaves], and fifteen hundred were granted to the Guinea merchants, and employed to work in the mines of Africa." Not one word of reprehension has the prejudiced historian to bestow on this barbarous treatment of the freeborn soldiers of an independent nation! The republicans seemed resolved, we may see, to tread faithfully in the foot-prints of the Greeks and Romans.

The dangers and escapes of Charles after the defeat of Worcester are so interesting in themselves and serve so much to display the nobler and more generous feelings of our nature, that we cannot refrain from relating them somewhat in detail. Charles, who had shown no want of courage during the battle, left the town with the Scottish horse; but he parted from them during the night with about sixty followers, and directed his course for Boscobel House in Staffordshire, the seat of Mrs. Cotton, a Catholic lady, where Lord Derby had found shelter some days before. He was, however, conducted instead to White Ladies, another of Mrs. Cotton's houses, and here his companions took leave of him. He cut off his hair, stained his face and hands, and putting on the coarse threadbare clothes of a rustic, went forth in the morning with a bill in his hand, as a wood-cutter, in the company of four brothers, labouring men, named Penderel, and Yates their brother-in-law, all Catholics. One of them accompanied him into the thickest part of the wood while the rest kept watch. As the day was wet and stormy and Charles was weary with his previous exertions, his companion spread a blanket for him under a tree, whither Yates' wife brought him some food. He was startled at the sight of her, but she assured him that she would die sooner than betray him; and the aged mother of the Penderels, when she

[1 Gardiner[b] says that Cromwell, at the risk of his own life, rode up to offer quarter. The entire army was either made prisoners or slain, and the force absolutely disappeared as a fighting unit. It was the first battle since Cropredy bridge in which non-professional soldiers took part, nearly a third of the English army being militia evoked by the hatred of invasion. As Gardiner points out Cromwell now for the first time had secured the popular support.]

came to see him, fell on her knees and blessed God for having chosen her sons to save the life of their king.

About nine in the evening the king and Richard Penderel left the wood and proceeded to Madeley, the house of a Catholic gentleman named Wolf, which was near the Severn, it being his intention to pass over into Wales. They did not reach it till midnight; all the next day (September 5th) they remained concealed behind the hay in a barn, while Wolf sent to examine the river. But all the bridges were guarded and all the boats secured, and they found it necessary to abandon their design, and when night set in to direct their steps to Boscobel. Here the king met Colonel Careless, a Catholic royalist, and as the soldiers were very numerous about there they both concealed themselves all the next day in the dense foliage of an oak-tree which grew close to the foot-path in a meadow in the centre of the wood; whence they could frequently discern the red coats of the soldiers as they passed through the trees. In the night they returned to the house, where Charles remained quietly all the next day, which was Sunday. On Monday (the 8th) he received a message from Lord Wilmot, to meet him at Moseley, the house of Mr. Whitegrave, also a recusant. As his feet had been cut and blistered by the walk to and from Madeley, he rode a horse belonging to one of the Penderels, the six brothers attending him armed.

Here a new plan of escape was devised for him: Jane Lane, the daughter of a Protestant gentleman of Bentley, had obtained a pass to go visit Mrs. Norton, her relation, near Bristol, and it was proposed that the king should ride before her as her servant. To this she readily consented, and in the night Wilmot went to Bentley to make the arrangements. Next day (the 9th) a party of troopers came; the king was shut up in the "priest's hole,"[1] but they departed without searching the house. In the night he went to Bentley, and on the second day, equipped in a suit of gray he mounted before Miss Lane: her cousin, Lassells, rode beside them, and on the 14th they reached Mr. Norton's in safety. Wilmot, who had boldly ridden with a hawk on his fist and dogs at his heels, also eluded discovery, and he took up his abode at Sir John Winter's in the neighbourhood. Jane Lane, pretending that her servant was unwell, obtained a separate apartment for him; but the butler, who had been a servant in the palace at Richmond, recognised him as soon as he saw him. He told his suspicions to Lassells, and the king then deemed it his wisest course to confide in him. His confidence was not deceived; the man was faithful and zealous. By his means Wilmot had a private meeting with the king on the 17th; and as the butler had enquired without success for a ship to take them to France or Spain, it was arranged that they should go to Colonel Windham's at Trent, near Sherborne, in Dorset, and that a letter, as if her father were dangerously ill, should be given to Miss Lane to serve as a pretext for her sudden departure. They therefore left Mr. Norton's the next morning, and reached Trent the following day. Miss Lane and Lassells then returned home.

A ship was soon hired at Lyme to convey a gentleman and his servant (Wilmot and the king) to France. They went down in the evening of the 23rd, Charles riding before a young lady, to a little inn at Charmouth, where they were to be taken on board; but no bark came, for when the master was leaving his house for the purpose his wife had stopped him and would not suffer him to stir. At dawn Wilmot went to Lyme to learn the cause of the disappointment: the others meantime rode to Bridport, which was full of

[1 Catholic homes frequently had secret chambers where the priests could hide from persecution.]

[1651 A.D.]

soldiers; Charles led the horses through them into the inn-yard, rudely pushing them out of the way. But the hostler here claimed acquaintance with him, saying that he had known him in the service of a Mr. Potter at Exeter (in whose house Charles really had lodged). Taking advantage of the confusion of the hostler's memory, the king replied, "True, I did live with him, but I have no time now; we will renew our acquaintance over a pot of beer on my return to London."

When Wilmot came to say that the master would not put to sea, they rode back to Trent,[1] where the king stayed till the 8th of October, when he removed to Heale near Salisbury, the residence of a widow named Hyde, where he remained concealed for five days, during which Colonel Gunter, through one Mansell a merchant, engaged the master of a collier which was lying at Shoreham in Sussex. Charles rode to the adjoining fishing-village of Brighthelmstone on the 14th, where he sat down to supper with the colonels Philips and Gunter, and Mansell, and Tattershall the captain of the vessel. This last recognised the king, having been detained in the river by him in 1648. He called Mansell aside and complained of fraud; the king when informed took no notice, but kept them all drinking and smoking till four in the morning, when they set out for Shoreham. Ere he departed, as he was alone, the landlord came behind him and kissed his hand, which was on the back of a chair, saying, "I have no doubt that if I live I shall be a lord and my wife a lady." The king laughed.

HOUSE TO WHICH KING CHARLES II RETIRED WHILE THE BATTLE OF WORCESTER WAS RAGING

When they were aboard, Tattershall assured the king of his fidelity. The ship when under weigh stood along the coast as if for Deal, whither she was bound. At five, Charles, as had been arranged, addressed the crew, saying that he and his companion were flying from their creditors, and begged them to join him in prevailing on the captain to land them in France; at the same time he gave them twenty shillings for drink. The sailors became zealous advocates; Tattershall made many objections; at length he affected

[1 At Trent one day a trooper rode in and boasted that he had with his own hand slain Charles and taken from him the coat he then wore. The villagers rang the bells, and set bonfires going, and Charles had the rare privilege of looking on at the celebration of his own obsequies.]

to yield, and the next morning, October 16th, the two adventurers were put ashore at Fechamp in Normandy.

Cardinal de Retz *p* tells us, that Charles had not a second shirt when he reached Paris, nor his mother money enough to buy him one. After the Restoration, Careless and the Penderels were rewarded by the king; Miss Lane and Colonel Windham by the parliament.

Upwards of forty persons, it appears, were privy to the escape of Charles; a reward of 1,000*l.* had been offered (September 9th) for his apprehension; yet no one, not even a servant, was base enough to betray him. This surely is creditable to human nature. It is only to be regretted that the object of such devotion should have afterwards proved so worthless. *i*

Von Ranke notes the curious coincidence that the humble vessel in which Charles escaped carried him to Normandy, that spot whence long ago William had embarked for England with the noblest fleet of the time. The contrast with the present event was absolute. Furthermore the army of the Independents before whom Charles had fled, had often published its determination to destroy that constitution of the state which traced back to the Norman conquest. *q*