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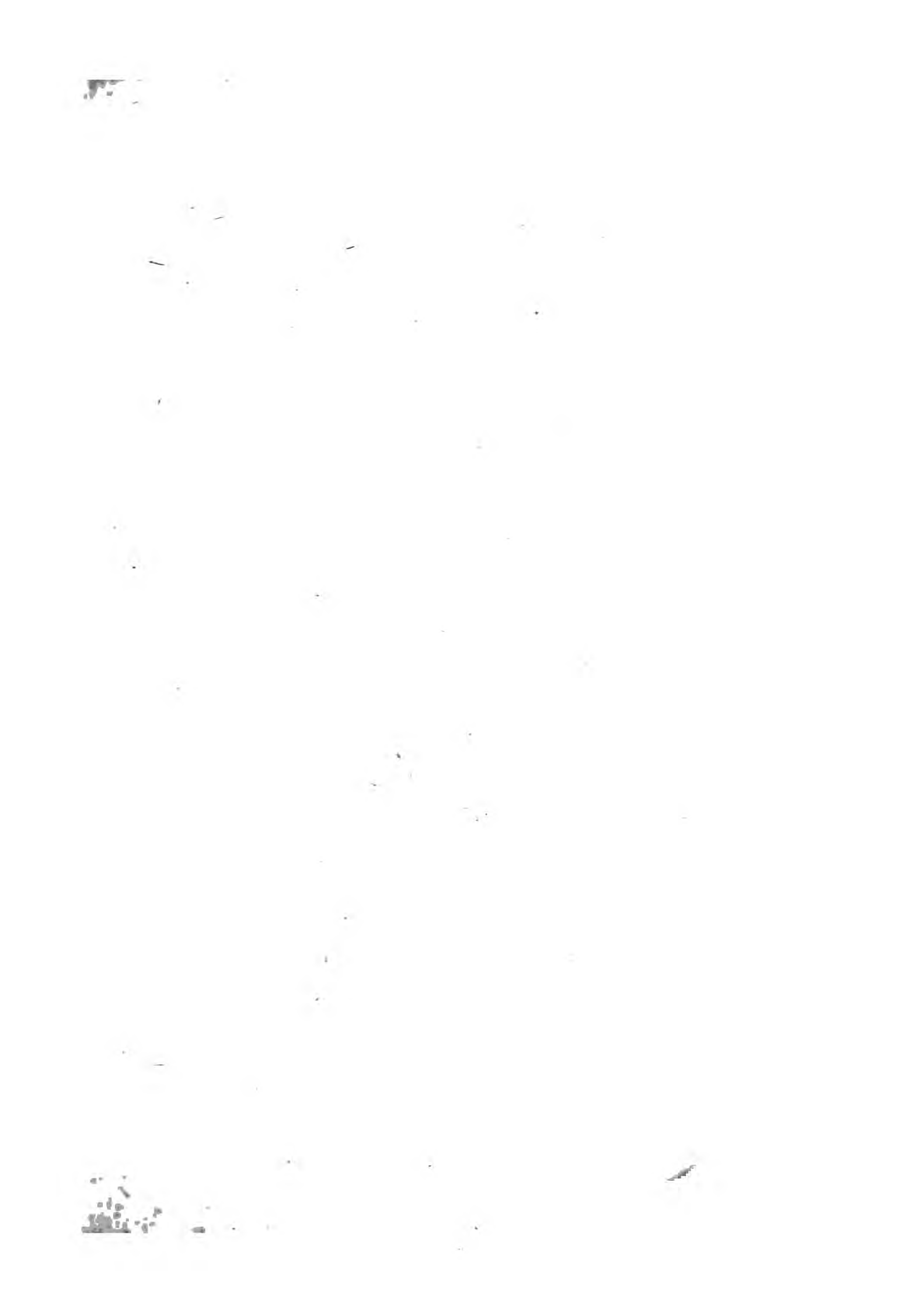
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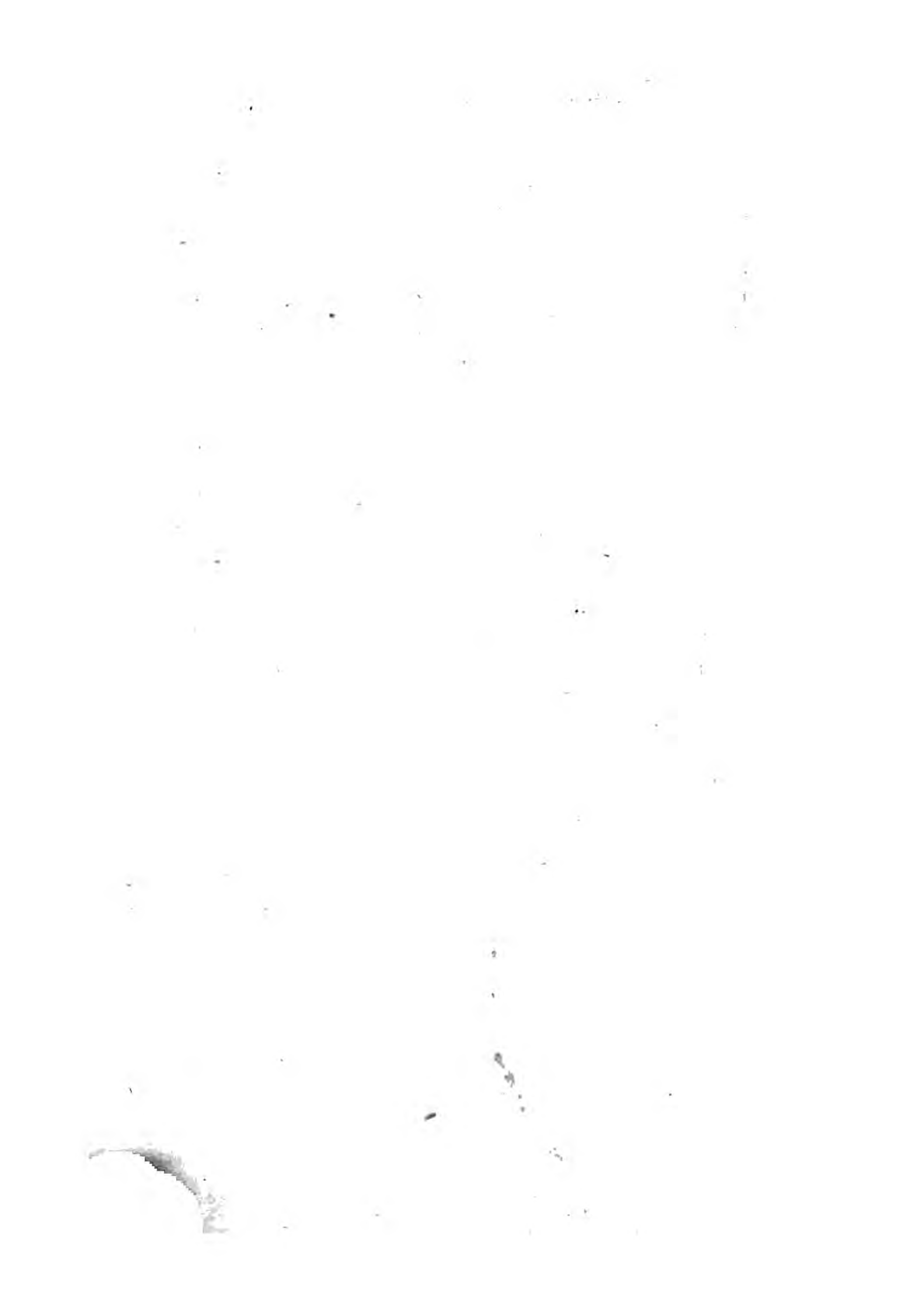


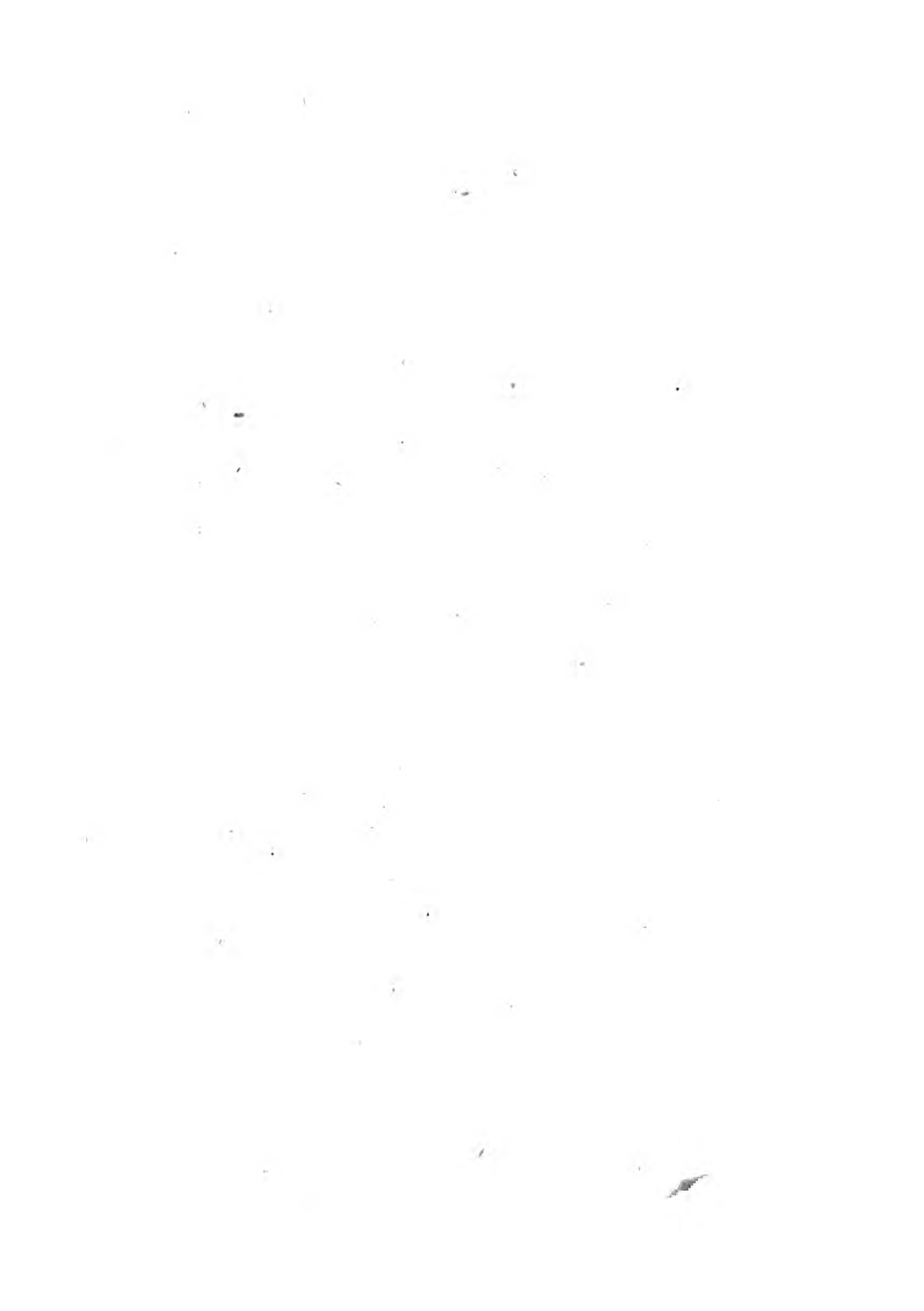


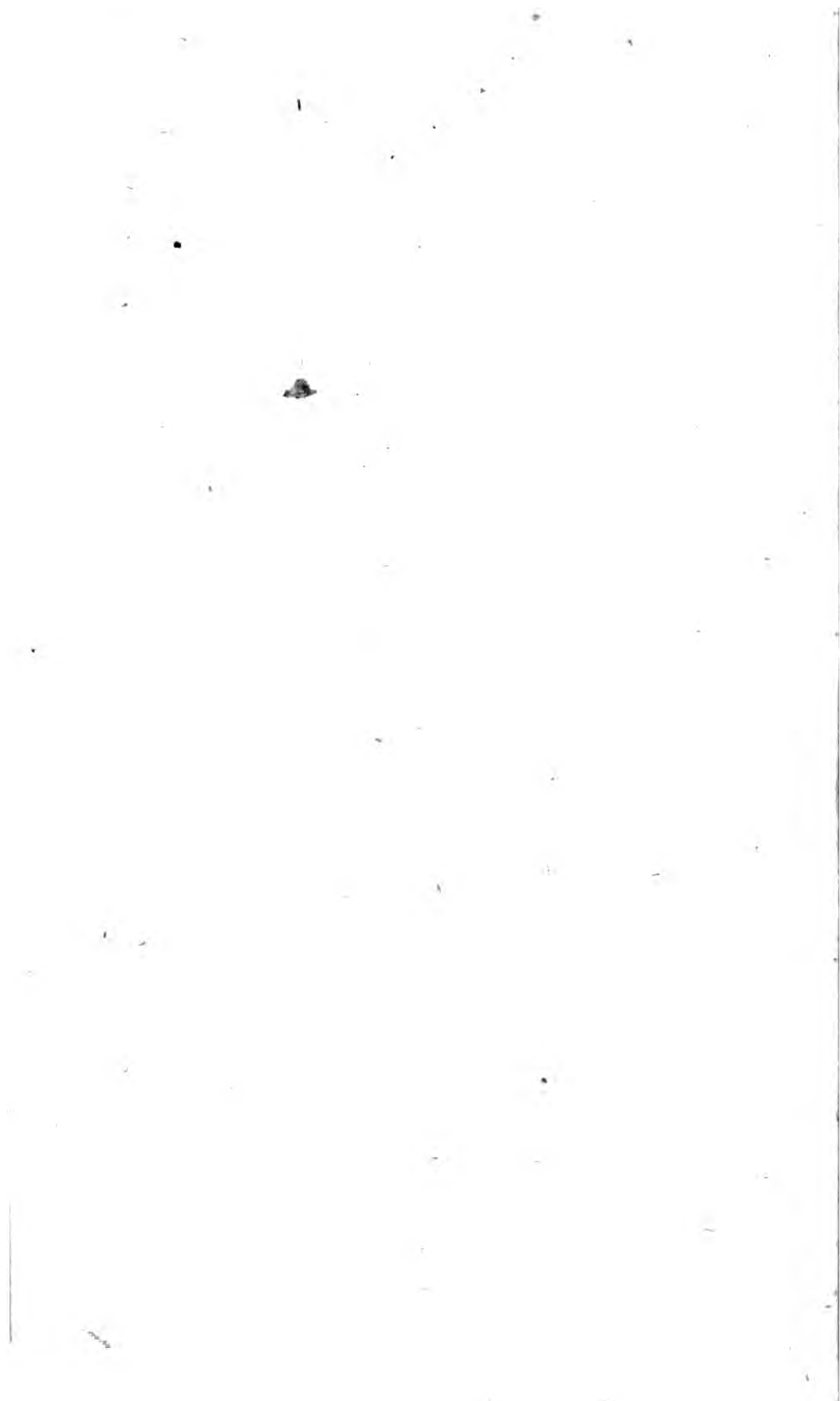
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A CONCISE
H I S T O R Y
• F
E N G L A N D.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES,

To the Death of GEORGE II.

By JOHN WESLEY, A. M.

V O L. III.

L O N D O N:
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A CONCISE
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D.

C H A P. XIV.

ELIZABETH continued.

PHILIP, of Spain, who had long meditated the destruction of England, now began to put his projects into execution. The perpetual object of his schemes, was to exterminate the reformation. The revolt of his subjects in the Netherlands still more inflamed his resentment against the English, as they had assisted the revolters. He had, therefore, for some time been making preparations to attack England by a powerful invasion; and now every part of his vast empire resounded with the noise of armaments, and every art was used to levy supplies. * The marquis of

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Santa

* A. D. 1588.

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Santa Croce, a sea officer of great reputation and experience, was destined to command the fleet, which consisted of an hundred and thirty-two vessels, of a greater size than any that had been hitherto seen in Europe. The duke of Parma was to conduct the land forces, twenty thousand of whom were on board the fleet, and thirtyfour-thousand more were assembled in the Netherlands, ready to be transported into England. The most renowned nobility and princes of Italy and Spain, were ambitious of sharing in the honour of this great enterprize. Don Amadæus of Savoy, Don John of Medicis, Gonzaga, duke of Sabionetta, and others, hastened to join this great equipment; no doubt was entertained of its success, and it was styled the Invincible Armada. It carried on board, beside the land forces, eight thousand four hundred mariners, two thousand galley-slaves, and two thousand six hundred and thirty great pieces of brass ordnance. It was victualled for six months, and was attended with twenty lesser ships, called Caravals, and ten Salves, with six oars a-piece.

Nothing could exceed the consternation which all ranks of people felt in England upon news of this terrible Armada being under sail to invade them. A fleet of not above thirty ships of war, and those very small, in comparison, was all that was to oppose it by sea; and as for resisting by land, that was supposed to be impossible, as the Spanish army was composed of men well disciplined, and long enured to danger. The queen alone
seemed

seemed undismayed ; she issued all her orders with tranquility ; and the more to excite the martial spirit of the nation, appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilbury, exhorting the soldiers to their duty, and promising to share the same dangers with them. “ I myself, cried she, will be your general, and the rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. Your alacrity has already deserved its rewards ; and on the word of a prince they shall be duly paid you. Persevere in your obedience to command, shew your valour in the field, and we shall soon have a glorious victory over those enemies of my God, my kingdom, and my people.”

Nor were her preparations by sea driven on with less alacrity ; although the English fleet was much inferior in number and size of shipping to that of the enemy, yet it was much more manageable, the dexterity and courage of the mariners being greatly superior. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of great courage and capacity took on him the command of the navy. Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him ; while a small squadron consisting of forty vessels, English and Flemish, commanded by lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma. This was the preparation made by the English, while all the protestant powers of Europe regarded this enterprize as the critical event which was to decide for ever the fate of their religion.

6 HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

In the mean time, while the Spanish Armada was preparing to sail, the admiral Santa Croce died, as likewise the vice admiral Paliano; and the command of the expedition was given to the duke de Medina Sidonia. Upon leaving the port of Lisbon, the Armada next day met with a violent tempest, which sunk some of the smallest of their shipping, and obliged the fleet to put back into harbour. After some time spent in refitting, they again put to sea; where they took a fisherman, who gave them intelligence that the English fleet, hearing of the dispersion of the Armada in a storm, was retired back into Plymouth harbour. From this intelligence, the Spanish admiral, instead of going directly to the coast of Flanders to take in the troops stationed there, resolved to sail to Plymouth, and destroy the shipping laid up in that harbour. But Effingham, was prepared to receive them; he was just got out of Port when he saw the Spanish Armada coming full sail towards him, disposed in the form of an half moon, and stretching seven miles from one extremity to the other. However the English admiral, seconded by Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, attacked the Armada at a distance, pouring in their broadsides with admirable dexterity. They did not chuse to engage the enemy more closely, because they were greatly inferior in the number of ships, guns, and weight of metal; nor could they pretend to board such lofty ships without manifest disadvantage. However, two Spanish galleons were disabled and taken.

taken. As the Armada advanced up the Channel, the English still followed and infested their rear; and their fleet continually increasing from different ports, they soon found themselves in a capacity to attack the Spanish fleet more nearly, and accordingly fell upon them while they were taking shelter in the port of Calais. To increase their confusion, Howard took eight of his smaller ships, and filling them with combustible materials, sent them, as fire ships, one after the other into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards immediately took flight in great disorder; while the English profiting by their panic, took or destroyed about twelve of them.

The duke de Medina Sidonia being driven to the coast of Zealand, held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that as their ammunition began to fail, and their ships had received great damage, they should return to Spain by sailing round the Orkneys, as the winds were contrary to his passage directly back. Accordingly they proceeded northward, and were followed by the English fleet as far as Flamborough-head, where they were terribly shattered by a storm. Seventeen of the ships, having five thousand men on board, were afterwards cast away upon the western isles, and the coast of Ireland. Of the whole Armada, three and fifty ships only returned to Spain, in a miserable condition; and the seamen as well as soldiers who remained, only served, by their accounts, to intimidate their countrymen from attempting
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8 HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

to renew so dangerous an expedition. The English lost only one ship, and about an hundred men.

These disasters of the Spanish Armada, excited the English, to attempt invasions in their turn. It would be endless to relate all the advantages obtained over the enemy at sea, or their various descents upon different parts of the coast. It is sufficient to observe, that the sea captains of that reign are still considered as the boldest and most enterprising set of men that England ever produced; and among this number, we reckon our Raleigh, and Howard, our Drake, our Cavendish, and Hawkins. The English navy then began to excel; and has since continued irresistible in all parts of the ocean.

Of those who made the most signal figure in these depredations upon Spain, was the young earl of Essex, a nobleman of great bravery, generosity, and genius; and fitted, not only for the foremost ranks in war by his valour, but to conduct the intrigues of a court by his eloquence and address. But with all these endowments, both of body and mind, he was impetuous, haughty, and totally incapable of advice or controul. The earl of Leicester had died some time before, and now left room in the queen's affections for a new favourite, which she was not long in chusing, since the merit, the bravery, and the popularity of Essex, were too great not to engage her attention. Elizabeth, though she rejected an husband, yet appeared always passionately desirous of a lover; and flattery had
ren-

ELIZABETH.

rendered her so insensible to her want of beauty, and the depredations of age, that she still thought herself as powerful by her personal accomplishments as by her authority. The new favourite was young, active, ambitious, witty, and handsome; in the field, and at court, he always appeared with superior lustre. In all the masques which were then performed, the earl and Elizabeth were generally coupled as partners; and although she was almost sixty, and he not half so old, yet her vanity overlooked the disparity; the world told her that she was young, and she herself was willing to think so. This young earl's interest in the queen's affections, promoted his interest; and he conducted all things at his discretion. But young and unexperienced as he was, he at length began to fancy that the flatteries he received, were given to his merits and not to his favour. His jealousy also of lord Burleigh, who was his only rival in power, made him still more untractable; and the many successes he had obtained against the Spaniards, increased his confidence. § In a debate before the queen, between him and Burleigh, about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was so heated in the argument, that he entirely forgot the rules of civility. He turned his back on the queen in a contemptuous manner, which so provoked her, that she gave him a box on the ear. Instead of recollecting himself, and making the submissions due to her sex and station, he clapped his hand to his sword; and swore he would not bear such usage even from her father. This offence, though

§ A. D. 1598.

though very great, was soon forgotten : she re-instated him in his former favour, and her kindness seemed to have acquired new force from that short interruption. The death also of his rival, lord Burleigh, which happened shortly after, seemed to confirm his power.

But though few men were possessed of Essex's talents, both for war and peace, yet he had not art enough to guard against the intrigues of a court ; his temper was too open, and gave his enemies many advantages over him. || At that time the earl of Tyrone headed the rebellious natives of Ireland ; who, not yet thoroughly brought into subjection, took every opportunity to make incursions upon the civilized inhabitants, and slew all they were able to overpower. To subdue these was an employment that Essex thought worthy of his ambition ; nor were his enemies displeas'd at thus removing a man from court, where he obstructed all their private aims of preferment.

Essex, upon entering on his new command in Ireland, employed his friend, the earl of Southampton, who was long obnoxious to the queen, as general of his horse ; nor was it till after repeated orders from Elizabeth, that he could be prevailed on to displace him. This indiscretion was followed by another ; instead of attacking the enemy in their grand retreat in Ulster, he led his forces into the province of Munster, where he only exhausted his strength, and lost his opportunity against a people that submitted at his approach, but took up arms again when he retired. It may easily

|| A. D. 1599.

easily be supposed, that these miscarriages were urged by the enemies of Essex at home ; but they had still greater reason to attack his reputation, when it was known, that instead of humbling the rebels, he had only treated with them ; and instead of forcing them to a submission, had concluded a cessation of hostilities. This issue of an enterprize, from which much was expected, did not fail to provoke the queen most sensibly ; and her anger was still more heightened by the peevish and impatient letters, which he daily wrote to her and the council. But her resentment against him was still more let loose, when she found, that leaving the place of his appointment, and without any permission demanded or obtained, he had returned from Ireland to make his complaints to her in person.

* At first, indeed, Elizabeth was pleased at seeing a favourite come back, whom she longed to see ; but the momentary satisfaction of his unexpected appearance being over, she reflected on the impropriety of his conduct with greater severity ; and ordered him to remain a prisoner at his own house. This was a reception Essex was not unprepared for : he used every expression of humiliation and sorrow, and tried once more, the long unpractised arts of insinuation that had brought him into favour. The queen, however, still continuing inflexible, he resolved to give up every prospect of ambition ; but previous to his retiring into the country, he assured the queen, that he could never be happy till he again saw those eyes, which were used to
shine

shine upon him with such lustre; that, in expectation of that happy moment, he would, like another Nebuchadnezzar, dwell with the beasts of the field, and be wet with the dew of heaven, till she again propitiously took pity on his sufferings. This romantic message, was peculiarly pleasing to the queen; she, therefore replied, that after some time, when convinced of his sincerity, something might be expected from her lenity. When these symptoms of the queen's returning affection were known, they equally renewed the fears of his real enemies, and the assiduities of his pretended friends. He did not, therefore, decline an examination of his conduct before the council, secure in his mistress's favour. And he was only sentenced to resign his employments, and to continue a prisoner in his own house, till her majesty's further pleasure should be known.

He now, therefore, had triumphed over his enemies; and the discretion of a few months might have re-instated him in all his former employments; but his impetuosity would not suffer him to wait for a slow redress of what he considered as wrongs; and the queen's refusing his request to continue him in the possession of a lucrative monopoly of sweet wines, which he had long enjoyed, spurred him on to the most violent measures. † Having long built with fond credulity on his great popularity, he began to hope, from the assistance of the giddy multitude, that revenge upon his enemies in the council, which he supposed was denied him from the throne.

With

With these aims he began to increase the general propensity in his favour, by an hospitality little suited to his circumstances. He entertained men of all ranks and professions; but particularly the military, who he hoped in his present views might be serviceable to him. But his greatest dependence was upon the citizens of London, whose schemes of religion and government he appeared entirely to approve; and while he gratified the puritans by railing at the government of the church, he pleased the envious, by exposing the faults of those in power. However, the chief severity of his censure rested upon the queen, whom he did not hesitate to ridicule; and of whom he declared that she was now become an old woman, and that her mind was grown as crooked as her body.

It may well be supposed that none of these indiscretions were concealed from the queen; his enemies, and her emissaries, took care to bring her information of all his resentments, and to aggravate his slightest reflections into treason. Elizabeth was ever remarkably jealous where her beauty was in question; and though she was now in her seventieth year, yet she eagerly listened to all the flattery of her courtiers, when they called her a Venus, or an Angel. She, therefore, began to consider him as unworthy of her esteem, and permitted his enemies to drive him to those extremities to which he was naturally inclined. He had collected together a select council of malcontents, who flattered him in his wild projects; and supposing their adhe-

rents much more numerous than they were, they took no pains to conceal their intentions. Among other projects, the result of blind rage and despair, they resolved at last that Sir Christopher Blount, one of his creatures, should, with a choice detachment, possess himself of the palace gates; that Sir John Davis should seize the hall, Sir Charles Davers the guard-chamber, while Essex himself would rush in from the Meuse, attended by a body of his partizans, into the queen's presence, intreat her to remove his and her enemies, to assemble a new parliament, and to correct the defects of the present administration.

The queen and council, alarmed at the great resort of people to Essex, and having some intimations of his design, sent secretary Herbert to require his appearance before the council, which was assembled at the lord keeper's. While Essex was deliberating in what manner he should proceed, he received a private note, by which he was warned to provide for his safety. He consulted his friends touching the emergency of their situation; they were destitute of arms and ammunition, while the guards at the palace were doubled, so that any attack upon that would be fruitless. While he and his confidants were in consultation, a person, probably employed by his enemies, came in as a messenger from the citizens, with tenders of assistance against all his adversaries. Wild as the project was of raising the city, in the present conjuncture it was resolved on; but the execution of it was delayed till the day following.

Early

Early in the morning of the next day, he was attended by his friends, the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Sandes, Parker, and Mounteagle, with three hundred persons of distinction. The doors of Essex-house were immediately locked, to prevent all strangers from entering; and the earl now discovered his scheme for raising the city more fully to the conspirators. In the mean time, Sir Walter Raleigh sending a message to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, this officer had a conference with him in a boat on the Thames, and there discovered all their proceedings. The queen being informed of the whole, sent in the utmost haste Egerton, the lord keeper, Sir William Knollys, the controller, Popham, the lord chief justice, and the earl of Worcester, to Essex house, to demand the cause of their unusual proceedings. It was some time before they received admittance; and it was not without some degree of fury, that they ordered Essex and his adherents to lay down their arms. While they continued undaunted in the discharge of their duty, and the multitude around them clamoured loudly for their punishment, the earl of Essex, who now saw that all was to be hazarded, resolved to leave them prisoners in his house, and to sally forth to make an insurrection in the city. But he had made a wrong estimate in expecting that popularity alone could aid him in time of danger; he issued out with about two hundred followers, armed only with swords; and in his passage to the city was joined by the earl of Bedford, and lord Cromwell. As he passed

B 2 through

through the streets, he cried aloud, "For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life!" hoping to engage the populace to rise; but they had received orders from the mayor to keep within their houses; so that he was not joined by a single person. He then proceeded to the house of Smith, the sheriff, on whose aid he greatly depended; but the crowd gathered round him rather to satisfy their curiosity, than to lend him any assistance. Essex now perceived that he was undone; and hearing that he was proclaimed a traitor by the earl of Cumberland, and lord Burleigh, he began to think of retreating to his own house, there to sell his life as dearly as he could. But he was prevented in his aims even there; the streets in his way were baricadoed, and guarded by the citizens, under the command of Sir John Levison. In fighting his way through this obstruction, Henry Tracy, a young gentleman, for whom he had a singular affection, was killed, and Sir Christopher Blount wounded and taken. The earl, himself, attended by a few of his followers, the rest having privately retired, made towards the river; and, taking a boat, arrived once more at Essex-house, where he began to make preparations for his defence. But his case was too desperate for any remedy from valour; wherefore, after demanding in vain for hostages, and conditions from his besiegers, he surrendered at discretion, requesting only civil treatment, and a fair hearing.

Essex and Southampton were immediately carried to the archbishop's palace at Lambeth,
from

from whence they were next day conveyed to the Tower, and tried by their peers on the nineteenth of February following. Little could be urged in their defence; their guilt was too flagrant. Essex after condemnation was visited by that religious horror which seemed to attend him in all his disgraces. He was terrified almost to despair by the remonstrances of his own chaplain; he was reconciled to his enemies, and made a full confession of his conspiracy. He had strong hopes of pardon, from the irresolution which the queen discovered before she signed the warrant for his execution. She had given him formerly a ring, which she desired him to send her in any emergency of this nature. This ring was actually sent her by the countess of Nottingham, who being a concealed enemy to the unfortunate earl, never delivered it; while Elizabeth secretly fired at his obstinacy in making no applications for mercy. The fact is, she appeared herself as much an object of pity, as the unfortunate nobleman she condemned. She signed the warrant for his execution; she countermanded it; she again resolved on his death, and again felt a new return of tenderness. At last she gave her consent to his execution, and was never seen to enjoy an happy day more.

After the beheading of Essex, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, some of his associates were brought to their trials. Cuffe, his secretary, a turbulent man, but possessed of great learning, Davers, Blount, Meric, and Davis, were condemned, and executed; the queen

pardoned the rest; being persuaded that they were culpable only from their friendship to their benefactor.

In the latter end of the year 1600, one of the most extraordinary conspiracies that history mentions, broke out in Scotland. I shall relate the particulars as drawn up by James himself, and published by his authority; and afterwards, make some remarks upon the improbabilities, contradictions, and inconsistencies that attend the whole story.

On the fifth of August, as James was taking horse in the morning, to hunt in the neighbourhood of Falkland, he was accosted in a manner more respectful than usual by Alexander Ruthven, brother to the earl of Gowry, and son to that earl who had been beheaded in this reign. It may be here proper to inform the reader, that the two brothers had received their education abroad; that they were looked upon as being more learned than noblemen generally are; and that they had not only been restored by James to their family honours and estate, but distinguished by him with particular marks of his bounty. Having finished the course of their education and travels, they returned through England to Scotland, where they resided at their family-seat near Perth; but it is pretty certain that Elizabeth had found means to fix the earl in her interest, and that she intended to make him her principal agent in Scotland. Be that as it will, this Alexander, who, it seems, was very handsome, and whom James suspected to have an intrigue with his wife, informed

informed his majesty that, the evening before, he had seized a suspicious fellow, muffled up in a cloak which concealed a large pot full of gold coin: that he had secured the fellow and his pot in a sequestered house, till he should know his majesty's pleasure; for which purpose he had come to Falkland. Ruthven added, that none, not even the earl his brother, knew of this adventure; but pressed James to give some orders about the gold and the prisoner. James, at first declined having any thing to do with either, but, upon farther examination, he began to suspect that the fellow might be an agent from the pope or the king of Spain, and might be intrusted with the gold to make disturbances in his kingdom. He offered to send back one of his servants with Ruthven, and a warrant directed to the magistrates of Perth, to receive the fellow and the money into their custody, and to detain both till his pleasure should be farther known. Ruthven strongly opposed this expedient. He observed, that if either the magistrates or his brother should hear of the prisoner and the money, James would get but a poor account of the latter; in which case he (Ruthven) must lose the reward of his zeal and loyalty; and therefore he intreated James to examine the fellow in person, entirely referring his own recompence to his majesty's generosity. The sport of the field being at a stand during this long conference, James joined his attendants; but told Ruthven that he would consider further of the matter. Ruthven endeavoured still to prevail

vail upon James to examine the prisoner, who, he said, in case of delay, might make a noise, which would defeat the whole discovery. Though it does not appear by the narrative drawn up by James himself, that he agreed to this proposal, yet Ruthven dispatched Henderson one of the two servants who attended him, to ride post-haste back to acquaint the earl of Gowry, that in about three hours James would be at his house, and desiring him to prepare dinner. James, during the chase was startled with what he heard from Ruthven; and riding again up to him, told him that when the sport was over, he would attend him. Upon the death of the stag, James called for a fresh horse, and mounting, unarmed and defenceless as he was, left word with the duke of Lenox, the earl of Mar, and his other attendants, that he was gone to Perth upon business with the earl of Gowry, but would be back at night. Most of the company got fresh horses, and imagining that James was gone to apprehend the master of Oliphant, who was then skulking as an outlaw about the country, they galloped after him, apprehending danger to his person.

Ruthven endeavoured to prevail on James to countermand their attendance upon his person, and to be satisfied with that of three or four servants. James says, that this discourse began to give him suspicions of Ruthven's intentions; but thinking that his brother's severe usage of him might have disturbed his brain, a conjecture which was confirmed.

armed by the uncommon wildness of his looks, his pensive air, and incoherent discourse; he was contented with ordering the noblemen his followers, to attend him; and, after informing the duke of Lenox of Ruthven's discovery, and his own suspicions of his insanity, he ordered him not to leave him, especially when he entered the house where the fellow and the treasure are confined. Their discourse was interrupted by Ruthven; who again peremptorily insisted, that none of the royal attendants should be present at the fellow's examination: but James told him with a smile, "That being himself but a poor accomptant, it was necessary he should have some assistance in telling over the money." Ruthven insisting with his usual earnestness, that none should be present, James grew at last apprehensive of some treasonable design; but, by his own account, he was ashamed to own his suspicions, and rode forward. When they came within two miles of Perth, Ruthven dispatched another servant to advertise his brother of the king's approach, and after riding a mile farther he left James for the same purpose.

Gowry was at dinner when he understood from his brother that the king was at hand; and was so far from having made any preparation for his majesty's reception, that having received him at the head of three or four score of his attendants, (those of James not exceeding fifteen, and armed only with swords) it was a full hour before his dinner could be got ready. During this interval,
James

James pressed Ruthven to introduce him to the prisoner; but he pretended that there was no hurry till his majesty's dinner was over. James describes the earl of Gowry as being extremely restless, unquiet and uneasy, while his majesty was dining. When James was ready to rise from the table, Ruthven whispered him that it was now time to visit the prisoner; but he wished that his majesty would get rid of the earl his brother by desiring him to entertain the other guests.

I shall here just observe, that Ruthven and his two servants had rode from Perth to Falkland that day; and the horse of the former was so tired, that it could scarcely keep up with the king, whom he was incessantly pressing to ride faster: yet (to speak nothing of the first servant) this second servant's horse outrides them all, and reaches his master's house before the king himself.

That the earl should be uneasy is not surprising when we consider how ill prepared he was for the royal visitant; for it appears, from the king's own relation, that neither of his brother's servants had delivered the message: besides; if Ruthven was (as there is too much reason to believe he was) insane, the earl's concern must be increased at such an adventure.

When James left the room, he desired to be attended by Sir Thomas Erskine; but Ruthven desired him to go forward with him, and persisted that his majesty would command publickly that none should follow him. It does not appear that the king gave any such order; but that, passing through the end of
the

the hall where his attendants were at dinner, he mounted a winding stair (called in Scotland a Turnpike) and after passing through several rooms, the doors of which were all carefully locked by Ruthven, at last he entered a small closet, where he saw a man with a dejected countenance, standing with a dagger at his girdle. Ruthven locking the door, and clapping his hat on his head, drew the dagger from the man's girdle, and pointing it to the king's breast, swore bitterly that it should go to his heart if he offered to cry out, or to open a window; affirming, that he was sure, the king's conscience was burthened for murdering his father.

James does not inform us, why Ruthven did not immediately plunge the dagger into his bosom; (which he naturally would have done, had he been determined to murder him) but displays his own eloquence, in recounting the arguments he made use of to divert Ruthven from his barbarous purpose, while the third person stood by trembling and quaking, rather like one condemned, than an executioner of such an enterprize.

If we believe James, his rhetoric made such an impression upon Ruthven, that it saved his life. "At his majesty's persuasive language (says James in his narrative) he appeared to be somewhat amazed, and, uncovering his head again, swore and protested that his majesty's life should be safe, if he would behave himself quietly, without making a noise or crying; and that he would only bring in the earl his brother to speak with

with his majesty. Whereupon his majesty enquiring what the earl would do with him, since (if his majesty's life were safe, according to promise) they could gain little in keeping such a prisoner; his answer only was, that he could tell his majesty no more; but that his life should be safe, in case he behaved himself quietly; the rest the earl his brother, whom he was going for would tell his majesty at his coming. With that, as he was going for the earl his brother, as he affirmed, he turned him about to the other man, saying these words unto him, "I make you here the king's keeper, till I come back again, and see that you keep him upon your peril:" and there withal said to his majesty, "you must content yourself to have this man now your keeper, until my coming back."

After this sudden transition from murder to mildness, Ruthven left the room, but took the key with him. His majesty asked the fellow who was left with him, "whether he was appointed to be his murderer?" which he denied with marks of fear and horror; and said that he had been locked in there a very little while before his majesty's arrival. The king then ordered him to open the window, which he readily did. Meantime, while Gowry was entertaining the king's servants, one of them told him, that the king had taken horse, upon which the company rushed out to follow him. They understood from the Porter, that the king was not gone; but Gowry running back to the house, immediately returned, and told them that the
king

king set out by a back gate. As they were hastening to take horse, young Ruthven returned and told James that he must die, offering to bind his majesty's hands, at the same time, with a garter. James and he instantly collared each other; and before Ruthven could draw his sword, James drew him by force to the window, from whence he called out that they were murdering him. At the very instant his servants were running past to take their horses. The king's voice was instantly known by the earl of Mar and the duke of Lenox. They attempted to run up the turnpike by which the king entered; but the earl of Gowry mounted by another stair-case, which was left open. By this time James had the better in the struggle between him and Ruthven, and he had drawn the latter to the door of the study, his head being under his majesty's arms, and himself on his knees. Such was the situation of the combatants, when Sir John Ramsay luckily found his way to the accessible turnpike, and mounting it, wounded Ruthven two or three times with his dagger; upon which James threw his antagonist down from the top of the stairs to the bottom, where his life was finished by Sir Thomas Erskine and Sir Hugh Herries. His last words were, "I am not to blame for this." Before Erskine performed his feat, he had collared the earl of Gowry, who was delivered by his servants. Erskine and Herries having dispatched Ruthven, ran up the turnpike, and were followed by the earl of Gowry, who had on his head a steel helmet, and a

sword in each hand, and seven of his servants, each with a sword, all the force of James (whom his subjects had shut into the closet) amounting only to the three knights above-mentioned, and one Wilson. A conflict ensued in the adjoining room, in which the king's attendants were wounded, but Sir John Ramsay ran his sword through Gowry's heart, and he expiring without speaking a word, his servants were driven down stairs.

The duke of Lenox and the earl of Mar had now forced their way into the turnpike by which James had mounted, and found him upon his knees thanking God for his deliverance. The townsmen of Perth had, by this time, taken the alarm; and upon hearing that their provost, the earl of Gowry was killed, surrounded the house. James ordered them to be admitted, shewed them the dead bodies of the earl and his brother, and informed them both of his danger and deliverance. This is the substance, of the famous discourse published by James concerning this celebrated conspiracy. The reader may easily perceive, by its internal evidences, that it is full of absurdities and inconsistencies; and they are so palpable, as to supersede all animadversions on that head. Strong external evidences likewise concur to destroy the credit of the king's narrative. Archbishop Spotswood says, that during Gowry's combat with the king's attendants, which was, it seems, in a chamber, into which the closet opened, one of the company cried out, "You have killed the king our master, and will

will you also take our lives?" Gowry hearing this, gave over the combat; and dropping the two points of his swords was run through the heart.

There is also a material difference between Spotswood's narrative and that of the king; for the former says, that the earl himself intercepted the fellow with the gold, and sent his brother to the king with the information. Upon the whole, it is highly probable, that if there was a conspiracy, the queen knew of it, but most probably there was none; and the tragedies which followed proceeded from the distempered brain of young Ruthven; for there is no ground for charging the brother, who took no advantage of the vast superiority of force he had in his house, and who the moment that he heard the king was dead, dropt his arms, and suffered himself to be run through the body by his enemies.

The remaining events of this reign are inconsiderable. With the death of her favourite Essex, all Elizabeth's pleasures seemed to expire: she afterwards went through the business of the state merely from habit, but her satisfactions were no more. She had fallen into a profound melancholy, which all the advantages of her high fortune, all the glories of her prosperous reign were unable to remove. She had now found out the falshood of the countess of Nottingham; who on her death-bed sent for the queen, and informed her of the fatal circumstance of the ring, which she had neglected to deliver. This

information awakened all that passion which the queen had vainly endeavoured to suppress. She shook the dying countess in her bed, crying out. "That God might pardon her, but she never would." She then broke from her, and resigned herself to the dictates of her fixed despair. She refused food and sustenance; she continued silent, and gloomy; sighs, and groans were the only vent she gave to her despondence; and she lay for ten days and nights upon the carpet, leaning on cushions which her maids brought her. Perhaps she reflected with remorse on some past actions of her life. She perceived the decays of nature, and the approach of her dissolution. She saw her courtiers remitting their assiduity to her, in order to pay their court to her successor. Such a concurrence of causes was more than sufficient to destroy the remains of her constitution; and her end now visibly approached. Feeling a perpetual heat in her stomach, attended with an unquenchable thirst, she drank without ceasing, but refused the assistance of her physicians. Her distemper gaining ground, Cecil, and the lord admiral, desired to know her sentiments with regard to the succession. To this she replied, that as the crown of England had always been held by kings, it ought not to devolve upon any but her immediate heir, the king of Scotland. Her voice soon after left her; she fell into a lethargic slumber, which continued some hours, and she expired without a groan, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign. Her character differed with

with her circumstances ; in the beginning, she was moderate and humble ; towards the end of her reign, quite the reverse. But ever prudent, active, and discerning, she procured for her subjects that happiness, which was not felt by those about her. She was indebted to a good providence, that her ministers were excellent ; but it was owing to her indiscretion that the favourites, who were more immediately chosen by herself were unworthy. Though she was possessed of good sense, yet she never had the discernment to discover that she wanted beauty ; and to flatter her charms at the age of sixty-five, was the surest road to her favour. In her person, she was masculine, strait, and strong-limbed ; fair, and yellow-haired. Her voice was strong and shrill. She had an excellent memory, and was well read in history. Her application was indefatigable, and her courage invincible. Yet we cannot deny, that she was vain, proud, and in some cases cruel. Her predominant passions were jealousy, avarice, and impetuous anger ; which frequently hurried her beyond all the bounds of common decency. Indeed she seems to have had no conception of this, any more than of the fear of GOD : for she swore by her Maker in almost every sentence of her ordinary conversation.

But whatever were her defects, she is to be ever remembered by the English with gratitude. It is true she carried her prerogative in parliament to its highest pitch ; so that it was tacitly allowed in that assembly, that she was above all laws, and could make and un-

make them at her pleasure ; yet still she was so wise as seldom to exert that power which she claimed, and to enforce few acts of her prerogative, which were not for the benefit of the people. It is true in like manner, that the English during her reign were put in possession of no new or splendid acquisitions ; but commerce was daily growing up among them, and the people began to find that the theatre of their truest conquests was on the bosom of the ocean. A nation which hitherto had been the object of every invasion, and a prey to every plunderer, now asserted its strength in turn, and became terrible to its invaders. The successful voyages of the Spaniards and Portuguese, began to excite their emulation ; and they fitted out several expeditions for discovering a shorter passage to the East-Indies. The famous Sir Walter Raleigh, without any assistance from government, colonized New England, while internal commerce was making equal improvements ; and many Flemings, persecuted in their native country, found, together with their arts and industry, an early asylum in England. Thus the whole island seemed as if roused from her long habits of barbarity ; arts, commerce, and legislation began to acquire new strength every day ; and such was the state of learning at that time, that some fix that period as the Augustan age of England. Sir Walter Raleigh, and Hooker, are considered as among the first improvers of our language. Spenser and Shakespear are too well known, as poets, to be praised here ;
but

but of all mankind, Francis Bacon, lord Verulam, who flourished in this reign, deserves, as a philosopher, the highest applause; his style is copious and correct, and his wit is only surpassed by his learning and penetration.

C H A P. II.

A late ingenious historian speaks so ambiguously on that great question, in which queen Elizabeth's character is so nearly concerned, "Was queen Mary guilty of murdering her husband or not?" that from all he says, no conclusion can be drawn, either one way or the other. He appears to be sensible of this himself, and therefore refers us for farther satisfaction, to the dissertation upon this very head, which follows at the end of the volume. But this leaves us as unsatisfied as ever. Fully to clear this intricate passage, I have subjoined an extract from a late tract on the subject, which I do not find any one has attempted to answer.

The only apology made, by Murray's secret council, for rising in rebellion against their sovereign, for imprisoning her in Lochlevin, and for all future acts of violence intended against her, "was (to use their own words) in the said queen's awin default, in

as

as far as be divers hir previe letteris, written and subſcrivit with hir awin hand, and ſent be hir to James erle of Bothwell---It is moſt certane that ſhe was previe, art and part, and of the actual deviſe and deid of the murder of the king." That is, they roſe in rebellion againſt the queen in the month of May; they made her priſoner at Carberry-hill on the 15th of June, and confined her next day in Lochlevin; whereas the letters were not diſcovered until the 20th of June, and on the 4th of December the ſame year. Murray's only pretence to juſtify the rebellion in May, was the letters found on the 20th of June following; ſo that here the pretended inducement was poſterior to the crime, which leaves the ſtrongeſt preſumption that theſe letters were fabricated to ſerve their purpoſe.

And as to thoſe letters themſelves, ſuppoſe a man were to ſwear a debt againſt me, and offered to prove it by bond or bill of my own hand writing; if I knew that to be a falſe writing, what would be my defence? Show me the bond itſelf, and I will prove it a forgery. If he withdrew the bond, and reſuſed to let me ſee it, what would be the preſumption? Surely, that the bond was forged, and that the reſuſer was himſelf the forger.

The caſe is precisely ſimilar to the point in hand. The queen repeatedly demands to ſee the writings themſelves, which ſhe aſſerts are forged. Elizabeth herſelf ſays, the demand is moſt reaſonable; and promiſes an extract of them. But was this an honeſt return to

so reasonable a request. Suppose this extract had contained an exact copy of the letters, is it from a copy that a forgery can be proved, without seeing the original? and yet nothing is more certain, than that even a copy of the letters was denied to Mary. One may easily imagine, that if queen Elizabeth had an intention that a fair trial and inspection of the letters should be made, there could be no reason for hesitating one minute on Mary's repeated supplication for a sight of them, or, at the least, for copies of them, without which, it was simply impossible for her, or any person alive, to detect the forgery.

But this was the very opposite of Elizabeth's intention; to give way to a scrutiny of such precious materials, which would have blown them up in the air; and consequently would have been a convincing proof of Mary's innocence.

Let us, now try, if it is possible, even at this day, to point out the real authors of the murder, to trace the footsteps of those dark, daring, and subtle geniuses, in the bloody scene of Darnley's death, through the thick cloud in which they have so artfully enveloped themselves.

The queen's accusation against her bastard brother the earl of Murray, and his confederates, was, in general, "that they themselves were the inventors, conspirators, and some of them the executioners of the murder of the king."

Before we enter into the defence made to this accusation, the following two points, will be readily granted.

First,

First, That if the queen had made good this accusation, and proved, that the accusers themselves, Murray, Morton, and Lethington, had been in the conspiracy and execution of the king's murder; in that case, she herself could not have been in that confederacy, or guilty of the murder.

Secondly, That as this triumvirate, Murray, Morton, and Lethington, had been from the beginning, equally embarked in the same cause, as they had with one voice publicly accused their sovereign of the above crimes, and pretended to bring proof of their accusation; and as they had, by that means, deprived her of her crown, and possessed themselves of the government of her kingdom; if, I say, the queen could have proved that these joint accusers, had themselves been the authors or contrivers of the king's death, in that case the whole triumvirate as *focii criminis*, must one and all be deemed accessaries to the murder.

These two points being allowed, let us now hear what defence Murray and his associates have made for themselves, and what has been said for them by the writers upon their side, in answer to the queen's accusation.

The answer made by Murray and his associates to the accusation, was, "they deny they were culpable thereof."

Mr. Hume, defends them thus: "we take this accusation of Mary's, to be an argument of Murray's guilt, there remains not the least presumption which should lead

us to suspect him to have been an accomplice in the crime.---Murray could have had no motive to commit that crime.---The king's murder, indeed, procured him the regency."

Dr. Robertson argues thus, "Murray, on the queen's return to Scotland, served her with great fidelity, and by his prudent administration rendered her so popular, and so powerful, as enabled her with ease to crush a formidable insurrection raised by himself in the year 1565. What motive could induce Murray to murder a prince, without capacity, without followers, without influence? It is no easy matter to guess what he could gain by his death."

---"If Murray had instigated Bothwell to commit the crime, or had himself been accessory to it, what hopes was there that Bothwell would silently bear, from a fellow criminal, all the persecutions which he suffered, without retorting upon him the accusation, or revealing the whole scene of iniquity? Or is it probable that Murray would first raise Bothwell to supreme power, in hopes that afterwards he might crush him?"

Such is the defence made on Murray's side to the queen's accusation of him and his associates.

Dr. Robertson asks, what motive could induce Murray to murder Darnley? his friend Mr. Hume shall answer him, it was to procure himself the regency. But after all, this sort of reasoning by inference, can have no place here. It is by direct evidence, we are to prove the queen's accusation against Murray

ray and his confederates, Morton and Lethington; and in the same way only, must the advocates for them be allowed to make their defence.

But previous to our entering upon this, it is of consequence to take notice of the sophistry, that has been used by the advocates on the opposite side to impose upon the public, by a vindication of the earl of Murray only. He is substituted for the whole party, as if the queen's accusation had been confined to him. He (though the director of the whole) took great care to screen himself from public view, while Morton and Lethington, his two instruments, acted more boldly, and with less caution. By this piece of flight, the contriver and mover of the whole machine kept himself hid, as he imagined, behind the curtain, secure in his artifices, and now boldly steps forth, while his under-actors make their retreat. By this piece of sophistry, the partizans of the queen have been imposed upon; in pursuing Murray they let his instruments Morton and Lethington escape.

We propose therefore to follow another course; to inquire into the particular conduct of each of the triumvirate; and at the same time endeavour to discover the chain which united this confederacy against the queen, during her whole reign. So that by judging of each separately, or connecting the whole together, the reader in one view, may determine for himself: and on this plan, we propose to give a fair detail of facts, with the au-

authorities from which we take them, so that the public may the better judge of their weight.

I now proceed to my subject; and in order to judge what part Murray, Morton, and Lethington had in the great event of Darnley's death, it is necessary to trace their conduct for some time preceding that period.

On the death of the queen regent, mother to Mary then in France, the earl of Murray, the prior of St. Andrews, was at the head of the reformed party in Scotland; at which time it was reported, that he had the crown in view for himself. Our authority for this is, in the first place, a letter from Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, the English ambassador in France, to secretary Cecil, dated the 26th of July, 1559. "I am (says he) secretly informed that there is a party in Scotland for placing the prior of St. Andrews in the State of Scotland, and that the prior himself, by all the secret means he can, aspires thereto."

Queen Elizabeth in her instructions to the earl of Shrewsbury, owns her knowledge of this scheme: "before the treaty of Edinburgh, (says that queen) there was an intent discovered unto us by Lethington, to deprive her (queen Mary) of her crown, which we utterly rejected." Let us now see what evidence there is of any steps taken by Murray in the prosecution of these views. Queen Mary having determined to leave France, and come over to her own kingdom, made application to queen Elizabeth for a safe conduct, and leave to pass through England in

her way to Scotland. Both these suits were refused. And on Mary's taking her way by sea, some ships of war were suddenly sent out by Elizabeth, in order to intercept her in her passage. The learned Camden, from the letters of the earl of Murray's party in Scotland, to queen Elizabeth and her ministers, with whom a secret correspondence was even at that time kept, informs us of the part Murray acted on that occasion: "James, the bastard, (says that learned writer) having returned from France thro' England, gave advices underhand to intercept her, both for Elizabeth's security and the interest of religion.----Lethington (adds he) advised the same thing, lest, if she should return, she would cut off their intercourse with the English, and depress the faction that favoured them." Camden mentions the letters of the party in Scotland which he had seen. And what confirms his veracity beyond dispute is, that Lethington's letter to this very purpose is still preserved in the Cotton Library. This letter shows plainly the confederacy between Cecil and Murray and his party, that was then forming to disturb the government: "I have been (says Lethington) these forty days in the north parts of Scotland with my lord James, (Murray) where we have not been altogether unoccupied, but advancing the religion and the common cause. ---I do allow your opinion of the queen our sovereign's journey to Scotland, whose coming hither shall not fail to raise wonderful tragedies.---She will not be served with those
that

that bear any good will to England. Some quarrel shall be picked with them, not directly for religion at the first; but when the accusation of heresy would be odious, men must be charged with treason.---A few thus disgraced, dispatched, or dispersed, the rest will be an easy prey."

That queen Elizabeth actually intended to have intercepted queen Mary in her voyage from France to Scotland, is likewise proved by her minister the lord keeper Bacon's direct acknowledgment, in a speech made in the privy council of England, anno 1562, on the occasion of a proposal then started for an interview between Elizabeth and Mary: "Think you (says lord Bacon) that the Scottish queen's suit, made in a friendly manner, to come thro' England at the time she left France, and the denial thereof, is by them forgotten? Or else your sending your ships to sea at the time of her passage?"

Such is the evidence of the earl of Murray's views at this time, and those of his party in Scotland, for having queen Mary intercepted in her way to Scotland, and detained a prisoner in England, that they might themselves seize the government of the kingdom.

The following evidence shews, that, at this time, the fatal association of Murray, Morton, and Lethington, in confederacy with queen Elizabeth and her minister Cecil was formed; which constantly after this subsisted, and was the source whence sprung all that series of disturbances, insurrections and

rebellions against Mary and her government; and from which all the disasters of her reign were derived, which at last ended in her death.

Before the queen's arrival from France, which was on the 22d of August, 1561, queen Elizabeth had taken care to have a minister at Edinburgh; this was the noted Mr. Randolph, who, upon pretence of bearing Elizabeth's compliments of congratulation, continued about queen Mary's court as a spy, giving the most minute intelligence to his mistress, and encouraging every cabal formed to disturb Mary's government. Of all this Randolph's own Letters, still extant, are a full demonstration.

It appears, that he had very soon cultivated a good understanding with the most fit persons for his purpose, such as the famous John Knox, Murray, Morton and Lethington.

In his letter to Cecil, of the 9th of August, 1561, a fortnight before Mary's arrival in Scotland, he thus writes: "I have shewn your honours unto lord James, (i. e. Murray) lord Morton, and Lethington, they wish, as your honour doth, that she (Mary) might be stay'd yet for a space, and if it were not for their obedience's sake, some of them care not tho' they never saw her face.---They have need to look unto themselves; for their hazard is great; and they see there is no safety for them, but to repose upon the queen's (Elizabeth's) majesty's favour and support. They are in mind shortly to try what they may be assured at, of the queen's majesty, and what they

they may assuredly perform, of that they intend to offer for their parts.---They intend to expostulate with me hereupon. I have my answer ready enough to them."---

"By such talk, as I have of late had with the lord James and Lethington, I perceive that they are of mind, that immediately of the next convention, I shall repair to you with their determination and resolution in all purposes wherein your honour's advice is earnestly and shortly looked for.---The lord of Lethington leaveth nothing at this time unwritten, that he thinketh may be able to satisfy your desire in knowledge of the present state of things here."

We see from this letter, that the pretence of those persons for associating themselves, and carrying on this treacherous correspondence with England, was their fears from Mary on her arrival in her own dominions. How false these pretences were, may be judged from the conduct of this deluded princess, who immediately on her arrival, threw herself into the arms of these very men, Murray, Morton, and Lethington. But, notwithstanding they had the sole power in their hands, they still continued to carry on their traitorous practices with England.

In the abstract of Randolph's letters to Cecil, now in the Cotton Library, we find in one of them, of the 19th of June, 1563, these words: "if any suspected letters be taken on the border, open them not, but send them to my lord of Murray, of whose service the queen of England is sure."

We now proceed to unfold some more overt acts of Murray, in prosecution of his view of disturbing the government and seizing the reins into his own hands.

The queen's purpose to marry the lord Darnley, in the year 1565, was an event which seemed to cross Murray's ambitious views, by placing a master over him for the present, and by the prospect of the queen's issue cutting off all his hopes for the future. For preventing this marriage, a conspiracy and association were formed, of which Murray was the head, to seize the queen and lord Darnley at the kirk of Beith, on their return from Perth, on the first of July 1565; to send her a prisoner to the castle of Lochlevin, and either to murder, or to seize Darnley, and send him prisoner to England. We shall state the evidence, and leave the reader to judge for himself.

Randolph, from his letters, still extant, appears to have been deeply engaged with these conspirators; in his letter, 3d. of June, he thus writes to Cecil: "People have small joy in this their new master, and find nothing, but that God must find him a short end, or them a miserable life. The dangers of those he hateth are great: but they find some support, that what he intendeth to others, may light upon himself."

In his letter of the 2d. of July, he writes thus: with my lord of Murray I have lately spoken; he is grieved to see the follies in his sovereign; he lamenteth the state of the country, that tendeth to utter ruin; he feareth that

that the nobility shall be forced to assemble themselves together, to do her honour and reverence, as they are in duty bound, but at the same time, to provide for the state, that it do not utterly perish.---The duke, the earl of Argyle, and he, (Murray) concur in this device, many others are like to join them in the same: what will ensue, let wise men judge."

How the ruin of the state was to ensue from the queen's marriage, or what her follies were, is not so easy to be comprehended. That the queen's marriage was a very great bar in the way of Murray and his party, is obvious; and for that reason, the most desperate remedies were put in execution by them, to prevent its having effect. At this very period, however, it is acknowledged by all historians, that the queen was the darling of her people, that her government was mild and unexceptionable to all. This the latest historian of those times candidly acknowledges. The only grievance therefore, here complained of by Murray and Randolph, seems to be, that the queen should think of marriage at all, which they foresaw might put an end to that party in the English interest, which Elizabeth cherished in order to disturb the government, and of which Murray, for his own private views, was the head.

What length this association was resolved to go, to prevent the marriage, we proceed to unfold.

Randolph thus writes to Cecil on the 2d. of July: "Darnley's behaviour is such, as he is run in contempt of all men, even of those
that

that were his chief friends; what shall become of him I know not, but it is greatly to be feared that he can have no long life among his people." Here is a prediction, which, without the gift of prophecy, Randolph might very safely make from what follows in his letter. "The question (says he) has been askt me, whether, if they (Darnley and his father Lennox) were delivered to us at Berwick, we would receive them? I answered, we would receive our own, in what sort soever they came unto us;" i. e. dead or alive.

This conspiracy being detected by the queen the very day before it was to have been put in execution, she, with the assistance of the earl of Athol, and what men he could instantly raise, made a sudden march to Edinburgh, which entirely disconcerted Murray and his confederates, insomuch, that seeing themselves detected, they made their retreat to Stirling, where they assembled their strength, and soon after rose in open rebellion. This appeared to be so unprovoked, and unjustifiable to the whole nation, that the queen, with her whole people on her side, found it an easy matter to crush Murray and his party, who fled into England.

The resolution of Murray and his party, to rise in flat rebellion, is thus opened to us by their confidant, Randolph, in his letter to Cecil at this very time, the 3d. of September 1565. "The lords were forced from Edinburgh.---The queen suspects Morton, yet hath he not the wit to leave her. She weareth a pistol charged when in the field; and

“and of all her troops her husband only has
 “quilted armour.-- Diverse of the other side,
 “are appointed to set upon the queen’s hus-
 “band, and either kill him or die themselves.
 “They expect relief from England: much
 “promised, but little received as yet. If her
 “majesty will now help them; they doubt
 “not, but one country will receive both the
 “queens.”

I shall only add one testimony more, that
 is, no less than the affirmation of most of the
 Scotch nobility; among whom were the earls
 of Argyle, of Rothes, and of the lord Boyd,
 who at first joined with Murray, but after-
 wards submitted, and were pardoned, and
 must have known the truth of what they sub-
 scribed to concerning Murray, their associ-
 ate. “He, (Murray) at this time, conspir-
 ed the slaughter of the lord Darnley, and to
 have imprisoned her highness in Lochlevin,
 and to usurp the government.”

Thus have we full and clear proof, from
 the concurrent testimonies of the conspirators
 themselves, of a plot and confederacy formed
 by Murray and his party for overturning the
 government, dethroning queen Mary, and
 murdering the lord Darnley; and this car-
 ried into execution by an open rebellion,
 headed by Murray, which queen Mary
 crushed, and obliged him to take refuge under
 queen Elizabeth, whose share in this enter-
 prize is sufficiently proved by the preceding
 testimonies.

What motives, may we not in our turn
 ask, could induce Murray, at this time,
 when

when the kingdom was in universal peace and quiet, under the mild government of his benefactress, who had raised him to the height of power next to herself, and trusted him with the administration of all affairs, thus, unprovoked, to form a plot to dethrone her, and murder her husband? what else, but that inordinate lust of power, that ambition, to set himself at the head of the government, and to rule alone? and although he failed at this time in his attempt, yet, by persevering in his scheme, he was soon after successful.

Malum minatum et damnum secutum, say the lawyers, is a most certain presumption of guilt, which nothing but the most positive evidence of the contrary, can remove. Of the *malum minatum*, the evil threatned by Murray to the lord Darnley, carried even into execution, it is impossible to produce a more pregnant proof than by the preceding testimonies, nor was the actual murder of that prince so far from this period, as to remove that presumption. Murray's rebellion and banishment was in October 1565; and Darnley's murder happened in the beginning of the year 1567, February the 10th; that is scarce sixteen months distant, and within less than eleven months after Murray was recalled from his banishment.

Thus we see the traces of this confederacy of Murray, Morton, and Lethington, as early as the queen's return to Scotland: we have seen that Murray and Lethington acted upon the same plan of having queen Mary intercepted by the English: and we have

also

also seen, from Randolph's letter, that although Morton did not openly join Murray in his rebellion, yet he was strongly suspected by the queen at that very time. The plan of these consummate politicians was not so shallow, as openly to embark all together, to risk their whole stock in one bottom; one adventure might fail, but so long as they kept a reserve at home, affairs might be retrieved, and their unwearied attempts at last succeed. Hitherto the traces of this confederacy appear only faint; we shall see gradually, as we advance, the light break in; by the aid of which, we shall step by step follow them into their dark retreat.

In the beginning of April, 1566, the parliament was to have met; to which Murray and his accomplices were summoned to appear, in order to their attainder, on account of their rebellion. To prevent this blow, and likewise to forward the main scheme, a new plot is devised by Morton and Lethington. The queen was, at this time, above six months advanced in her pregnancy, when, on the evening of the 9th of March as she sat at supper in her own private apartment, in the palace of Holyrood-house, in the presence of the king, the countess of Argyle, her secretary David Rizio, and two or three domestics in waiting, the earl of Morton, the lords Lindsay and Ruthven, at the head of five hundred men, in compleat armour, having made themselves masters of the palace, Ruthven a most ghastly figure of a man, at the head of a few ruffians, with their daggers drawn,

drawn, rush into the room, overturn the table at which the queen sat, and stab to the heart Rizio at her feet, where he had taken refuge: then dragging the shrieking wretch to the door, they lay him dead with numberless wounds. After this they return to the queen, almost dead, as may be well imagined, with fear, and threatening death to her, upbraid her, in most shocking terms, with mal-administration by Rizio's counsel, encouraging papists, and banishing Murray and the other lords, whom, they tell her, she should see in her presence the next day; boasting of their party, and that the king was also on their side. Accordingly the next day, a proclamation is issued in the king's name only, ordering the peers, and other members that were to have met in parliament, to retire to their homes: and Murray, and the other exiles in England, knew so well what was done in Edinburgh, that they appeared there within twenty-four hours of Rizio's assassination. We have in the Cotton library, the articles then agreed on between lord Darnley on his part, and the earl of Murray and the banished lords on their part; their being recalled from exile, and their assisting him in getting possession of the crown matrimonial for life. From this we have a proof of Murray and Morton joining hand in hand in this conspiracy. Let us now see if we can trace their friend Lethington's steps in it. Calderwood, a contemporary author, thus writes, "secretary Lethington retained the earl of Athole with himself, within his lodging; for Lethington was privy to the plot,
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and supped that night with the earl, partly on purpose to with-hold him from offering, or to save him from suffering any violence, and partly that he himself might not be suspected by the queen, having the earl of Athole for a witness of his behaviour."

This is sufficient to shew, that the triumvirate were all joined in concert in this conspiracy, and acted still on their old plan, of not appearing all of them openly, so as in case of a failure, in their plot, some one or other of them, by keeping out of the affair, might be able to keep footing at court, and restore his brethren in disgrace.

A very little reflection makes one see, with amazement, the depth and extent of this well-concerted plot, which had the greatest probability of terminating in the destruction of the queen, her offspring, and of her husband himself, whose weakness and brutality could lead him to join with the queen's, and his own worst enemies, in so horrid a conspiracy.

The death of Rizio was surely the least view of the conspirators. Had that been their sole aim, a hundred ways occurred to have dispatched him out of her sight; but that could have had no consequence. In the plan they pursued, how big a scene for expectation appeared? A band of armed ruffians, with their daggers brandished, to rush on a sudden into the presence of a woman six months gone with child, to overturn the table at which she sat, and to stab a man hanging by her knees! From this scene of shrieks, blood and horror, was it natural to expect

less than the queen's abortion? Might they not expect her death? And, in any event, was not this an infallible means of bringing on an immediate rapture between the queen and her husband? In this last view the scheme succeeded: it was impossible for the queen, or indeed any woman, readily to forgive a husband, who had joined in so barbarous a conspiracy against her life and that of his own offspring; one too, whom she had raised from a state of exile to her throne; and on whom she had lavished her whole affection.

Altho' the assassination of Rizio, in which Morton was the open ringleader, had so far succeeded as to bring home his friend Murray, whom the queen, his sister, was so gracious as to pardon for his treason and former offences; yet Morton, in his turn, was banished. As he had now, however, two such good friends at court as Murray and Lethington, he was in hopes of being soon recalled. And in a letter from Morton and Ruthven, then in exile at Berwick, dated the 2d. of April 1566, to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, they thus unfold their expectations.

“ Since we are in trouble for the relief of our brethren and the religion; we doubt not to find your favour, as our brethren have done before, who were of late banished; desiring you most heartily, that by yourself, and such others as you may procure, we may find favour at the queen's majesty, your mistress's hands, for remaining within her highness's realm, until such time as we may be relieved by the help of our brethren, which we hope in God shall be shortly.”

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The next step, of Murray and Lethington, (who had carefully, as we have seen, kept himself hid from view in this last plot) was to have their associate Morton restored again to favour. For this purpose the proposal made by Murray and Lethington, first to the earl of Huntley and Argyle, and after that to the queen herself, falls here to be considered.

In the famous declaration of the earls of Huntly and Argyle, these two noblemen declare, that in the month of December, (the same year) 1566, while the queen was residing at the castle of Craigmillar, the earl of Murray and secretary Lethington came into their apartment in the morning, “and lamenting the banishment of the erle of Morton, lord Lindsay and Rowen, with the rest of their faction, said, that the occasion of the murder of David, slane be thame in the presence of the queen’s majestie, was for to troubill and impeiche the parliament, quhairin the erle of Muray and utheris fould have bene foirsaltit, and declarit rebellis. And seing that the samin was chieflie for the weilfare of the erle of Murray, it fold be estemit ingratitude, gif he and his friendis, in reciproque manner, did not interpryse all that wer in thair puissance for releif of the said is banishis; quhairfoir thay thocht, that we, of our part, fould have bene as delÿrous thairto as thay wer.”

“And we agreing to the same, to do all that was in us for their relief, provyding that the queen’s majestie should not be offendit thairat; Lethington proponit and said, “that

the neareft and beft way till obtene the faid erle of Mortoun's pardoun, was, to promife to the queen's majefty, to find ane moyen to mak divorcement betwixt hir græce and the king hir husband, quha had offendit hir hienas fa hielie in mony wayis."

"Quhairunto we answering, that we knew not how that might be done, Lethington faid, the erle of Murray being ever present, "My lord, cair zon not thair of. We fal fynd the meane weill enough to mak hir quyte of him, fwa that ze and my lord of Huntlie will onlie behald the matter, and not be offended thair-at."

"Swa thairefter we past altogiddertowardis the queen's græce, quhair Lethington, efter recounting the king's intollerabill offences, and his continewing everie day from evil to worfe; made the propofal to the queen, as mentioned above, of making divorcement between the queen and him; to this the queen was averfe, by reafon it might perhaps prejudice her fon, and faid, that peradventure he (Darnley) wald change opinion, and that it wer better that fche hirself for ane tyme paf-fit in France, abyding till he acknowleg it himself."

Then Lethington faid, "Madame, we of the principal of zour grace's nobilitie and counfall, fall fynd the moyen, that zour majestie fall be quyte of him without prejudice of zour fone. And albeit that my lord of Murray heir present be lytill les fcrupulous for ane proteftant nor zour grace is for ane papift, I am affurit he will luik throw his fingeris thairto, and will behald our doings, faying

saying nathing to the samen." The quene answerit, "I will, that ze do nathing quhairthro' ony spot may be layit to my honor or conscience, and thairfor I pray zou rather lat the matter be in the estait as it is, abyding till God of his guidnes put remeid thairto; that ze beleffing to do me service may possibill turn to my hurt and displeasour." "Madame, (said Lethington) let us guide the matter amangis us, and zour grace fall see nathing but guid, and approvit be parliament."

The inference made by Huntly and Argyle from this procedure of Murray, and Lethington is in these words: "Swa efter the premissis, the murther of the said Henry Stewart following, we judge in our consciences, and haldis for certane and trueth, that the saidis erle of Murray, and secretarie Lethingtoun were auctoris, inventaris, devyseris, counfallouris, and causeris of the said murthour, in quhat manner, or be quhat sumever personis the samin was execute."

"And where the saidis erle of Murray, and Lethingtoun, or any of thame, will deny and ganesay to the foresaid, we are deliberat to defend the samin be law of armis, as our awin proper honor, in quhatsumever place thay will cheise. And gif the queen's majestie of England pleisis to send ony in her name, to heir and see the premissis defendit, the samin shall be put to execution in thair presence."

The earl of Murray's answer to the above, is as follows: "Because the custume of my

adversaris is, and has bene, rather to calumpniat and backbite me in my absence, than befoir my face; and that it may happen thame, quhen I am departit furth of this realme, (England) sclanderoufflie and untrewlie to reporte of me, sum spechis haldin in my hearing at Craigmillar, in the month of November 1566, I have alreddie declarit to the queen's (Elizabeth's) majestie, the effect of the hail purposis, spokin in my audience at the samyn tyme, sincerelie and trewlie, not conceilling ony part to my remembrance, as hir heinefs I traift will report. And farther, in cais ony man will say and affirm, that ever I was present, quhen ony purposis wer halding at Craigmillar in my audience, tending to any unlauchful or dishonorabill end. I avow they speik wickitlie and untrewlie, quhilk I will mantene aganis thame, as becumis an honest man, to the end of my lyfe."

What explanation the earl of Murray was pleased to give to queen Elizabeth, his friend and confidant of the above conferences, held by him in the castle of Craigmillar, we are yet to learn.

We see from this extraordinary answer of Murray, that he does not deny the conferences and propofal alledged to have been made by him and Lethington, as the earls of Huntly and Argyle have declared in their protestation. It therefore must appear to any unprejudiced person, that what these noblemen have affirmed is true. We leave every person to judge of the propriety of the inference these

these noblemen draw of Murray and Le-thington's guilt, and accession to the murder which was committed within a few weeks of their proposal to make the queen quyte of him.

Of this protestation, as it is called of Huntley and Argyle, we have a copy preserved in the Cotton library, with the original of Murray's answer, signed by himself, James Regent, pasted on the back of the protestation; and at the foot of this is written, by secretary Cecil's own hand: "19th of January 1568. An answer of the earl of Murray to a writing of the earl of Huntly and Argyle."

Within a few days after the conferences in the castle of Craigmillar, viz. on Christmas 1566, the queen was prevailed upon to grant a pardon to the earl of Morton, and to 75 of his accomplices in Rizio's slaughter. This was the previous and necessary step of the confederates to the grand enterprize, which soon after, upon Morton's appearing again in the scene, was to take place. Accordingly, upon the 9th of February 1567, the earl of Murray affected publicly to ask leave to go from court to his house in St. Andrews. And the next morning, the 10th of February, the king's house was blown up with gunpowder, and his body found dead.

Before we go further, it may not be improper to call back our attention to two facts which throw some light on the dark affair. It is told us by all the historians, and particularly by the latest, Dr. Robertson, that

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in the end of October 1566, about three months before lord Darnley's murder, he intended to have left the kingdom, and to have gone into foreign parts, and with great difficulty was dissuaded from this purpose by the queen."

The other fact is the proposal made by Murray and Lethington to the queen in the castle of Craigmillar, to procure a divorce between her and Darnley, which proposal the queen utterly rejected.

Now, as both these incidents happened within so short a time of Darnley's murder, and at the time when his behaviour to the queen was most shocking: if the queen had been desirous to get rid of her husband, can we conceive, that she would have rejected both these opportunities, of being so effectually freed from him without trouble, and rather chuse to involve herself in the horrid crime of murder?

Should we suppose, that the reason of her rejecting the proposal of the divorce, might proceed from an apprehension of doing hurt to her son's title, yet Darnley's project of going abroad, not only freed her from his company, but likewise (if we can suppose her so wicked as her enemies have asserted) afforded her many opportunities, either of keeping him out of the kingdom, or of conspiring his death at a distance by unknown hands.

I now proceed to examine the conduct of Murray and his confederates, subsequent to the murder of Lord Darnley.

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Murray, we have seen, chose the very day before the murder to withdraw from court, and to go over the Forth to his castle of St. Andrews : soon after, he returned to court, and with Bothwell, Morton, Lethington, and their party, was in high favour and confidence with the queen.

All the historians agree, that the earl of Bothwell was one of the principal actors in the king's murder. The earl of Morton and Lethington, as we shall afterwards shew, were both of them accessaries ; and Morton in his confession as delivered at his death, expressly acknowledges, that Bothwell made him privy to the bloody designs. We have no direct evidence, indeed, that Morton and Lethington communicated this affair to their friend Murray ; we shall therefore leave it to the impartial reader, upon weighing all circumstances, to judge for himself of the probability of their keeping this secret from their bosom friend, hitherto so closely associated with them ; and who was himself, according to their schemes, to be the chief gainer by Darnley's death. The part Murray was to play, as laid down by Lethington in the castle of Craigmillar, was "to look through his fingers and behold their doings, saying nothing." How faithfully Murray acted up to this we shall further see.

The general report having loaded Bothwell with the murder of Darnley, the earl of Lenox, by several letters, addressed the queen, to bring Bothwell, and other suspected persons to trial. The queen accordingly
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gives orders for trying Bothwell, and by a letter of the 24th of March, requests Lenox to repair to Edinburgh, with his friends the approaching week.

After this we find the earl of Murray present at court until the 9th day of April, two days before Bothwell's trial was to proceed, when having obtained leave of the queen, he departed for France. Having lent his assistance in preparing matters for the farce that was soon to follow, he most strictly adheres to his plan of retiring himself from the scene, leaving his faithful actors Morton and Leithington, to perform the active part of the drama.

On the 28th of March, we find the queen by the advice of her nobles and privy council ordains trial to be taken against Bothwell, upon the 12th day of April following, before the high court of justice at Edinburgh. Besides the above letter of the queen to Lenox, of the 24th of March, desiring his immediate presence, with his friends, at Edinburgh, the act directs public intimation to be made to the earl, to attend on the said 12th of April.

Lenox, in consequence of these intimations, sets out from his house near Dumbarton, which was but forty miles distant from Edinburgh, and comes to Stirling, from whence he writes to the queen upon the eleventh of April, the very night before the trial, excusing himself for not appearing there, on account, as he pretends, of his falling sick on his journey; at the same time he complains of the shortness

shortness of time allowed him for convening his friends; and requests the day of trial to be adjourned. This sudden request of Lenox coming too late, the trial notwithstanding proceeded.

I make no scruple to affirm, that the whole procedure at this trial, was altogether a sham, in consequence of a premeditated scheme, contrived to have Bothwell acquitted. The whole was managed by Morton and his party. The earl of Argyle, in right of his hereditary office of Lord high Justice general, presided at the trial; but, as the custom was, assessors mostly lawyers, were appointed to sit in judgment with him. These were the four following: the lord Lindsay, one of the principal conspirators with Morton in the murder of Rizio; the abbot of Dunfermline; Mr. James Macgill, and Mr. Henry Balnaves, lord of Session. The whole four were confidants of Murray and Morton, and soon after accompanied their patrons, Murray and Morton, to England, acting as commissioners in the proceedings against their sovereign for this very murder, of which they now acquitted Bothwell. Before these judges the earl of Bothwell appeared in Court, on the twelfth of April, accompanied by his confidant the earl of Morton, who stood impannelled with him; and none appearing to make good the charge, Bothwell in consequence was acquitted. So ended this mock trial.

The next event, brought about by the management of the very same persons, headed by Morton, is the famous bond signed by him and the

the other nobles who at that time attended the parliament. In this they assert Bothwell's innocence, promise to stand by him with their lives and fortunes, and, to sum up all, with one voice, recommend him to the queen, as the most proper person she could chuse for a husband. And if she would accept him, they undertake to support him with their whole power against all mortal. It concludes thus.

“ And in case any will presume, directly or indirectly, --- to hinder or disturb the said marriage, we shall fortify the said earl (Bothwell) so far as it may please our said sovereign lady to allow, and therein shall spend and bestow our lives and goods, against all that live or die may, as we shall answer to God, and on our own fidelity and conscience; and in case we do in the contrary, never to have reputation or credit in no time hereafter, but to be accounted unworthy and faithless traitors.”

The bond was subscribed by the following persons: the archbishop of St. Andrews, the bishops of Aberdeen, Galloway, Dunblain, Brechin, Ross, the Isles, and Orkney; the earls of Huntley, Argyle, Morton, Cassils, Sutherland, Errol, Crawford, Caithness, and Rothes; the lords Boyd, Glamys, Ruthven, (son of that Ruthven, who was so capitally concerned in Rizio's murder, and who died during his exile in the North of England) Sempil, Herries, Ogilvie, and Fleming.

Herries, who was a man of the most stubborn virtue of any of Mary's friends, not only signed the bond which attends this, but the

the marriage articles between her and Bothwell; and he was one among others, who thought, at that time, that Bothwell was ignorant of Darnley's murder; and that, as will appear by his after-conduct, it was contrived and perpetrated by Murray and Morton.

My reason is, that Mary having the solemn acquittal of Bothwell, and the strong associating of her principal nobility in his favour, lying before her, must be presumed to believe him innocent of her husband's murder, and to think that they were of the same opinion. She began now to think that the advice given her to marry Bothwell might be politically right. I cannot however imagine, that she could have any amorous affection for a debauchee of sixty years of age, who had dissipated his fortune in courting her mother twenty-four years before.

On the fifteenth of May, the day appointed for their fatal nuptials, they were celebrated according to the reformed manner, in the council-chamber, within the palace of Holyrood-house, by Adam Bothwell, formerly bishop of Orkney. Bothwell's behaviour, after marriage, was brutal beyond belief; and the reflections of the disgrace she had brought upon herself were such, that Mary was even heard to threaten to put an end to her own life.

Notwithstanding these symptoms of general dislike, Mary was more pitied than blamed. Her great subjects were conscious to themselves how instrumental they had been in misleading her. The earls of Huntley and

Crawford, the lords Fleming, Herries, and Boyd, the archbishop of St. Andrews, and the bishop of Galloway and others, still assisted at the meetings of the privy-council, which met two days after the marriage; and one of the first measures of the new administration was a revocation passed by Mary "of any writings that might have been passed for permitting any persons to use the old form of religion, because she intends inviolably to maintain the act published concerning religion, upon her arrival from France."

Certain it is that she had no reason to believe Bothwell guilty of her husband's murder; and that the opinion of his innocence was absolutely confined under the hands of the nobility and others, who recommended him to her for a husband. That these are facts, is past contradiction; nor are they to be invalidated by the most plausible conjectures or surmises. The misfortunes of Mary at that time differed, perhaps, from that of any other woman ever circumstanced like her. She was surrounded by persons whose interest it was to shut truth out, to keep her in the dark; and in ignorance of all that she owed to her dignity as a queen, or her reputation as a woman. They pretended that she had no safety but in marrying Bothwell; and the experience she had of her people's temper, gave too fair a gloss to the illusion.

It is scarce possible for the man of wit to devise words more binding by every tie, human and divine, than those of the above bond, subscribed by Morton and the Scotch nobility
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in order to induce the queen to this fatal marriage. Yet what a shocking thing is it, to think, that even Morton himself, one of the principal ringleaders in the association, should within a little more than a month, rise in arms against his sovereign, head a rebellion, and dethrone and imprison her, upon this remarkable pretext, "That by her ungodlie and dishonourable proceeding in a private marriage with (Bothwell)---it is certain she was privy art and part of the murder of the king."

No sooner was this unhappy marriage concluded, than Morton, Lethington, and the rest of the party, hitherto the pretended friends of Bothwell, threw off their masks; these very men, the associates of Morton, who had been the chief instruments employed in the trial and acquitting of Bothwell; who had contrived the infamous bond, asserting his innocence, addressing the queen to marry him, and solemnly binding themselves to support him with their lives and fortunes; were the men who, immediately after the marriage, formed an association against the queen and this very Bothwell; and so closely had they carried on their measures, that within three weeks after the marriage, they were ready to have made the queen and Bothwell prisoners in her own palace. But having a hint given them of the conspiracy, on the 6th of June, they made a very narrow escape from Holyroodhouse, and came to the earl of Bothwell's castle of Borthwick; from thence they went to Dunbar, and in a few days after, the queen having hastily called together a handful

of such of her subjects, she and Bothwell marched towards Edinburgh; and were met by the earl of Morton and his party, at Carberry-hill, about five miles from that city.

An interview was brought about between the queen and Sir William Kirkaldy, of Grange, on the part of the rebels, who required no other terms than those of her dismissing Bothwell from her presence, and promised upon that condition, all dutiful obedience. She relying on the faith of this treaty, directly went over to the opposite army, and delivered herself into their hands. How well did these gentlemen keep their faith!

Dr. Robertson has, in very strong colours, painted the vile indignities offered to this unfortunate princess. His words are, "As soon as Bothwell retired, Mary surrendered to Kirkaldy, who conducted her towards the confederate army: the leaders of which received her with much respect, and Morton, in their name, made ample professions of their future loyalty and obedience. But she was treated by the common soldiers with the utmost insolence and indignity, who poured upon her all the opprobrious names commonly bestowed on the lowest and most infamous criminals. Wherever she turned her eyes, they held up before her a standard, on which was painted the dead body of the late king, stretched on the ground, and the young prince kneeling before it, and uttering these words, "Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord!" Mary turned with horror from such a spectacle, she began already to feel the wretched

wretched condition to which a captive prince is reduced. She uttered the most bitter complaints; she melted into tears, and could scarce be kept from sinking to the ground. The confederates carried her towards Edinburgh. ---- The streets were covered with multitudes, whom zeal or curiosity had drawn together to behold such an unusual scene. The queen worn out with fatigue, covered with dust, and bedewed with tears, was exposed as a spectacle to her own subjects, and led to the Provost's house; and, notwithstanding her intreaties, the same standard was carried before her, and the same insults repeated."

On this pathetic description of Dr. Robertson, I must beg leave to make a remark. According to the doctor, we are to understand that all the insults and indignities offered to the queen, were from the common soldiers and the mob. But a very little attention will convince us, that Morton and his associates, conducted the whole; and that the mob, who openly insulted their sovereign, were influenced and spirited on by them. Neither the mob, nor the soldiers could have directed the queen to be exposed in so indecent a manner, carried along the streets of Edinburgh, and lodged in the provost's or mayor's house, which was situated in the upper part of the city, when the queen's own palace of Holyrood-house was situated at the lower end of the city, and directly in the road from Carberry hills.

The shocking standard too, a device previously contrived to influence the rabble against their queen, was above the invention

of a blind mob, and to demonstration shews, from what quarter it came, and that nothing was omitted by Morton and his associates to influence the unthinking commonalty against their queen, to extinguish every sentiment of compassion, and to excite them to give their assent to the more violent measures which were soon to follow.

Yet "the honestest sort among the citizens, stung with remorse and pity, (says Crawford's manuscript) crowded to the place, and had certainly set her at liberty, if the conspirators, who knew the honest temper of the queen, had not with a well-feigned grief, protested they were sorry they had given her such cause of complaint, and that they would instantly restore her to her palace of Holyrood house." This they accordingly did that evening; but to prevent any attempt of rescue, she was in the night privily conveyed, and with haste, in disguised apparel, to the strong fortress of Lochleven, and after a few days stripped and spoiled of all her princely attirements, and clothed with a coarse brown cassock." We have only to add, that the person who undertook the infamous office of carrying his sovereign a captive to her prison, was the lord Lindsay, Morton's close friend, who had been a confederate with him in the murder of Rizio, for which the queen had generously pardoned them both, and recalled them from banishment only six months before this period.

The pretence given out by Morton and his associates for taking arms against the queen and Bothwell, was to revenge the king's death

death, and to prosecute his murderers, and chiefly Bothwell, whom they asserted to be the principal person concerned in it. Notwithstanding, upon the queen's delivering herself into their hands at Carberry hill, on the 15th of June, 1567, altho' they broke their faith to her, and sent her prisoner to Lochleven, yet they allowed the earl of Bothwell, to retire from the field almost alone, without attempting to follow him. He went strait to Dunbar Castle, where he quietly remained until the 26th of June. We find an order of Morton and his council dated on that day for summoning "the keeper of Dunbar Castle to surrender the same, because the earl of Bothwell was reset and received within the said castle.

This was a civil intimation for him to shift his quarters; how long after this he chose to abide there, does not appear: but sometime after, as high admiral of Scotland he went to sea, with some few ships under his command, and cruized along the northern coast, until the 11th of August, when a commission was issued to Murray of Fullibardine and Sir William Kirkaldy, of Grange, to provide ships, "and to pursue the earl of Bothwell, by sea or land, by fire and sword." In consequence of which a fleet being sent after him, Bothwell fled to the coast of Denmark, where by some of the king of Denmark's ships, he was taken prisoner and carried to Denmark. "They were glad (says Crawford's manuscript) of his escape from Carberry-hill, for no man pursued him,
nor

nor did any offer to attack him at Dunbar, whither he retreated and staid at least fourteen days; and indeed, if Grange had taken him at Orkney, it is more than probable (lest he had betrayed his accomplices) that he had been sacrificed on the spot.

The confederates having thus secured the queen and expelled Bothwell the kingdom, compleated their scheme, by wresting the reins of government from their sovereign, and seizing them into their own hands. And thus matters rested as to any further enquiry after Bothwell, during Murray's life.

After his death the earl of Lennox, father to the lord Darnley, having succeeded him in the regency, sent over, in the year 1570, one Thomas Buchanan, as his minister to the court of Denmark to solicit that king, to have the earl of Bothwell delivered up to him. However, Buchanan sent over an account of his transactions to Lennox, which probably contained some particulars from the mouth of Bothwell relating to the murder. These were not thought proper to be exposed to light. The earl of Morton at this time was at London, negotiating to have queen Mary still detained prisoner. This embassy to Denmark was not relished by him. He appears to have been suspicious of some discoveries from that quarter. He had the address therefore to intercept the above packet from Buchanan, and the boldness to open and peruse the contents, though addressed to his master Lennox only: for proof of this fact, we have Morton's own letter to the regent.

regent Lennox still preserved; tho' Buchanan's account from Denmark is not to be found; but as Morton himself soon succeeded to the regency, this may easily be accounted for: Morton's letter to the regent is in these words: " We resavit a letter written furth of Denmark be Mr. Thomas Buchanan to your grace, of date the 20th of January; we take the boldness to open and read the letter, quailk it may plais your grace presently to resave. The cause why it has been so long in sending, was, that we thought not best to commit it to the throuch post, or a common messenger: for that we had na will the contents of the same suld be known, fearing that some words and matters mentioned in the same, being disperfit heir as novellis, suld rather have hindered than furthered our cause, and thairfore, being desirrit at court to show the letter, we gave to understand, that we had sent the principal away, and deliverit a copy, omittand sic things as we thought not meet to be shawn, as your grace may perceive by the like copy, quhilk also we have sent you herewith, quhilk ye may communicate to sic as your grace thinks not expedient to communicate the haill contents of the principal letter unto."

This letter is signed by Morton; and likewise by the abbot of Dunfermline and Macgill, two persons whom we have already seen employed as useful instruments to Murray and Morton, particularly as judges in the trial of this very Bothwell, and soon after employed
as

as commissioners in accusing the queen. This noted letter, signed by these three confederates, is dated the 24th of March 1570, that is, above two months after the date of Buchanan's letter to Lenox : from which it is plain, that Morton and his associates must have kept this letter in their hands above a month, before they were pleased to send it down to Scotland.

For what purposes Morton intercepted, and detained it so long, and why he was pleased to deliver a false and castrated copy, even to his good friend queen Elizabeth, and her minister Cecil, omitting some matters, that were not meet (as he acknowledged) to be shown, seems to be pretty obvious : and any one may determine, whether this whole manœuvre of Morton, intercepting this packet, breaking it open, detaining it for several weeks, concealing the contents, and taking upon him to deliver to the English court a false copy, does not carry the strongest suspicion, that the original contained matters of great importance relating to the murder, and particularly against Morton himself, and the whole party ?

The breaking open a letter from an Ambassador at a foreign court, to his master the regent of Scotland, without authority, must convince every mortal, that Morton was under the greatest anxiety and suspicion, that it contained some dangerous discoveries relating to himself ; and his keeping it so long under the poor pretence of not trusting it with a common messenger, is as convincing, that
during

during that time he was practising upon it, and that it was not without design, he kept it all this while in his hands.

Lenox continuing to solicit the king of Denmark to send over Bothwell to be tried, queen Elizabeth likewise was pleased to urge the same request: that king, agreed to send him over, on condition, that queen Elizabeth should become bound, and likewise the estates of Scotland, by solemn writings, to be sent to Denmark against the 24th day of August 1567, that the earl of Bothwell should have a trial. This letter Lenox sent to queen Elizabeth for her advice, by a letter of the 25th of May that year: but the security for Bothwell not being sent, the affair was dropt altogether.

The great scheme of the confederates, Murray, Morton, and Lethington, having been, as we have seen, to overturn the government of the queen, and to attain possession thereof to themselves: we have hitherto traced the triumvirate co-operating in that scheme, which was accomplished by the queen's imprisonment, and the settling of Murray in the regency.

But as the views of the confederates came afterwards to be separated and more detached from each other, we must now trace their conduct separately. We therefore return to the earl of Murray.

In the time of the conferences in England, the duke of Norfolk, a nobleman possessed of every amiable quality, the first peer in England, in rank and power, and as Sir James
Melvil

Melvil justly says, at that the time greatest subject in Europe, was one of Elizabeth's privy council, and one of the commissioners, appointed to treat with the Scotch commissioners on queen Mary's affairs. This patriot nobleman had very early seen the bottom of his mistress Elizabeth's views, and had observed the artful contrivances used by her to induce Mary's rebellious subjects, to defame and accuse their sovereign: he not only knew Elizabeth's resentment against a hated rival, but likewise, that she intended to quash entirely, and put an end, if possible, to a question that had often been agitated in England, viz. The affair of settling the succession of the crown.

The duke had, under the greatest confidence and most solemn promises from Murray, of friendship and secrecy, communicated to him, his whole thoughts upon that subject. He had told him, that Elizabeth's plan was no other than to spirit them on to accuse their sovereign, with a view to disappoint the scheme of settling the succession to the crown of England; therefore he dissuaded Murray, from suffering himself to be made the tool of Elizabeth in blackening his own sovereign, for which all men would detest him.

Murray appeared to be convicted, and a mutual engagement of friendship was entered into between them. Notwithstanding this, at the very first meeting of the English council, Murray, by a most perfidious behaviour, with tears in his eyes, gave in his infamous scroll against his sovereign and benefactors,
accusing

accusing her of the blackest crimes; and to crown all, disclosed the whole engagement between him and the duke to queen Elizabeth. The duke conscious of the rectitude of his own intentions, then openly declared, "that during her life time he would never offend her, but serve and honour her; but after her, he would serve the queen of Scotland, as the only means for eschewing civil wars and bloodshed.

After the conferences in England were broke up, Murray, who by his treachery to the duke of Norfolk had not only lost the friendship of that nobleman, but exposed himself to the English court, found himself despised and detested by every body, and in very uneasy circumstances at London. He wanted therefore to return to Scotland; but he was quite indigent, in want of money, and having no friends to procure him assistance. Besides, as the duke of Norfolk had the command of the whole northern parts of the kingdom, Murray knew well that he could not pass the border in safety, without the duke's friendship; and to compass this, and to regain the confidence of one he had so lately betrayed, required the greatest address. Luckily for him, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a confidant of the duke's, and an old acquaintance of Murray, gave his assistance. The duke had, by this time, made proposals of marriage to queen Mary. In order to accomplish this, Throgmorton convinced him, that it would conduce to his success to have the friendship of Murray: the duke

suffered himself to be persuaded. So Murray and Lethington were secretly brought to an interview with the duke, where neither prayers, tears, nor the most solemn promises and protestations of secrecy were wanting on the part of Murray. The duke, noble, generous, and open, forgave all that was past, and disclosed his breast to Murray and Lethington, as to his purpose of marriage with queen Mary; and "the regent promised, as far (says Melvil) as could be devised, so that a greater friendship was packed up between them than ever. So that worthy nobleman, who deserved a better fate, was a second time made the dupe of Murray's profound dissimulation, and was soon after most perfidiously betrayed by him. For all this we have the undoubted authority of contemporary writers, particularly Sir James Melvil, and the author of Crawford's manuscript, the first of whom is so much the professed apologist of Murray, that no objection can be against his authority in this matter.

After his return to Scotland, he sent Mr. John Wood, his secretary, to England, with all the letters which had been sent from the duke, that could tend to undo him. The duke was sent to the Tower, and sometime after beheaded.

From this story, which contains so black a piece of treachery and ingratitude, carried on under the vilest dissimulation, we may judge with certainty of the real character of "the gude or godly regent." And from this alone, had we nothing else against him, we may,

without

without breach of charity, conclude him to be capable of engaging in the worst of crimes, to serve his own views, and to maintain himself in that regency, which by the same practices he had obtained.

After this notable action, Murray suspected Lethington as one that was in queen Mary's interest. He apprehended, (say Crawford's memoirs) that Lethington had conspired with the duke of Norfolk to effect the restoration of the banished queen. Murray therefore wanted to take him off, as he had done the duke of Norfolk; in bringing this about, however, it required all Murray's cunning and address. Lethington had been too long his confederate for Murray to venture openly to provoke him to take a desperate measure, and to unfold their joint schemes of iniquity. It was necessary therefore, that the accusation against Lethington should come from another quarter. The earl of Lenox was under no such restraint; his dependant, the famous Thomas Crawford, whom he had before brought as evidence against the queen, appeared before Murray and his council, and accused Lethington as accessary to the late king's murder: Lethington was thereupon imprisoned. Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, one of Lethington's friends, was then governor of the castle of Edinburgh. They both suspected Murray to be at the bottom of this scheme, and told him so. Sir James Melvil says, "Murray's apology was, it was not in his power to save Lethington from prison, seeing he was accused, against his will, for

the king's murder; but that Grange should know his honest part thereof at meeting." However Grange, thought it best not to trust to Murray's fair words, he therefore sent a party from the castle, and took Lethington into his own hands, and so this affair ended. The earl of Murray being shot at Linlithgow in January, 1570, his friend the earl of Morton, now at the head of the party, took upon him immediately to call a meeting of the nobility, especially such, says Crawford, as were the queen's enemies. The friends of the queen upon this, desired the meeting to be adjourned to a longer day, that the whole nobility might have time to attend this convention. Notwithstanding, Morton and his friends met on the day appointed, when the first thing Morton got done, was an act of the convention, absolving Lethington from the late accusation brought against him, as accessary to the late king's murder; and recognoscing him, as an honest man, in his own place again; and as a good and profitable instrument in this common weill. After this the earl of Lenox was declared regent of the kingdom.

Notwithstanding this absolution of Lethington, the very same year the regent Lenox, dismissed the secretary from his offices, proclaimed him a traitor on account of the late king's murder, and an act of forfeiture was passed against him.

As Morton was the regent's chief minister, Lethington blamed Morton as the cause of his forfeiture. The letters that pass between them

them on that head, which are still preserved to us, give great light into the matter: Lethington wrote to his friend the laird of Carmichael, the following letter, which, it appears, was shown by him to Morton: "He (Morton) was the chief procurer and solicitor of my pretended forfeiture, for a crime, whereof, he knows in his conscience; I was as innocent as himself." Morton's answer to Carmichael is as follows. "When it shall be considered who had the government, and for what cause the forfeiture past, I think they will not esteem me the chief procurer or solicitor thereof. For the earl of Lenox, having the administration of justice in his hands, and the cause being the murder of the king his son, it might be well thought that there needed little procuration or solicitation. --- That I know him innocent in my conscience as myself, the contrary thereof is true; for I was and am innocent thereof, but could not affirm the same of him, considering what I understood of that matter of his own confession to myself."

This was very plain language between these confederates, now ready to fall out; but they knew they were still in the hands of friends. If Morton had himself been intirely innocent, and knew Lethington to have been guilty of the king's murder, what could induce him, in the act of his convention 1570, to procure this murderer of the king to be absolved of the crime, and recognized as an honest man? only this, that Lethington at that time was his friend and confederate. Afterwards he

fell out with him, and had the influence with the regent, secretly to procure Lethington's forfeiture; but for fear of provoking him to a full discovery of their joint crimes, he durst not openly act against him.

When we see Morton acting in this underhand manner with regard to Bothwell and Lethington, during the government of the earl of Lenox, we may easily conclude, that when he himself succeeded as regent, all care would be taken by him to stifle every proof of his guilt, during the many years of his regency. "By rebellion and innumerable sins (says Crawford) he had attained to an incredible height of power, murder was habitual to him." And by the most oppressive measures he had amassed a prodigious treasure, while he kept the young king, in a manner, a prisoner in his hands: as the king, however, grew up, and became capable to distinguish his friends, Morton, with regret, beheld them by degrees surround the king, while his own party dropt off from him. He chose therefore to make a merit of necessity; by resigning the regency; and he had no sooner taken that step, than an accusation was brought against him to the king and council, as an accomplice in the murder of the king's father.

Upon the first day of June 1581, he was brought to trial before his peers. The earl of Montrose sat as chancellor: and upon a full proof of the crime for which he stood indicted, they unanimously pronounced the following verdict: "The jury being ripely advised

advised with his inditement, the tokens infallible and most evident with the probations produced, and used for verifying thereof, did all, with one voice, find the said earl of Morton guilty, art and part, in the foreknowledge, and concealing the king's murder."

What were the particular proofs and evidences which appeared against him, we know not, the records being lost. But David Moyse, a contemporary author, then an officer in the king's household, in his memoirs, thus informs us, that the jury of peers found Morton guilty, "in respect of fundry evidences of his indictment, presented to the jury, some whereof were subscribed with his own hand. And likewise it was verified by the depositions of some persons that were actors in that horrible fact."

Morton's chief instrument and confident was one Archibald Douglas, whom, from being parson of Glasgow, after the murder of the king, he had raised to the dignity of a lord of session, and constantly employed as a tool in all his affairs. This man was universally known to have been one of the chief actors in the king's murder. Upon the earl of Morton's being accused, this Douglas immediately fled out of the kingdom. One of his servants, John Benning, was apprehended and brought to trial, for assisting with his master in the murder; Benning, at his trial, confessed his being an accomplice, and that he was present with his master, Douglas, at the murder of the king; with this circumstance,

stance, that his master being in his slippers, lost them, and they being found on the spot next day, were known to be his.

The earl of Morton was condemned, and beheaded on the 2d of June 1581; and Benning was hanged the day after.

We have a narrative given us in Crawford's memoirs, of what Morton is said to have declared, while he lay under condemnation. This narrative was given out after his death, by some of the clergy, who had attended him after his condemnation. But little faith ought to be given to this pretended narrative, which is no ways authenticated, as the genuine confession of Morton himself, but delivered to us verbally, and at second hand, by his friend, after his death.

Thus have we, step by step, traced the three confederates, Murray, Morton, and Lethington, through the several mazes of their intrigues, from the queen's return from France, to the fatal period of the murder of the lord Darnley; and from thence to the execution of Morton, as accessory to that murder. From authentic evidence still on record, we have made appear the close and inseparable junction and alliance of the above triumvirate, in a continued series of plots, rebellions, and conspiracies, contrived and carried on by them in their turns, for the destruction of the queen and her husband, and for overturning the government.

First, We have shown, by the united testimonies of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, queen Elizabeth herself, Camden, and secretary

Lething-

Lethington's own letter, that on queen Mary's return from France, into Scotland, a plot was formed by Murray and Lethington, for having her intercepted in her voyage, and made prisoner by the English, in order to set Murray at the head of the government, and that a fleet was actually sent out by queen Elizabeth for that purpose.

2. That on Mary's resolution to marry the lord Darnley, an insurrection was made to prevent it, by the earl of Murray and his adherents, and an attempt to seize her and Darnley at the kirk of Beith; which being frustrated, an open rebellion was raised, and headed by Murray, that terminated in his banishment. From the letters of Randolph, the English minister then at Edinburgh, who was acquainted by the conspirators with the whole plot; and likewise from the declaration of some of the nobility who had joined with Murray in that rebellion, it is proved that their design was at that time, to have slain the lord Darnley, and to have sent the queen prisoner to Lochleven.

3. It is proved, that while the queen was far advanced in her pregnancy, the assassination of Rizio was contrived by Morton, and executed by a party of armed men, rushing into her presence, and stabbing him at her very foot. And it is also proved, by the acknowledgment of the conspirators, by Morton's letter to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and by the earl of Murray's appearing at Edinburgh within a few hours of the assassination, although he was then under banishment

ment in England, that he and Lethington were deeply engaged with Morton in this assassination and conspiracy.

4. It is proved, by the authentic declaration of a great part of the nobility of Scotland, in their instructions sent up to England *anno* 1568, and likewise by the protestation and declaration of the earls of Huntly and Argyle, that in order to procure Morton's being recalled from banishment, on account of Rizio's assassination, the earl of Murray and Lethington, in presence of Huntly and Argyle, proposed to the Queen, to procure a divorce from her husband, and to make her quit him, which she rejected. And within a few Weeks after, lord Darnley was actually murdered.

Such is the complicated evidence, that appears against the joint confederates, Murray, Morton, and Lethington, preceding lord Darnley's murder, in which the earl of Murray is plainly pointed out to have been at the head, and in the direction of the whole conspiracy, until the very period of the king's murder, that he then withdrew himself, and soon after left the kingdom, and the management of the succeeding part of the scheme to his friends Morton and Lethington, who, by their rebellion and imprisonment of the queen, secured for him the re- gency of the kingdom.

It must still, however, be acknowledged, that all this amounts to no direct proof of Murray's being an actor in the murder of lord Darnley : but when the whole of his

con-

conduct, which we have traced, and detected, is considered, there appears the strongest presumptive evidence, of his being accessory to, and in the knowledge of the whole affair. The close, subtle, and deep part which he was to play in the catastrophe, was to keep himself concealed behind the curtain, while the bloody work was a doing, "to look through his fingers thair to, and to behold the doings, saying nothing to the same." How faithfully he kept to this plan, we have already shewn. Whoever then shall consider the whole of Murray's conduct, his rebellions, plots, and conspiracies, and that by a constant and invariable prosecution of this plan, he at length obtained the full completion of his scheme, by dethroning his sovereign, possessing himself of the reins of government, and by that means having it in his power, to smother and put out of the way all evidence that might discover his own guilt, with the remarkable caution observed by him, in taking care always to withdraw himself from the scene, at the precise time when the decisive events were ready to fall out, must plainly see, that the foregoing presumptive proof against Murray, from circumstances, is the only one which, from the nature of things, can at this day be expected.

The evidence is much stronger, with regard to his two associates, Morton, and Lethington: the same presumptive proof as against Murray, not only appears against them, but we have likewise a positive proof joined to it, against each of these associates, viz. The

mutual

mutual retorted accusation of each of them against the other, joined in the act of forfeiture against Lethington, by the regent Lennox, and the indictment, verdict, and sentence, past by the peers of the kingdom against Morton, as an accomplice in the king's murder, together with his own confession (as given us by his particular friends in the manner they chose themselves) that he was in the knowledge of the murder. So full and direct is the proof of their guilt,

From all which, it is submitted to the judgment of the reader, whether the conclusions in the two propositions, mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, do not naturally follow, viz.

That as it is proved, that the confederates, for taking away the king's life, were Morton, and Lethington, the very persons who afterwards brought an accusation against Queen Mary for that very crime; she herself could not have been in that confederacy, nor guilty of that crime.

2. As, it is proved that Murray, Morton, and Lethington had been, from the Queen's coming to Scotland, joint confederates in a series of plots, conspiracies, and rebellions, against her and her husband, until the very eve of the king's murder: as they had with one voice publicly accused the Queen of that very crime, of which, it is proved, that, at least, Morton and Lethington were themselves accomplices: and as in support of their accusation, this triumvirate had provided spurious and forged writings; and by all these means

E L I Z A B E T H.

means had dethroned their sovereign, possessed themselves of the government, these reasons the confederates, Murray, Johnston, and Lethington, must be held, on all of them, as *socii criminis* guilty of crime of which they had unjustly accused Queen Mary.



C H A P. II.

J A M E S I.

* J A M E S, the sixth of Scotland, and first of England, the son of Mary, to the throne with the approbation of all of the state, as in his person were united claim, that either descent, bequest, orliamentary sanction could confer. He taught, from his infancy, that his pretive was uncontrollable. These sentiments he took no care to conceal; he published in many parts of his works.

But he was greatly mistaken in the of the times; for new ideas of liberty for some time been stealing in; and wanted the reign of a weak monarch, to appear without controul. In consequence acquaintance with the governments of equity, the old Gothic forms began

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* A. D. 1603.

despised; and an emulation took place, to imitate the freedom of Greece and Rome. The severe government of Elizabeth, had confined this rising spirit within very narrow bounds; but when a new sovereign appeared, less dreaded, and less loved by the people, symptoms immediately began to be seen of a more free and independent genius in the nation.

James scarce was entered into England when he gave disgust to many. The desire in all to see their new sovereign was ardent and natural; but the king forbade the concourse that attended on his journey from Scotland. Perhaps he was ashamed of his ungracious figure and awkward address: and in all probability he did not think himself safe, in the midst of so many strangers. To this offence to the people he added, soon after, what gave offence to the higher orders of the state, by prostituting titles of honour, so that they became so common as to be no longer marks of distinction.

But though his countrymen shared a part of these honours, yet justice must be done the king, by confessing, that he left almost all the great offices in the hands he found them. Cecil, in particular created earl of Salisbury, was continued prime minister. But it was not so fortunate with lord Grey, lord Cobham, and Sir Walter Raleigh, who had been Cecil's associates. They felt immediately the effects of the king's displeasure, and were dismissed their employments. These three seemed to be marked out for peculiar indignation;

nation; for soon after they were accused of a conspiracy against the king; neither the proofs of which, nor its aims, have reached posterity: all that is certain is, that they were condemned to die, but had their sentence mitigated by the king. Cobham and Grey were pardoned, after they had laid their heads on the block. Raleigh was reprieved, but remained in confinement.

This mercy, shewn to these supposed delinquents, was very pleasing to the people; and the king, willing to remove all jealousy of his being a stranger, began his attempts in parliament by an endeavour to unite both kingdoms. But the people were not yet ripe for this; they were apprehensive that the posts, which were in the gift of the court, would be conferred on the Scotch, whom they were taught to regard as foreigners. By the repulse in this instance, as well as by some exceptions, the house of commons took to the form of his summons to parliament, James found that the people he came to govern, were very different from those he had left behind; and perceived that he must give reasons for every measure he intended to enforce.

He now, therefore, began to peruse the English laws, and by these he resolved to govern. But even here he again found himself disappointed. In a government so fluctuating as that of England, opinion was ever deviating from law; and what was enacted in one reign, was contradicted in another. The laws had all along declared in favour of an almost unlimited prerogative, while the

opinions of the people were guided by instructors, who began to teach opposite principles. All the kings and queens before him, except such as were controuled by intestine divisions, or awed by foreign invasion, issued rather their commands to parliament, than gave their reasons. James, unmindful of this alteration in the opinions of the people, resolved to govern in the ancient manner; while the people, on the contrary, having once got an idea of liberty, never gave it up.

Numberless, therefore, were the disputes between the king and his parliament during his whole reign; one attempting to keep the privileges of the crown entire, the other aiming at abridging them. When the parliament would not grant a subsidy, James had examples enough among his predecessors which taught him to extort a benevolence. Edward the fourth, Henry the eighth, and queen Elizabeth herself, had often done so; and precedent undoubtedly entitled him to the same privilege. On the other hand, the house of commons, who found their growing power, complained against it as an infringement of their privileges. These attempts of the crown, and these murmurings of the commons, continued through this whole reign, and first gave rise to that spirit of party, which has ever since subsisted in England; the one for preserving the ancient constitution, by maintaining the prerogative of the king; the other for trying an experiment to improve it, by extending the liberties of the people.

However

However, tho' James persevered in asserting his prerogative, and threatened those who should presume to abridge it, yet he gave toleration to the teachers of different religions throughout the kingdom. The minds of the people had long been irritated against one another, and each party persecuted the rest, as it happened to prevail; it was expected, therefore, that James would strengthen the hands of that which was then uppermost, and that the catholics and sectaries should find no protection. But this monarch wisely observed, that men should be punished for actions, and not for opinions; yet he was by no means true to this profession. He pretended indeed to hold a conference at Hampton Court, between several bishops on one side, and seventeen ministers on the other. And he appeared in person there, not as a judge, but a furious partizan. He brow-beat and reviled the ministers, and severely threatened them, if they did not conform to the church discipline. Hereby he not only alienated all the puritans from him and his family, but obliged them for their own preservation to unite with the political malecontents. And this junction formed a party strong enough to shake the English monarchy in its foundations.

The next year there was a project contrived for the re-establishment of popery, which, were it not a fact known to all the world, could scarcely be credited by posterity. This was the gun-powder plot, than which a more horrid or terrible scheme never entered into the human heart to conceive.

The Roman catholics had expected great favour on the accession of James, both as a descendant from Mary, a rigid catholic, and also as having shewn some partiality to that religion in his youth. But they soon discovered their mistake; and were at once surpris- ed and enraged to find James on all occasions express his resolution of strictly executing the laws enacted against them. This declaration determined them upon desperate mea- sures; and they at length formed a resolution of destroying the king and parliament at a blow. * The scheme was first broached by Robert Catesby, a gentleman of good parts and an ancient family, who conceived that a train of gunpowder might be so placed under the parliament-house, as to blow up the king and all the members at once. He opened his intention to Thomas Percy, a de- scendant from the illustrious house of Nor- thumberland, who was charmed with the pro- ject, and readily came into it. Thomas Winter was next intrusted with the dreadful secret; and he went over to Flanders in quest of Guy Fawkes an officer in the Span- ish service, with whose zeal and courage they were thoroughly acquainted. When they insisted any new zealot into their plot, the more firmly to bind him to secrecy, they always, together with an oath, employed the sacrament. Every tender feeling and all pity were banished from their breasts; and Tel- mond and Garnet, two jesuits, superiors of the order, absolved their consciences from every scruple.

About

* A. D. 1599.

About two months before the fitting of parliament, they hired an house in Percy's name, adjoining to that in which the parliament was to assemble. Their first intention was to bore a way under the parliament-house, from that which they occupied. And they set themselves to the task; but when they had pierced the wall, which was three yards in thickness, on approaching the other side, they were surpris'd to find that the house was vaulted underneath, and that a magazine of coals were usually deposited there. And they were soon inform'd that the coals were selling off, and that the vaults would be then let to the highest bidder. They seized the opportunity of hiring the place, and bought the remaining quantity of coals as if for their own use. The next thing done was to convey thither thirty-six barrels of gun-powder, which had been purchased in Holland; and the whole was covered with the coals and with faggots brought for that purpose. Then the doors of the cellar were boldly flung open, and every body admitted, as if it contained nothing dangerous.

They now began to plan the remaining part of their project. The king, the queen, and prince Henry, the king's eldest son, were all expected to be present at the opening of the parliament. The king's second son, by reason of his tender age, would be absent, and it was resolv'd that Percy should seize or assassinate him. The princess Elizabeth, a child likewise, was kept at lord Harrington's
house

house in Warwickshire; and Sir Everard Digby was to seize her, and immediately proclaim her queen.

The day for the sitting of parliament now approached. Never was ruin more apparently inevitable; the hour was expected with impatience, and the conspirators gloried in their meditated guilt. The dreadful secret, though communicated to above twenty persons, had been religiously kept during the space of near a year and an half. But when all the motives of pity, justice, and safety were too weak, private friendship saved the kingdom.

Sir Henry Percy, one of the conspirators, conceived a design of saving the life of lord Mouteagle, his intimate friend, who also was of the same persuasion with himself. About ten days before the meeting of parliament, this nobleman, upon his return to town, received a letter from a person unknown, and delivered by one who fled as soon as he had discharged his message. The letter was this: “ My Lord, stay away from this parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of the times. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they will receive a terrible blow this parliament; and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm. For the danger is past as soon as you have burned the letter.”

The

The contents of this mysterious letter puzzled the nobleman to whom it was addressed; he judged it safest to carry it to lord Salisbury, secretary of state. Lord Salisbury too was inclined to give little attention to it, yet thought proper to lay it before the king in council. None of the council were able to make any thing of it, although it appeared serious and alarming. In this universal agitation, the king was the first who penetrated the meaning of this dark epistle. He concluded that some sudden danger was preparing by gun-powder; and it was thought advisable to inspect all the vaults below the houses of parliament. This care belonged to the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, who purposely delayed the search, till the day before the meeting of parliament. * He remarked those great piles of faggots which lay in the vault under the house of peers; and he cast his eye upon Fawkes, who stood in a dark corner, and who passed himself for Percy's servant. That daring courage, which he had long been noted for, was painted in his countenance, and struck the lord chamberlain with strong suspicion. The great quantity of fuel also kept there for the use of a person seldom in town did not pass unnoticed; and he resolved to take his time to make a more exact scrutiny. About midnight, therefore, Sir Thomas Knevit, a justice of peace, was sent with proper attendants, and just at the entrance of the vault, he seized a man preparing for the terrible enterprize, dressed in a cloak and boots, and a dark lanthorn in his hand

* Nov. 5. A. D. 1605.

hand. This was Guy Fawkes, who had just disposed every part of the train for taking fire the next morning, the matches and other combustibles being found in his pockets. The whole of the design was now discovered; but he told the officers of justice with an undaunted air, that had he blown them and himself up together he had been happy. Before the council he displayed the same intrepid firmness, mixt even with scorn and disdain, refusing to discover his associates, and shewing no concern but for the failure of his enterprize. But, being confined to the Tower for two or three days, and the rack just shewn him, his courage failed him, and he made a full discovery of all his accomplices.

Catesby, Percy, and the conspirators who were in London, hearing that Fawkes was arrested, fled with all speed to Warwickshire, where Sir Everard Digby, relying on the success of the plot, was already in arms, in order to seize the princess Elizabeth. But the country soon began to take the alarm, and wherever they turned, they found a superior force ready to oppose them. In this exigence, they resolved, to about the number of eighty persons, to fly no farther, but make a stand at an house in Warwickshire, to defend it to the last, and sell their lives as dearly as possible. But even this miserable consolation was denied them: a spark of fire happening to fall among some gun-powder, it blew up, and so maimed the principal conspirators, that the survivors resolved to open the gate, and fall out against the multitude that surrounded them

them. Some were instantly cut to pieces; Catesby, Percy, and Winter, standing back to back, fought long and desperately, till in the end the two first fell covered with wounds, and Winter was taken alive. Those that survived the slaughter were tried and convicted; several fell by the hands of the executioner, and others experienced the king's mercy. The jesuits, Garnet and Oldcorn, suffered with the rest; and, notwithstanding the atrociousness of the treason, Garnet was considered by his party as a martyr, and miracles were said to have been wrought by his blood.

The king's moderation, after the extinction of this conspiracy, was great. The hatred excited in the nation against the catholics knew no bounds; and nothing but a total extinction of them, seemed capable of satisfying the greater part of the people. James bravely rejected all violent measures, and nobly declared, that the late conspiracy, however atrocious, should never alter his plans of government; but as, on the one hand, he was determined to punish guilt, so, on the other, he would still support and protect innocence.

However, he still found his parliaments refractory to all the measures he took to support his authority at home, or his desire of peace with foreign states. Yet his liberality to his favourites, and the insufficiency of his finances to maintain the royal dignity, still rendered him dependent upon his parliament for money; and they took care to keep him in indigence. Thus he was often forced into concessions, which, when once granted, could
never

never be recalled; and while he supposed himself maintaining the royal prerogative, it was diminishing on every side.

It was during this session, that young Henry was created prince of Wales, in the sixteenth year of his age. He was a youth of very promising talents and an amiable character. He spent his time in studies becoming a prince. He had a fine person and address; but died about three years after, universally lamented.

It was, perhaps, the opposition which James met with from his people, that made him place his affections upon different persons about the court. * In the first rank of these stood Robert Carre, a youth of a good family in Scotland, who, after having passed some time in his travels, arrived in London, at about twenty years of age. All his natural accomplishments consisted in a pleasing visage; all his acquired abilities, in an easy and graceful demeanor. This youth came to England with letters of recommendation to see his countryman, lord Hay; and that nobleman took an opportunity of assigning him the office of presenting the king his buckler at a match of tilting. When Carre was advancing to execute his office, he was thrown by his horse, and his leg was broke in the king's presence. James approached him with pity and concern, and ordered him to be lodged in the palace till his cure was completed. He himself, after tilting, paid him a visit in his chamber, and returned frequently during his confinement. Carre was
soon

* A. D. 161

soon considered as a rising man; he was knighted, created viscount Rochester, honoured with the order of the garter, made a privy-councillor; and to raise him to the highest pitch of honour, he was at last created earl of Somerset.

It was not long before the favourite gave proofs of his being unworthy of the king's affections. Among his friends was Sir Thomas Overbury, a man of great abilities and learning; among the mistresses whom he addressed was the young countess of Essex, whose husband had been sent by the king's command to travel, until the young couple should be arrived at the age of puberty. But the assiduities of a man of such personal accomplishments were too powerful to be resisted; a criminal correspondence was commenced between the countess and the earl; and Essex, upon his return from his travels, found his wife beautiful indeed, but her affections entirely placed upon another. But this was not all; she was resolved to procure a divorce, and then to marry the favourite. It was upon this occasion that Overbury was consulted by his friend: this honest councillor declared himself utterly averse to the match. This advice was fatal to the giver. The countess, being made acquainted with it urged her lover to undo him. In consequence of this, the king was persuaded by him to order Overbury on an embassy into Russia; Overbury was persuaded by the same adviser to refuse going; the delinquent was shut up in the Tower, and there he was poisoned, by the direction of the countess, in a tart.

In the mean time, the divorce took place, and the marriage was solemnized with all imaginable splendour. But the suspicion of Overbury's being poisoned every day grew stronger, and reached the favourite, amidst all the glare of seeming happiness. The graces of his youth gradually disappeared; his gaiety was converted into sullen silence; and the king, whose affections had been engaged by these superficial accomplishments, began to cool to a man who no longer contributed to his amusement. The adoption of another favourite, and the discovery of Somerset's guilt, soon removed all the remains of his affection.

An apothecary's apprentice, who had been employed in making up the poison, had divulged the secret; and the affair being laid before the king, he commanded Sir Edward Coke, lord chief justice to sift the affair to the bottom. This injunction was executed with great industry; and the whole complication of their guilt was unravelled. The lieutenant of the Tower, with some of the lesser criminals, were condemned and executed; Somerset and his countess were soon after found guilty, but reprieved, and pardoned after some years of strict confinement. The king's duplicity and injustice on this occasion are great stains upon his character. Somerset was in his presence when the officer of justice came to apprehend him; and boldly reprehended his presumption for daring to arrest a peer of the realm before the king. But James said, with a smile, "Nay, nay, you must go, for if Coke should send for myself, I must comply." He then embraced

braced him at parting, begged he would return immediately, and assured him he could not live without his company: yet he had no sooner turned his back, than he exclaimed, "Go, and the devil go with thee, I shall never see thy face again." He also wished that God's curse might fall upon him and his family, if he pardoned those whom the law condemned; yet he afterwards restored them both to liberty, and granted them a pension, with which they retired, and languished out the remainder of their lives in guilt, infamy, and mutual recrimination.

In February 1613, the Elector Palatine married the princess Elizabeth, king James's daughter, and grandmother to the late princess Sophia.

The king had not long parted with one favourite before he provided himself with another. This was George Villiers, a youth of one and twenty, a younger brother of a good family, who was returned about that time from his travels, and whom the enemies of Somerset threw in the king's way, certain that his beauty and fashionable manners would do the rest. Accordingly, he had been placed at a comedy full in the king's view, and immediately caught the monarch's affections.

* After Somerset's fall, the favour of James was wholly turned upon young Villiers; in the course of a few years he created him viscount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, knight of the garter, master of the horse, chief justice in Eyre, warden of the cinque ports, master of the king's bench

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office,

* A. D. 1615.

office, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high admiral of England. His mother obtained the title of countess of Buckingham; his brother was created viscount Purbeck; and a numerous train of needy relations were all pushed up into credit and authority.

When unworthy favourites were thus advanced, it is not to be wondered at, if the public concerns of the kingdom were neglected, and men of real merit left to misery. Such was the case at present with regard to the cautionary towns in Holland, and the brave Sir Walter Raleigh at home.

In the preceding reign, Elizabeth, when she gave assistance to the Dutch, at that time shaking off the Spanish yoke, upon her lending them large sums of money, required a proper deposit for being repaid. The Dutch, therefore, put into her hands the three important fortresses of Flushing, Brille, and Ramekins, to be restored upon payment of the money due, which amounted to above eight hundred thousand pounds. But James, to supply a craving court, agreed to evacuate these fortresses, upon being paid a third part of the money. * The cautionary towns, therefore, were evacuated, which had held the states in total subjection, and which an ambitious or enterprising prince would have regarded as his most valuable possessions.

The universal murmur which this measure produced, was soon heightened by an act of severity, which still continues as the blackest stain upon this monarch's memory. The brave and learned Raleigh had been confined

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* A. D. 1616.

in the Tower many years, for a conspiracy which was never proved or understood; and in that abode he wrote several valuable performances, which are still in the highest esteem. His long sufferings, and his ingenious writings, had now turned the tide of popular opinion in his favour; and they who once detested the enemy of Essex could not help pitying the long captivity of this philosophical soldier. He still struggled for freedom; and perhaps it was with this desire that he spread the report of a gold mine in Guiana, which was sufficient to enrich, not only the adventurers who should seize it, but the nation. The king granted him a commission to try his fortune in quest of these golden schemes. Raleigh was not long in making preparations. He bent his course to Guiana, and remaining himself at the mouth of the river Oronooko, with five of the largest ships, he sent the rest up the stream, under the command of his son and of captain Keymis, a person entirely devoted to his interests. But instead of a country abounding in gold, they found the Spaniards prepared in arms to receive them. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men called out, "This is the true mine," meaning the town of St. Thomas, which he was approaching; "none but fools look for any other:" but just as he was speaking, he received a shot, of which he immediately expired. This was followed by another disappointment; when the English took possession of the town they found nothing in it of any value.

It was Keymis who pretended that he had seen the mine, and gave the first account of it to Raleigh; but he now began to retract, and though he was within two hours march of the place, he refused to go a step farther. He returned to Raleigh with the melancholy news of his son's death; and then going into his cabin, put an end to his own life.

Raleigh, found now that all his hopes were over. Nothing could be more deplorable than his situation, particularly when he was told that he must be carried back to England to answer for his conduct to the king. He was accordingly brought home, and delivered into the king's hands, § and strictly examined, as well as his fellow adventurers, before the privy-council. Count Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador, made heavy complaints against the expedition; and the king declared that Raleigh had orders to avoid all hostilities against the Spaniards. Wherefore, to give the court of Spain a particular instance of his attachment, he signed the warrant for his execution, not for the present offence, but for his former conspiracy. Thus shewing himself guilty of complicated injustice; unjust in having before condemned him without proof; unjust in having trusted a man with a commission without a pardon, unjust in punishing with death a transgression that did not deserve it; but most unjust of all, when he refused a new trial, and condemned him upon an obsolete sentence. This great man died with the same fortitude that he had testified through life; he observed, as he felt
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the edge of the ax, that it was a sharp, but a sure remedy for all evils; his speech to the people was calm and eloquent; and he laid his head down on the block with the utmost indifference. His death ensured him that popularity, which his former intrepidity and sufferings, had tended to procure; and no measure, in this reign, was attended with more public dissatisfaction. The death of this great man was soon after followed by the disgrace of the chancellor Bacon, who was accused of receiving bribes in his office; and, pleading guilty, was degraded and fined thirty thousand pounds; but his fine was afterwards remitted by the king.

But there soon appeared plain reasons for James's partiality to the court of Spain. This monarch had entertained an opinion peculiar to himself, that in marrying his son Charles, the prince of Wales, any alliance below that of royalty would be unworthy of him; he, therefore, was obliged to seek, either in the court of France or Spain, a suitable match, and he was taught to think of the latter. Gondemar, made an offer of the second daughter of Spain to prince Charles; and that he might render the temptation irresistible, he gave hopes of an immense fortune with the princess. However this negotiation was not likely to be soon concluded; and from the time the idea was first started, James saw five years elapsed without bringing the treaty to any conclusion.

|| A delay of this kind was very displeasing to the king, who had all along an eye on the
great

great fortune of the princess; nor was it less disagreeable to prince Charles, who, bred up with ideas of romantic passion, was in love without ever seeing the object of his affections. During this delay, a project entered the head of Villiers, fitter for the knight of a romance, than a minister and statesman. It was nothing less, than that the prince should himself travel in disguise into Spain, and visit the object of his affections. Buckingham, offered to be his companion; and the king, whose business it was to check so wild a scheme, gave his consent to this hopeful proposal. Their adventures on this strange project might fill novels. Charles was the knight-errant, and Buckingham was his squire. They travelled through France in disguise, assuming the names of Jack and Tom Smith. They went to a ball at Paris, where the prince first saw the princess Henrietta, who was then in the bloom of youth and beauty. They were received at the court of Spain with all possible demonstrations of respect; but Buckingham filled the whole city with intrigues, adventures, serenades, challenges, and jealousy. To complete the catalogue of his follies, he fell in love with the dutchess of Olivarez, the prime minister's wife, and insulted that minister in person. These levities were not to be endured at such a court as that of Spain, where decorum is so much observed. It was no wonder therefore the match broke off; though for what reason historians do not assign; perhaps because the prince had fixed his affections upon the French princess.

In fact, a match for this prince was soon after negotiated with Henrietta, who was the daughter of the great Henry the fourth; and this met with better success than the former, The portion indeed was much smaller; but willing that his son should not be altogether disappointed of a bride, as the king of France demanded only the same terms which had been offered to the court of Spain, James consented. It was stipulated, that the education of the children, till the age of thirteen, should belong to the mother; and this probably gave that turn towards popery, which has since been the ruin of that unfortunate family.

Indeed a variety of causes conspired to bring upon them those evils which they afterwards experienced. The house of commons was by this time become quite unmanageable; the prodigality of James to his favourites, had made his necessities so many, that he was contented to sell the different branches of his prerogative to the commons, one after the other, to procure supplies. In proportion as they perceived his wants, they found out new grievances; and every grant of money was sure to come with a petition for redress. The struggles between him and his parliament had been growing more and more violent every session; and the very last advanced their pretensions to such a degree, that he began to take the alarm; but the evils to which his weakness had given birth, fell upon his successor.



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These domestic troubles were attended by others still more important in Germany. The king's eldest daughter had been married to Frederic, the elector Palatine, who revolting against the emperor Ferdinand the second, was defeated in a decisive battle, and obliged to take refuge in Holland. His affinity to the English crown, his misfortunes, but particularly the protestant religion, for which he had contended, were strong motives for the people of England to wish well to his cause; and frequent addresses were sent from the commons to spur up James to replace him upon the throne of his ancestors. † James at first attempted to effect it by negotiations; but these proving utterly ineffectual, it was resolved at last to rescue the Palatine from the emperor by force of arms. Accordingly war was declared against Spain and the emperor; six thousand men were sent over into Holland, to assist prince Maurice in his schemes against those powers; the people were every where elated at the courage of their king, and were satisfied with any war against the papists. This army was followed by another consisting of twelve thousand men, commanded by count Mansfeldt, and the court of France promised its assistance. But the English were disappointed in all their views: the troops being embarked at Dover, upon sailing to Calais, found no orders for their admission. After waiting in vain for some time, they were obliged to sail towards Zealand, where no proper measures were consulted for their disembarkation. Mean while,

† A. D. 1620.

while, a pestilential distemper crept in among them; half the army died while on board, and the other half, weakened by sickness, appeared too small a body to march into the Palatinatè: thus ended this ill-concerted expedition.

§ Soon after this, the Hollanders dispossessed the English of their settlement at Amboyna in the East Indies, and caused ten of them to be executed in the most barbarous and ignominious manner.

* The king was now seized with a tertian ague, which, when his courtiers assured him, it was "health for a king," he replied, the proverb meant "for a young king." After some fits he found himself extremely weak, and sent for the prince, whom he exhorted to persevere in the protestant religion; then preparing to meet his end, he expired, after a reign over England of twenty-two years, and in the sixtieth year of his age. With regard to foreign negotiations, James neither understood nor cultivated them; and perhaps in a kingdom so situated as England, domestic politics are alone sufficient. His reign was marked with none of the splendors of triumph, nor any new conquests or acquisitions; but the arts were nevertheless silently and successfully going on to improvement.

James, the sixth of Scotland, and first of England, may truly be said to have possessed power without dignity, learning without utility, craft without wisdom, and religion without morality. His failings were mostly
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owing to his being too early initiated in the intrigues of parties, who vied with each other to give him wrong notions of government, and to inspire him with a thorough hatred of all liberty, either civil or religious. Had he behaved upon his throne, and towards his subjects, as a plain, country gentleman would have acted towards his tenants upon his private estate, without launching into the subtleties of controversy, or pretending to explore the depth of politics, he would have made a great figure on the theatre of the world. Before his accession to the throne of England, he discovered great talents for government, notwithstanding the weak, suspected part of his conduct. Modern writers have greatly exaggerated some of his failings. His pacific notions, though he carried them too far, were of infinite benefit to his dominions; and posterity has been ungrateful to his memory in not observing that he chalked out, and in many respects filled up, the great outlines of commerce, which have raised England to her present pitch of glory and greatness.

James in his domestic and personal character, was, perhaps, the most unamiable man in his dominions. His coarseness and vulgarity could not be credited, had we not so many instances of it under his own hand, and those of his favourites. It was not enough that he himself was guilty of those shocking familiarities; for he instructed his queen and companions in the same fulsome practices; so that nothing could be more indelicate than their conversation and behaviour.

James

“ James was of a middling stature, (says a writer, who knew him well, having long served him in a domestic capacity) more corpulent through his clothes than in his body, yet fat enough; his clothes ever being made large and easy, the doublets quilted for stilet-to proof; his breeches in great plaits, and full stuffed. He was naturally of a timorous disposition, which was the greatest reason of his quilted doublets. His eyes large, ever rolling after any stranger that came in his presence, insomuch as many for shame have left the room, as being out of countenance. His beard was very thin: his tongue too large for his mouth, which ever made him speak full in the mouth, and made him drink very uncomely; as if eating his drink, which came out into the cup, on each side of his mouth. His skin was as soft as taffata farfenet, which felt so, because he never washed his hands, only rubbed his fingers ends with the wet end of a napkin slightly. His legs were very weak, having had (as was thought) some hurt in his youth, or rather before he was born, that he was not able to stand at seven years of age. That weakness made him always lean on other mens shoulders. His walk was ever circular.

The same author observes, he was so constant in his apparel, that he never, by his good will, would change his cloaths till almost worn to rags. He was so regular as to his diet and his habits, either in diversion or business, that an observing courtier used to say, “ Were he asleep seven years, and
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then awakened, he would tell where the king every day had been, and every dish " he had on his table."

He would rather part with an hundred pounds that was not in his own possession, than with twenty shillings which he had in his pocket. His passion hurried him often into indecent swearing, and sometimes into blasphemy. He affected the reputation of being crafty and cunning so much, that one of his courtiers wittily said, " he believed him to be the wisest fool in Christendom."

He had been so much accustomed to carry every measure he had been led with a treaty for defending the Palati-

for that purpose was to be carried on with a

But was not more easily de-
clared than supplies for the After some re-

instance the common law was two sub-
dies; a sum far from being sufficient; and to
this was added a petition for punishing papists,

and redressing the grievances of the nation.
Buckingham, who had been the late king's

favoured and who was crossed by the
that he did not escape their control.

FEW princes have ascended a throne with more apparent advantages than Charles; and none ever encountered more real difficulties.

The advantages were such as might flatter even the most cautious prince into security; the difficulties were such as no abilities could surmount.

He found himself, upon coming to the crown, possessed of a peaceful and flourishing kingdom; his right undisputed by all the world, his power strengthened by an alliance with one of the most potent nations in Europe. To add to all this, he was

loved

loved by his people, whose hearts he had gained by his virtues, his humility, and his candour.

But on the opposite side of the picture we are presented with a very different scene. The spirit of liberty (or rather licentiousness) was roused; and it was resolved to oppose the ancient claims of monarchs. And Charles had been taught from his infancy to consider the royal prerogative as a sacred pledge, which it was not in his power to alienate.

He undertook the reins of government with a fixed persuasion that his popularity was sufficient to carry every measure. He had been loaded with a treaty for defending the Palatinate in the late reign; and the war declared for that purpose was to be carried on with vigour in this. But war was more easily declared than supplies granted. After some reluctance the commons voted him two subsidies; a sum far from being sufficient: and to this was added a petition for punishing papists, and redressing the grievances of the nation. Buckingham, who had been the late king's favourite, and who was caressed by the present, did not escape their censures; so that instead of granting the sums requisite, they employed the time in complaints, till the season for the campaign was elapsed. Charles, wearied with their delays, and offended at their refusal, dissolved a parliament which he could not bring to reason.

To supply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles had recourse to some of the ancient methods. That kind of tax called a benevo-

lence was ordered to be exacted. In order to cover the rigour of this step, it was commanded, that none should be asked for money but such as were able to spare it; and he directed letters to different persons, mentioning the sums he desired. With this the people, though reluctantly, complied; as it was in fact authorized by many precedents.

With this money a fleet was equipped against Spain, carrying ten thousand men, the command of which army was entrusted to lord Wimbleton, who sailed directly to Cadix, and found the bay full of ships of great value. But he failed in making himself master of the harbour, while his undisciplined army landing, instead of attacking the town, could not be restrained from indulging themselves in the wine, which they found in great abundance. Further stay, appearing fruitless, they re-embarked; and the plague attacking them soon after, they were obliged to abandon all hopes of success, and return to England. Loud complaints were made against the court, for intrusting the command to a person unqualified for the undertaking.

This ineffectual expedition was a great blow to the court; to retrieve the glory of the nation, another attempt was to be made. New supplies therefore being requisite, the king was resolved to obtain them in a more regular and constitutional manner. Another parliament was accordingly called; but this was more refractory than the former. † When the king laid before the house his necessities, they voted him only three subsidies, which amounted

† A. D. 1626.

amounted to about an hundred and sixty thousand pounds; a sum no way adequate to his need. And even this was not to be granted, until the grievances were redressed. Their chief indignation was levelled against Buckingham, whom the commons impeached in the lower house, while the earl of Bristol, who had returned from his embassy in Spain, accused him among his peers. The charge against him was, that he had engrossed too much power; that he had neglected to guard the seas with the fleet; and that he had applied a plaister to the late king's side, which was supposed to hasten his end. These frivolous accusations must have sunk of themselves, had they not been intemperately opposed by the royal authority. The king gave orders to the lord-keeper to command the commons expressly not to meddle with his servant Buckingham. The more to enrage them, he had him elected chancellor of the university of Cambridge, and wrote that body a letter of thanks for their compliance. He assured the commons, that if they would not comply with his demands, he would try *new counsels*. But what enraged them beyond all sufferance was, when two of their members, Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Elliot, complained of this partiality in favour of a man odious to the nation, the king ordered them to be committed to prison for seditious behaviour.

It was now that the commons justly exclaimed, their privileges were infringed, and freedom of debate destroyed. They protested,

that neither of their members had said any thing disrespectful of the king. The king, whose character it was to undertake harsh measures, but not to support them, released the two members; and this compliance confirmed that obstinacy in the house, which his injuries had given rise to. The earl of Arundel, for being guilty of the same offence in the house of lords, was rashly imprisoned, and as tamely dismissed by the king. Thus the two houses having refused to answer the intentions of the court, the king, rather than give up his favourite, chose to be without the supply, and therefore once more dissolved the parliament.

The new counsels which Charles had mentioned to the parliament, were now to be tried, in order to supply his necessities. Instead of making peace with Spain, and thus abridging his expences, since he could not enlarge his income, he resolved to carry on the war, and to keep up a standing army for this purpose. In order to gain time and money, a commission was openly granted to compound with the catholics, and agree for a dispensation of the penal laws against them. He borrowed a sum of money from the nobility, whose contributions came in but slowly. But the greatest stretch of his power was in the levying of *ship-money*. In order to equip a fleet each of the maritime towns was required, with the assistance of the adjacent counties, to arm as many vessels as were appointed them. The city of London was rated at twenty ships. This was the commencement

mencement of a tax, which afterwards, created such great discontents in the nation. But the extortions of the ministry did not rest here. Persons of birth and rank, who refused the loan, were summoned before the council; and, upon persisting in a refusal, were put into confinement. Thus we see here, as in every civil war, something to blame on one side and the other: both sides guilty of injustice, yet in general actuated by motives of virtue. The one at first contended for the legal liberties of the people, the other for the legal privileges of the crown; but both afterwards permitted their actions to degenerate from the motives which first set them in motion.

Hitherto the will of the monarch was reluctantly obeyed; most of those who refused to lend their money, were thrown into prison, and patiently submitted to confinement, or applied by petition to the king for their release. Five persons alone undertook to defend the cause of the public; and, at the hazard of their whole fortunes, were resolved to try whether the king had a legal right to confine them without their having infringed any law. The names of these were Sir Thomas Darnel, Sir John Corbet, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Haveningham, and Sir Edward Hamlden. Their cause was brought to a solemn trial before the King's Bench, and the whole kingdom was attentive to the result of it.

By the debates on this subject it appeared, that personal liberty had been secured by no less

less than six different statutes, and by an article of the Great Charter itself; that in cases of necessity, the princes had infringed those laws; and of this also many examples were produced. The difficulty was to determine what were cases of necessity; and of that, the court pretended to be the supreme judge.

The king being thus embroiled with his parliament, and some of the most powerful foreign states, it was not without amazement that all men saw him enter into a war with France, a kingdom with which he had but lately formed the most natural alliance. This monarch, among the foibles of a good disposition, relied too much on the sincerity of his servants; and, among others, permitted Buckingham to lead him as he thought proper. Accordingly war was declared against France; and Charles was taught to hope, that hostilities with that kingdom would be the surest means of producing unanimity at home.

But providence counteracted all his attempts. † A fleet was sent out, under the command of Buckingham, to relieve Rochelle, a maritime town in France, that had long enjoyed its privileges independent of the French king; but that had for some years embraced the reformed religion, and now was besieged with a formidable army. This expedition was as unfortunate as that of the coasts of Spain. The inhabitants of the city shut their gates, and refused to admit allies, of whose coming they were not previously informed. Instead of attacking the island of Oleron,

Oloron, which was fertile and defenceless, he bent his course to the Isle of Rhe, which was well fortified. He attempted there to starve out the garrison of St. Martin's castle, which was copiously supplied with provisions by sea. By that time the French had landed their forces privately at another part of the island; so that Buckingham was at last obliged to retreat, but with such precipitation, that two thirds of his army were cut in pieces before he could re-embark, though he was the last man of the whole army that quitted the shore. This proof of his personal courage, however, was but a small subject of consolation for the disgrace which his country had sustained.

* The bad success of this expedition served to render the duke still more obnoxious, and the king more needy. He therefore resolved to call a third parliament; for money was to be had at any rate. In his first speech he told them they were convoked on purpose to grant supplies; and that if they should neglect to contribute what was necessary for the support of the state, he would, in discharge of his conscience, use those means that God had put into his hands, for saving that, which the folly of certain persons would otherwise endanger. But the commons were not intimidated by his threats. They boldly inveighed against his late arbitrary measures, forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of parliament, arbitrary imprisonments, billeting soldiers, martial laws; these were the grievances complained of, and against these they insisted that a remedy should be provided.

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An immunity from these vexations they alledged to be the inherent right of the subject; and their new demands they resolved to call a petition of right. Nothing could be more just than the enacting the contents of this petition of right into a law. The Great Charter, and the old statutes, were sufficiently clear in favour of liberty; but as all the kings of England had ever, in cases of necessity eluded them; and as Charles had lately violated them in many instances, it was but requisite to enact a new law, which might not be eluded.

This was an equitable proposal, and the ready compliance with it might have prevented many disorders. But Charles considered it as the most violent incroachment on his prerogative. Yet when he found nothing but his assent would satisfy the house, he came to the house of peers, and pronounced the usual form of words, "Soit come il e desire; let it be as it is desired." The acclamations with which the house resounded sufficiently testified the joy of the people; and a bill for five subsidies, which passed soon after, was the strongest mark of their gratitude. But the Commons finding their perseverance crowned with success in this instance, were resolved to carry their scrutiny into every part of government. A little before the meeting of this parliament, a commission had been granted to thirty-three of the principal officers of state, empowering them to meet, and concert among themselves the methods of levying money by impositions, or otherwise. The
commons

commons applied for cancelling that commission. They objected also to another commission for raising money for the introduction of a thousand German horse, which they feared might be turned against the liberties of the people. They resumed also their censure of Buckingham, whom they resolved implacably to pursue. They also openly asserted, that a method of levying money used by the king, called tonnage and poundage, without the consent of parliament, was a violation of the liberties of the people. All these grievances were preparing to be drawn up in a remonstrance, when the king came suddenly to the house, and ended the session by a prorogation. * But they urged their claims with still more force on their next sitting; and the duty of tonnage and poundage was discussed more largely. This tax upon merchandise was a duty of very early institution, and had been conferred on Henry the fifth, and all succeeding princes during life, in order to enable them to maintain a naval force for the protection of the kingdom. But the parliament had usually granted it as of favour in the beginning of each reign; except to Henry the eighth, who had it not conferred on him by parliament till the sixth year of his sitting on the throne. Although he had continued to receive it from the beginning, yet he thought it necessary to have the sanction of parliament to insure it to him, which certainly implied that it was not an inherent privilege of the crown. Upon this argument, the commons founded their objections to the levying

* A. D. 1629.

levying it in the present reign; it was a tax they had not yet granted, and it had been granted by them in every preceding reign. They refused, therefore, to grant it now: and insisted the king could not levy it without their permission.

This bred a long contest between the commons and the crown. The officers of the custom-house were summoned before the commons to give an account by what authority they seized the goods of the merchants who had refused to pay these duties. The barons of the exchequer were questioned concerning their decrees on that head; the sheriff of London was committed to the Tower for supporting the custom-house officers. These were bold measures; but the commons went still farther, by a resolution to examine into religious grievances. They passed several votes in defence of Calvinism and against Arminianism. The king, therefore, resolved to dissolve a parliament, which he found himself unable to manage; and Sir John Finch, the speaker, just as the question concerning tonnage and poundage was going to be put, rose up, and informed the house that he had a command from the king to adjourn.

Nothing could exceed the indignation of the commons upon this information. Just at a time they were carrying their favourite points to be thus adjourned, rendered them furious. The house was in an uproar; the speaker was pushed back into his chair, and forcibly held in it by Hollis and Valentine, till a short remonstrance was framed, and passed

passed by acclamation rather than vote. In this hasty production, Papists and Arminians were declared capital enemies to the state. Tonnage and poundage was condemned as contrary to law; and not only those who raised that duty, but those who paid it, were considered as guilty of capital crimes.

In consequence of this violent procedure, Sir Miles Hobart, Sir Peter Heyman, Selden, Coriton, Long, and Strode, were, by the king's order, committed to prison. But the same temerity that impelled Charles to imprison them induced him to grant them a release. Sir John Elliot, Hollis, and Valentine were summoned before the King's Bench; but refusing to appear before an inferior tribunal, for faults committed in a superior, they were condemned to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, to pay a fine, the two former of a thousand pounds each, and the latter of five hundred, and to find sureties for their good behaviour. They triumphed in their sufferings, while they had most of the kingdom as applauders of their fortitude.

Some time before this, the king felt a severer blow in the death of his favourite the duke of Buckingham. It had been resolved once more to undertake the raising of the siege of Rochelle; and the earl of Lindsey, was sent thither, but returned without effecting any thing. In order to repair this disgrace, the duke of Buckingham went in person to Portsmouth to hurry on another expedition. There was one Felton, an Irishman of a good family, who had served under the duke as

lieutenant, but had resigned, on being refused his rank on the death of his captain. This man was naturally melancholy, and enthusiastic; he supposed his country was labouring under a calamity which he thought it in the power of his single arm to remove. He therefore resolved to kill the duke, and thus revenge his own private injuries, while he did service also to God and man. Animated with this mistaken patriotism he travelled down to Portsmouth alone, and entered the town while the duke was surrounded by his levee, and giving out the necessary orders for embarkation. He was at that time engaged in conversation with one Soubize, and other French gentlemen. The conversation being finished the duke drew towards the door; and while he was speaking to one of his colonels, Felton struck him over that officer's shoulder in the breast with his knife, and left it sticking there. The duke had only time to say, "The villain has killed me," when he fell at the colonel's feet, and instantly expired. No one had seen the blow, nor the person who gave it; but in the confusion it was generally supposed that he was murdered by one of the Frenchmen. They were accordingly secured; but in the mean time a hat was picked up, on the inside of which was sewed a paper, containing four or five lines of the remonstrance of the commons against the duke; and under these lines a short ejaculation, desiring aid in the attempt. It was now concluded that this hat must belong to the assassin; and while they were employed in conjectures

conjectures whose it should be, a man without an hat was seen walking very composedly before the door, and was heard to cry out, "I am he." He disdained denying a murder in which he gloried; and averred, that he looked upon the duke as an enemy to his country. When asked at whose instigation he had performed that horrid deed; he answered, that his conscience was his only prompter, and that no man on earth could dispose him to act against its dictates. But he afterwards relented, and died with all possible tokens of remorse and self-condemnation.

The king was extremely mortified at the duke's death; he perceived the tide of popularity was turned from him, and that the house of commons only served to increase the general discontent. He felt therefore a disgust against parliaments; and was resolved not to call any more till he should see greater indications of a compliant disposition in the nation. Having lost his favourite, he became more his own minister, and never reposed such unlimited confidence in any other. But though the minister was changed, the measures continued the same; the same temerity, and the same weakness of condescension.

His first measure, however, being left without a minister and a parliament, was a prudent one. * He made peace with the two crowns, against whom he had hitherto waged war. Being freed from these embarrassments, he bent his whole attention to the management of the internal policy of the kingdom, and took as his associates, Sir Thomas Wentworth,

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* A. D. 1629.

afterwards earl of Strafford; and Laud, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. But it should be observed, the earl did not wholly concur with the king, till two or three years after this. By his eminent talents and abilities, he merited all the confidence which the king reposed in him. His character was stately and austere; more fitted to procure esteem than love; he was a man of strict honour and religion; his fidelity to the king was unshaken; but perhaps in serving the interests of the crown, he did not always sufficiently consider himself as an agent also for the benefit of the people. He now employed all his counsels to support the prerogative, which he formerly had endeavoured to diminish. But his unblameable character in private life made up for some blemishes in his public conduct.

Laud was in the church somewhat resembling Strafford in the state, rigid, severe, punctual, and industrious. His zeal was unrelenting in the cause of religion, and the forms established in the reign of queen Elizabeth seemed to him to be essentially connected with it. His desire to keep these on their former footing was imprudent and excessive; but it must be confessed, the furious opposition he met with was sufficient to excite his resentment.

Since the times of Elizabeth, a set of people had been gaining ground in England; who, from the supposed greater purity of their manners, were called *Puritans*. Many of these being men of warm, obstinate tempers, pushed their sentiments into a total opposition to those

those of Rome, and to every rite or ceremony which they imagined to have the least resemblance to the Romish. Hence Laud, who of all men alive, was the most attached to ceremony, and shew, treated them with rigour. And the king shewed the utmost ardour, to support the ceremonies of the church, which they opposed. These at this day are regarded with more unconcern; and, therefore, we are apt to impute the disorders of those times, rather to civil motives of establishing liberty, which, in reality, made but a subordinate consideration.

The humour of the nation ran, at that time, into the extreme, opposite to superstition; and those ceremonies, to which men had been accustomed in England, ever since the Reformation, were considered as idolatrous. It was, therefore, the most impolitic time in the world for Laud to think of introducing new ceremonies. Nevertheless he went on boldly with his injunctions, for the observance of those rites, which, in themselves, were of no moment; and needed neither to have been urged by him, nor opposed by the puritans.

* Orders were rigorously insisted on, that the communion table should be removed from the middle of the church, where it hitherto stood since the Reformation, to the East end; where it should be railed in, and denominated the altar. The kneeling at the altar, and the using of copes, an embroidered vestment used in popish countries, were introduced to the great discontent of the people. Some pictures were admitted again into churches. All such

clergy as neglected to observe every ceremony, were suspended or deprived. And, to mortify the puritans still more, orders were issued from the council, forbidding any controversy either from the pulpit or the press, on the points in dispute between them and their opponents, concerning free will and predestination.

In the year 1632, the king issued out a proclamation, commanding all lords and gentlemen, to depart from London, and go and live upon their own estates: And another, against building in or near London, upon new foundations. Tonnage and poundage were now levied by royal authority alone; custom-house officers received orders from the council to enter any house whatever, in search of suspected goods: compositions were openly made with papists; and these were become a regular part of the revenue. The high commission court of Star-chamber exercised its power, independent of any law, upon several bold innovators in liberty, who only gloried in their sufferings, and contributed to render government odious and contemptible. Sir David Foulis was fined by this court five thousand pounds, merely for dissuading a friend from compounding with the commissioners; who called upon him to take up the title of knighthood. *Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's inn, had written an enormous quarto of a thousand pages, which was entitled "Histriomastix, or a Scourge for the Stage." In this, beside much paltry declamation against the stage, he took occasion to blame the ceremonies and late innovations of the church.

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* A. D. 1634.

He was condemned by the Star-chamber to be degraded from the bar; to stand in the pillory, in two places, Westminster and Cheap-side; to lose his ears, one at each place; to pay five thousand pounds to the king; and to be imprisoned during life. This sentence, was rigorously executed; and Prynne gloried in his sufferings. Burton, a divine, and Bastwick, a physician, were tried before this tribunal for schismatical libels, in which they attacked, with great severity and intemperate zeal, the ceremonies of the church of England. They were condemned to the same punishment that had been inflicted upon Prynne; and Prynne himself was also tried for a new offence, for which he was fined five thousand pounds more, and sentenced to lose what remained of his ears. The answers which these bold demagogues gave into court, were so full of contumacy and invective, that no lawyer could be prevailed with to sign them. The rigours, however, which they underwent, gave general offence; and increased still further the public indignation. The puritans, restrained in England, shipped themselves off for America, where they laid the foundations of a new government, agreeable to their systems of religion and political freedom. But the government, was prevailed on to issue a proclamation, debarring them of a retreat, even into those inhospitable regions. Eight ships, lying in the Thames, and ready to sail, were detained by order of counsel; and in these were embarked Sir Arthur Haslerig, John Hambden, and Oliver

Oliver Cromwell, who had resolved forever to abandon their native country. of Here was a surprizing instance of divine providence. Who can read the following transactions without observing it? had some contempt. The levying of *ship money*, as it was called, being a general burthen, was now universally complained of. This was a tax which had, in former reigns, been levied without the consent of parliament; but then the exigency of the state demanded such a supply. The question was proposed by the king to the judges, whether, in a case of necessity, they might not impose this tax? and whether he was not sole judge of this necessity? To this the judges replied that he might; and that he was sole judge of the necessity. In this universal obedience to the king's injunctions, John Hamden, a gentleman of fortune in Buckinghamshire, refused to comply with this tax, and resolved to bring it to a legal determination. He had been rated at twenty shillings for his estate, which he refused to pay; and the case was argued twelve days in the Exchequer chamber, before all the judges of England. At length eight of the judges gave sentence in favour of the crown. Nothing now was heard in every company but murmurs against government. It was alledged, that tyranny was confirmed, and there was no redress. In this universal state of despondence, or clamour, an accident gave the people of England an opportunity of vindicating their privileges; and even of acquiring greater than were compatible with their own happiness.

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The Scots had always shewed a strong attachment to presbyterian principles; and though they allowed of bishops; yet they were reduced to poverty, and treated with contempt. James had seen the low estate of episcopacy in that kingdom, and had endeavoured to exalt it; but died in the midst of his endeavours. Charles resolved to complete what his father had begun. This ill-judged attempt served to alienate the affections of his Scotch subjects, as his encroachments on liberty had rendered him unpopular in England. The flame of sedition in Scotland, passed from city to city, while the presbyterians formed a *Covenant*, to support and defend their opinions and mode of worship; and resolved to establish them, or overturn the state. On the other hand, the court were determined to establish the liturgy of the church of England; and both sides being obstinate in opinion, those sanguinary measures were soon begun in Scotland, which had hitherto been only talked of among the English.

It may be a satisfaction to the reader, to take this matter higher, and trace the Scottish troubles from their rise. What was done as early as the year 1633, laid the foundation of all the following commotions in Scotland. The king being then present, the lords of the Articles brought a bill into the parliament, for confirming the royal prerogative, as it had been settled in the year 1606; but tacked to it another bill, which passed in 1609, by which the late king was empowered to prescribe apparel to churchmen with their own consent.

According

According to bishop Burnet, the passing of this act was a personal compliment to king James; and it never had been executed in his reign. Another act was prepared for a resumption of church lands and tythes, which had been alienated in the minority of the former reign; but it was pretended that this last act was no more than a matter of form, and intended to keep in awe the members of the opposition. In Scotland, the lords and commons sat in one house; and the votes of both were of the same validity, but delivered *seriatim*, one by one. Charles was so intent on carrying his point, that he remained in the house during the whole debate; and pulling out of his pocket a list of the members, "I have all your names here, (said he) and will know who will do me service, and who will not, this day." This declaration did not daunt the members. They offered to confirm the act of 1606, relating to the prerogative; but objected to the act of 1609, being tacked to it. A motion was made by the earl of Rothes, that the acts might be divided; and the members in general seemed disposed for a debate; but were silenced by Charles, who peremptorily ordered them to vote, but not to argue. The votes being collected, one Hay, clerk register, whose office it was to examine the division and declare the majority, said the question was carried in the affirmative. The earl of Rothes insisted that the majority was for the negative. Charles said that the report of the clerk register, was to be decisive; and that if Rothes persisted in his opposition, he

he was to stand to the consequences, which were, that he should suffer the penalty of death, which the register must have suffered, had he failed in his proof.

This severity daunted Rothes, and the bill received the royal assent; but nothing less than absolute infatuation could have prevented Charles from seeing that he lost more than he gained by carrying his favourite points in so arbitrary a manner.

From this very time many of the chief men in Scotland formed the design which they did not avow till long after: but which they carried on by sure though slow degrees, till it issued in the total destruction of the king.

Neither bishop Guthrie, nor any of the Scotch historians have been sufficiently explicit as to the part which Cardinal Richlieu afterwards bore in fomenting the public discontent at this time. But from State-papers it appears, that he had agents who insinuated themselves, under different appearances, with all parties both in Scotland and England; some of them in the shape of violent Laudians, and others of furious presbyterians; but all of them employed to widen the difference between Charles and his people.

In the year 1636 he proceeded as if the people of Scotland had been unanimously disposed to receive the new liturgy. By his order, the lords of the privy-council charged, by proclamation at the market crosses of all the head burghs, all subjects to conform themselves to the liturgy, and to provide two copies of the book of common prayer for every parish

parish in the kingdom. The twenty-third day of July 1637, was appointed for the day when it was to be first used at Edinburgh; and it was by the privy counsel enjoined, that the two books should be provided for every parish under pain of the minister's being declared a rebel, and undergoing forfeiture of goods. Those orders being intimated from the pulpit, created so ungovernable a spirit of opposition among the common people, that three ministers, Henderson of Leuchers, Bruce of King's Barnes, and Hamilton of Newburn, in the name of their brethren, presented a very strong remonstrance against the proposed liturgy to the council, and against the penalty annexed to the non-providing the books. The council, of whom nine were bishops, was intimidated by the numerous attendants of the remonstrants, and were so childish as to explain their proclamation concerning the service-books, by declaring, that they only meant the books should be brought; thereby intimating that they should not be used in public worship.

On the Sunday morning, when the liturgy was first read, the tumult was exceeding great. But in the afternoon such precautions were taken that the service was celebrated without much disturbance. Yet when it was over, the bishop of Edinburgh was attacked in the earl of Roxburgh's coach with stones, and had he not been guarded by the earl's servants, who were provided with arms, he could not have reached his lodging alive.

Next

Next day, the council met, and issued a proclamation, prohibiting, under pain of death, all tumultuous meetings in Edinburgh. The magistrates of that city were enjoined to use their utmost endeavours to apprehend the rioters of the former day, and the privy-councillors were so ill-advised, that in the letter they wrote to the king, upon the occasion, they represented the tumults that had happened as being raised by a factious inconsiderable mob, whom they could easily quiet. Traquair, in a letter to the marquis of Hamilton, lays the greatest part of the blame on the fiery zeal and intemperate behaviour of the bishops. The council in their letter had desired Charles to call some of their own number to Loudon, to lay before him the state of the affairs in Scotland.

Charles returned a very bitter answer to the council's representation, vindicating the affections of his good people of Scotland, and accusing the cowardice or coolness of his council and the magistrates, for all that had happened. He concluded with a peremptory order, that every bishop should command the book to be read in his diocese, as the bishops of Ross and Dumblain had already done; and that no burgh should chuse any magistrate who did not conform to the same. He likewise rejected the request of the council, that he should send for any of their number.

The earls of Rothes, Cassils, Eglington, Hume, Lothian, and Wemys; the lords Lindsay, Yester, Balmerino, Craufston, and Loudon, with numbers of the leading gentry

and burgesſes all over the kingdom, openly declared themſelves againſt the liturgy; and in this they were countenanced by the ſilence or acquieſcence of the old prelates. Hope, the king's advocate was conſulted on every occaſion, how far they might go without being guilty of overtacts of treaſon. Regular committees and correſpondencies of the party were formed all over the kingdom: and a paper, juſtifying or explaining their proceedings was ſent to Sir William Alexander, now earl of Stirling, and ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, to be laid before the king.

Had Charles acted with the leaſt degree of moderation with regard to their petition, which could in no ſenſe have affected the juſt rights of ſovereignty; had he even been contented, for the preſent, to order a ſuſpenſion of his unpopular acts relating to the liturgy, the petitioners would have departed in quiet to their reſpective homes.

Matters were in this ferment in Scotland, where the council ſat, ſometimes at Dalkeith, ſometimes at Stirling, and often at Linlithgow, when the earl of Roxburgh returned with a letter from Charles to the council, informing the members that he was fully apprized of his royal pleaſure. A proclamation was ſoon after ſent down, declaring the king's abhorrence of popery, and his reſolution "to do nothing againſt the laudable laws of his native kingdom." The council was then ſitting at Linlithgow, and the diſcontented party once more were aſſembled at Edinburgh. The earl of Loudon was choſen to be their mouth;

and

and having gained admittance to the council-room he made a speech, in which he inveighed strongly against popery, the order of bishops, and the innovations in religion that had been lately introduced.

As the petitioners still professed the most explicit obedience to the king's authority, it was agreed, that the common people should resort to their respective habitations; and that four noblemen, four barons, four burgessees, and four ministers, (but their numbers were afterwards doubled) should be left as committees for their several orders, to treat with the privy-council. Each of those orders sat at a table, where their proceedings were debated before they were rendered decisive. It was at those tables where the renewing of the confession of faith, which has been since so well known by the designation of the solemn league and covenant, came under deliberation. The reader may remember the occasion upon which this covenant was first instituted in the late reign, when it was signed by king James, his council and family. This act served as the ground work of the present covenant, which consisted, besides, of a narrative of all acts of parliament ratifying the reformed religion, and an abjuration of the late innovations, till they were judged in a free, general assembly; and the whole ended with a bond of defence, for adhering to one another against all persons whatsoever, in defence of what they had done. In short, this new engagement was so extensive, that it not only abolished the new liturgy and canons, but

the episcopal government itself, and the five articles of Perth, though they had received a parliamentary sanction.

It is impossible to conceive with what avidity this covenant was signed by all ranks and degrees of presbyterians, first at Edinburgh, and then all over the kingdom. Though many well-wishers to episcopacy and monarchy were still in Scotland, yet they were so dispirited, that no opposition was made to the covenanters, and no counter-engagement formed to balance them. This was more than the party expected. Power was given to all ranks and degrees of men to administer the covenant; and none were found unprovided with a copy of it, which they obliged all who came in their way to sign.

Traquair, upon his return to Scotland, privately informed the heads of the tables of his instructions; and they accordingly prepared a counter-protest, which they committed to the earl of Hume and lord Lindsay, who reached Stirling before Traquair. No sooner was the king's proclamation read, than those two noblemen, as had been concerted, with the other heads of the party, publicly protested against it, and dispatched authenticated copies of their protest to other cities and towns. This may be looked upon as the first defiance thrown out against government by the covenanters. The contents of the protest are therefore too important to be omitted here.

In the first place, they demanded an immediate recourse to the king to present their grievances

grievances. Secondly, they protested against the jurisdiction of the bishops, of whom they demanded a legal trial, for the crimes laid to their charge. Thirdly, they protested against all the acts, either in council or out of council, in which the bishops are parties, in prejudice to the protestors. Fourthly, they protested against being affected by any act political or ecclesiastical, introduced without, or against the acts of the general assembly; and they claimed the liberty of serving God according to the constitutions of the church and kingdom. Fifthly, they protested against being answerable for any dangerous consequences that may attend the counsellors not gratifying their demands. And, lastly, they in fact, protested against the king's refusing to comply with them.

It is not to be disputed, that the contents of this protest were seditious and treasonable, as the laws then stood in Scotland: nor can they be vindicated but by the pretended necessity of pushing the people all at once, past all reconciliation with the court.

They had now solemnly sworn at Edinburgh to be true to the covenant; and had raised considerable bodies of men to cement their association. Charles kept himself too abstracted in his own majesty, and at too great a distance to receive any true information of what was passing. He was startled, however, by the arrival of the archbishop of St. Andrews' and the other bishops, whom the fury of the covenanters had driven into England, and his eyes began to be opened when he saw

them followed by Traquair, to whom he chiefly intrusted the management of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland.

Traquair took this opportunity to possess Charles with a good opinion of milder measures. He was backed by the lord justice Clerk, who had been sent up by the rest of the council with full instructions as to the state of Scotland, and the means of restoring its tranquility. The earl of Roxburgh, for whom Charles had always expressed a personal regard, joined them in the same opinion; but after all, neither they nor the counsellors, who remained in Scotland, had the courage to speak the whole truth.

In this he was peremptory, saying, that as long as that covenant was not cancelled, he had no more power than the duke of Venice.

He ordered Hamilton and Traquair to draw up a declaration to be published in Scotland; and they inserted in it a promise of redress for their grievances, provided they renounced the covenant in a certain time. The archbishop of St. Andrew's, who knew the temper of the covenanters much better than they did, drew up another in more smooth and general terms; but Charles not thinking it explicit enough with regard to the covenant, rejected it, and adopted the other, which Hamilton carried down with him, as part of his instructions.

Before Hamilton reached Edinburgh, the covenanters made dispositions for repelling force, by force, if needful. They had bought

bought up large quantities of arms abroad. They deprived the magistrates of Edinburgh of all command in that city. They surrounded it with fifteen hundred men, and blockaded the castle, because the governor refused to surrender it. After Hamilton entered Scotland, he was attended by lord Lindsay, who told him plainly, that the people were resolved never to give up their covenant. That they insisted upon having the articles of Perth annulled, and episcopacy reduced to little more than a name; adding, that if a free parliament and a general assembly were not immediately called, they were resolved to call both by their own authority. When Hamilton arrived at Dalkeith, where the council was then sitting, he found the majority of its members had a warm side to the covenanters; and the latter were determined to carry into execution, if needful, all that lord Lindsay had threatened. He advised Charles of the desperate state of his affairs in Scotland; and that twenty thousand men in arms were near the capital. His advice was, that the king should secretly prepare to reduce the rebels by force of arms. In the mean while, he informed his majesty, "he found the spirit of the people to be such, that he did not think proper to open that part of his instructions which related to the covenant." Charles approved of all this, and promised to follow his advice.

Hamilton had been instructed, if possible, to evade the calling together a parliament, or a general assembly, till the covenant was

renounced. His mild address and insinuating behaviour, had prevailed with the covenanters to dismiss the crowds that repaired to Edinburgh. This gave him some courage, and he endeavoured to prevail with the crown lawyers to publish an opinion against the legality of the covenant; but they evaded it, on account of the danger they might incur. It required all Hamilton's temper to put up with the affronts he daily met with. The covenanters had actually wrested the sword out of the king's hand. They continued to proceed with fury against all who refused to take the covenant. They prohibited the numerous relations and dependants the commissioner had in the West, to attend him in a body; and he plainly saw, that they intended to insult him even at the council-board, if he should attempt to oppose his authority to their pleasure. They had again pressed him to call a parliament; and he still begged to be excused, till public tranquillity was restored: but as they continued to press him, he promised to go to court, and obtain leave from Charles for that purpose.

Though Charles was a kind and generous master to all his servants, and especially the Scots, who were about his person, yet they betrayed him, and sent to the covenanters copies of all the dispatches he either received or issued. This practice was so common, and so easily carried on, by the access which his bed-chamber men had to his pockets, that the few friends he had in Scotland, in recommending to him secrecy, used to desire that he

would

would not trust even his own pockets with their letters.

Upon the return of Hamilton, with those and many other instructions of the same healing nature, all the subjects, who were not enthusiastically bent upon rebellion, exulted at the near prospect of tranquility in their country. The privy-council unanimously signed the negative confession of faith, (as it was called) and covenant of the late reign, while the king's free pardon was proclaimed; and the liturgy, the book of canons, the high Commission, and the Perth Articles publicly revoked. Those and many other concessions damped the courage of the covenanters; and they demanded time to consider of their signing the old confession. This was refused them; upon which they took a formal protest against all that had been done by the lord commissioner, and the lords of the council, who had unanimously agreed, that Charles had to the full gratified them in all lawful demands. Sir Thomas Hope was among the privy-counsellors, who addressed a letter of thanks to Charles for his gracious condescension; and a proclamation was issued for the meeting both of the general assembly and the parliament; but this was protested against by the earl of Montrose, at the head of the covenanters.

The old covenant became now the party-word with the royalists, as the new was with their antagonists. The distinction was of great service to Charles. Many who had entertained the most dreadful apprehensions, were

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were now convinced that neither their religion nor liberties were in danger, and upwards of twenty eight thousand persons signed the old covenant. The northern parts of the kingdom almost to a man, declared against the new covenant; and had it not been for the zeal and activity of the earl of Montrose, Huntley and his friends would have put themselves in arms, and have marched southwards. A general assembly of the clergy was then sitting at Glasgow, in which all the bishops who did not submit to be put upon the footing of Presbyters, were deposed or excommunicated. Many of the moderate ministers, who were friends to the old episcopacy, were driven from their livings; and the members had the insolence to vote, that a letter should be sent to the king for his approbation of their conduct.

‡ In a few weeks, all the north of England, and the frontier towns towards Scotland, were put in an excellent posture of defence; and Charles found himself at the head of six thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot, all of them well mounted, well armed, and full of spirits; besides a strong squadron of five thousand men on board, commanded by the marquis of Hamilton. Generals were now to be provided for this noble army; and Charles, to give as little offence as possible to his numerous enemies, appointed the earl of Arundel, a nobleman who had never been a favourite at court, but was a soldier, to command it; and under him the earl of Essex, who had seen abundance of service, and was very popular in England; but was no enemy to many

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‡ A. D. 1639.

of the principles upon which the covenanters proceeded, though he inveighed on all occasions against the Scotch nation in general. Thus Charles made but a doubtful choice of the general who was to have the active management of his army. The earl of Holland, who was a favourite of the queen, and younger brother to the earl of Warwick, who had numerous friends and relations, was appointed to be the third general in command, though he was known to be a puritan, destitute of all knowledge of war, and with very little but a graceful person to recommend him. By this time, Charles had published a declaration of his reasons for undertaking this expedition.

The covenanters now avowed their rebellion; and many of them disclaimed the oaths either of allegiance or supremacy, tho' their writings and speeches were filled with the most dutiful professions of obedience to the royal authority. They had surprized the castle of Edinburgh, and the house of Dalkeith, where the regalia were lodged; and they fortified Leith against the royal fleet, which was then at sea. Hamilton was greatly blamed by those, who were ignorant of the true state of things, for not providing better than he did for the defence of Edinburgh castle; and Charles ordered the earl of Traquair to confine himself to his own house, till he should shew the reason why he gave up Dalkeith, before any cannon was brought before the place. A few well-affected nobility still made head against the rebels. The earl of Roxburgh for a while preserved Teviotdale in its allegi-

allegiance; but was soon obliged to yield to the covenanters. The marquis of Douglas, by being a papist, could not do the king the service he wished; and his castle of Tantallon was seized by the covenanters; so that almost all Scotland south of the Tay, fell under their power without bloodshed. In Angus, the earls of Airly and Southesk declared for the king; but the strength of the royal cause lay with Huntley in the north. That nobleman had desired of Charles two or three thousand men, and arms for five thousand more. They were promised him, but never sent.

The heads of the covenanters, who did not expect to see such an appearance of royalists in Scotland, exerted themselves with most amazing activity. They had seized upon the castle of Dumbarton, which, like that of Edinburgh, had been most unaccountably left defenceless. Besides Lesley, they had engaged Monro, and several other Scotch officers, who had gained great reputation abroad, in their service. Monro had a command upon the borders, where he over-awed Roxburgh and the earl of Nithsdale, and kept an eye upon the incursions of the English. The earl of Argyle undertook to guard the Western coast, and to oppose any descent from Ireland. He had raised a regiment of a thousand men, who had surprized and garrisoned the marquis of Hamilton's castle in the isle of Arran. The earl of Montrose was appointed their general in the North, where Lesley was to serve under him against the marquis of Huntley. Montrose, who was attended by

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the earl Marshal, appointed Tunef, a village in Aberdeenshire, for the rendezvous of all the northern covenanters; and he was soon at the head of a considerable army; but was tied down to undertake no service of importance without consulting Lesley.

An interview, however, was procured between the two generals; and Huntley, upon Montrose's invitation, repaired to the camp of the covenanters at Inveroury, where a pacification for the north was agreed upon. Montrose was to return with his army Southwards. Huntley was to disband his, and was not to trouble or molest any of the covenanters within the bounds of his Lieutenancy.

On the first of May, the marquis of Hamilton appeared with his fleet in the road of Leith. He was furnished with a proclamation drawn up by his majesty, in which he gave an account of the affronts his authority had received by the covenanters, and his design to do himself right, according to the power and authority God had put in his hand, withal offering indemnity to such as should, within eight days, lay down their arms, some few excepted, declaring such as would not obey, to be rebels, setting a price upon their heads, and ordering their vassals and tenants not to acknowledge them, nor pay them rents. The covenanters had neglected to fortify the islands of Juchkeith and Juchcolm; and the marquis not venturing to land at Leith, either on the Lothian or the Fife coasts, set his men on shore on those small

islands; but the covenanters at Edinburgh refused to suffer the king's proclamation to be published.

The representations sent up by Hamilton to Charles startled that prince so much, that he ordered him not to begin hostilities in the South; but seemed inclined to send a detachment to his friends in the North.

The covenanters at last, left their camp, and advancing towards that of Charles, drew up their army in array. After some management on both sides, it was agreed, that the earl of Dumfermling should be admitted on the part of the covenanters to present Charles with the following petition, which I shall here give the reader, as a specimen of that great art with which they conducted themselves.

“ To the king's most excellent majesty.

“ The humble petition of his majesty's subjects of Scotland humbly sheweth, That whereas former means used by us, hath not been effectual for recovering your majesty's favour, and the peace of this your majesty's kingdom, we fall down again at your majesty's feet, most humbly supplicating, that your majesty would be graciously pleased to appoint some few of your majesty's many worthy men of your majesty's kingdom of England, who are well affected to the true religion, and common peace, to hear some of us of the same affection, of our humble desires; and to make known to us your majesty's gracious pleasure, that as by the providence of God

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we are here joined in one island, and one king, so by your majesty's great wisdom and tender care, all mistaking may be speedily removed; and the two kingdoms may be kept in peace and happiness under your majesty's long and prosperous reign, for the which we shall never cease, as becomes your majesty's faithful subjects, daily to pray for your majesty's long and happy reign over us."

The English counsellors laid hold of the seeming loyalty and plausibility of this petition, and the dutiful application of the Scots in being the first who sued for peace, to persuade Charles to enter upon a negotiation.

The covenanting army being thus disbanded (though many of them still kept together in bodies) the marquis of Huntley and his son were freed from their imprisonment; and orders were sent for a suspension of hostilities in the North. All this was a deceitful calm. The leaders of the covenanters thought that they sufficiently provided against any resumption of the church-lands, and against all attacks upon the civil and religious liberties of their country, by Charles' consenting to call a free parliament, and a general assembly.

When this summons arrived at Edinburgh, the people were more exasperated than ever against the late pacification; and many of the covenanting lords; when it was proclaimed at Edinburgh by Lyon king at arms, protested that they adhered to the assembly at Glasgow. The earl of Traquair had been insulted in the streets of Edinburgh; and the

white rod, or staff, which was carried before him as lord treasurer, was broken by the populace. He complained to the magistrates of this outrage; but all the satisfaction he obtained was, that they presented him with a new staff, which they bought for the value of six-pence.

Other insults against the servants of the crown, too numerous to be mentioned here, were committed at the same time; and the rage of the people was such, that all the noblemen whom Charles had summoned, excepting Montrose, Loudon and Lothian, were intimidated from attending him at Berwick; those three obtaining leave from the populace with the greatest difficulty.

Montrose, upon conversing with the king, conceived so good an opinion of him, that he ran at once from the extreme of opposition, if not rebellion, to that of loyalty; and declared to the other two noblemen, who seemed to be of his opinion, that he thought Charles had made all the concessions that his people could require.

Charles being fully instructed as to the sentiments of, at least, the best intentioned heads of the covenanters, in which he was greatly assisted by the marquis of Hamilton, offered again to constitute that nobleman his high-commissioner in Scotland; but he had such reasons for declining the honour, as satisfied Charles, and he recommended the earl of Traquair. The latter, ever since his delivering up Dalkeith, had been under a kind of cloud with Charles: he recovered the royal

royal confidence, by putting into his hands the following letter, signed by seven-leading covenanters, addressed to the king of France.

“ Sir,

“ Your majesty being the refuge and sanctuary of afflicted princes and states, we have found it necessary to send this gentleman, Mr. Colvil, to represent unto your majesty the candour and ingenuity, as well of our actions and proceedings, as of our intentions, which we desire to be engraved and written to the whole world with a beam of the sun, as well as to your majesty. We therefore most humbly beseech you, Sir, to give faith and credit to him, and to all that he shall say on our part, touching us and our affairs; being most assured, Sir, of an assistance, equal to your wonted clemency heretofore, and so often shewed to this nation, which will not yield the glory to any other whatever; to be eternally, Sir, your majesty's most humble, most obedient, and most affectionate servants, Rothes, Montrose, Lesley, Marr, Montgomery, Loudon, Forrester.”

Though this letter was not sent, yet it is a proof to what despair the covenanters were reduced at the time of its writing, and of the dependance which they had upon the French king, or rather Richlieu. Charles thought it so important an evidence in his favour, that following the advice of the marquis of Hamilton, he appointed Traquair to be his commissioner in the approaching Scotch parliament.

When Traquair came to Edinburgh, he observed, that very little had been done in executing the treaty. The castle of Edinburgh had been indeed restored to Ruthven; but the common people continued in so great a ferment, that neither the marquis of Hamilton, nor any nobleman of known moderation, far less the friends of Charles, could appear with safety in the streets of Edinburgh. The fortifications of Leith were still continued, the army of the covenanters was re-assembled, or never had been disbanded; and many other violations of the pacification still subsisted.

Matters were in this situation, when the parliament sat down; but the commissioner was attended with very few of the covenant nobility, and a general assembly met at the same time. Charles intended himself to have been present at both meetings; but the common people had now erected themselves into a tribunal, which disclaimed all authority, even of those who were formerly their leaders. The latter knowing that they had now nothing to depend upon but the vulgar, were obliged to submit to their dictates. The parliament suffered Traquair to name the lords of the articles, that formerly had been named by the bishops; but in all other respects they seemed to take the word of command from the general assembly. Episcopacy was in both meetings declared to be unlawful in the church of Scotland, and the following explanation of the covenant was agreed to.

“ We do swear, not only our mutual concurrence and assistance for the cause of our

religion, and to the uttermost of our power, with our means and lives, to stand to the defence of our dread sovereign, and his authority, in the preservation and defence of the said true religion, liberties, and laws of this kirk and kingdom, but also in every cause which may concern his majesty's honour, we shall, (according to the laws of this kingdom, and duties of good subjects) concur with our friends and followers in quiet manner, or in arms, as we shall be required of his majesty's council or any having his authority."

This explanation was far from satisfying the king, who now thought that he had committed a great solecism in politics, by treating with his own subjects. He found that the common people did not think themselves obliged to stand by the terms of pacification; and that their commissioners had never been empowered to treat for them.

In short, while the parliament was proceeding to the redress of grievances, Charles sent his commissioner orders to prorogue them, and to repair in person to London.

Traquair, who seems to have been a man of a very narrow genius, had no friend about court, but the marquis of Hamilton, who continued still to be a strenuous advocate for moderate measures. When Traquair received the order of prorogation, he sent it to the lords of the articles, under the privy-seal. Their clerk, Gibson of Durie, refused to read it; but when it was carried to the parliament-house, it was read under a protest both for its form and manner, and the meeting was for that

that time dissolved; but the earls of Dumfermling and Loudon were commissioned to repair to court, on the part of the Scotch parliament and assembly. Traquair, through the interest of Hamilton, was better received by Charles than could have been expected; though that prince was then in a dreadful situation.

Traquair advised a fresh expedition against the covenanters; and as Charles dreaded a parliament, he had recourse to a subscription, or loan, in which he was liberally supplied for defraying the expence. In the meanwhile, the parliament without any authority, re-assembled in Scotland, under pretence that their late prorogation was illegal, without consent of the states.

* The wisest among the covenanters, notwithstanding this furious party-zeal, knew that their best friends lay in England; and they wrote a letter by Loudon to the heads of the opposition there, to know what they were to trust to, in case they should invade England; desiring their friends among the English, at the same time, to enter into an association for their interest. This letter was sent to the lord Saville, because he was a profest enemy to the earl of Strafford; and Saville ordered one Darley, his secretary, to wait upon the earls of Bedford, Essex, Brook, Warwick, and the lords Say and Mandeville. But though those noblemen opposed the court, they disliked the proposal, as being at once dangerous and treasonable. This did not discourage Saville; for Darley, by his direction, forged

* A. D. 1640.

forged a letter, as written to himself, to com-
 those noble men, in consequence of his de-
 ing them the letter from Scotland. The
 forgery was sent to Scotland; but none were
 to see it, except the earls of Rothes and Ar-
 gyle, and Wariston, in whose hands it was
 deposited. None of them suspected the for-
 gery; so that all of them talked with great
 confidence of their powerful interest in Eng-
 land which was confirmed by the assurances
 Saville made to lord Loudon.

It was now above eleven years since the
 king had called a parliament. The fierce and
 ungovernable spirit of the last had taught
 him to hate and to fear such an assembly;
 but all resources being exhausted, and great
 debts contracted, he was obliged to call ano-
 ther. The many illegal and imprudent steps
 of the crown, the hardships which several
 persons had suffered, and their constancy in
 undergoing punishment, had as much aliena-
 ted the affections of the king's English as of
 his Scotch subjects. Instead of supplies the
 king was harassed with murmurs and com-
 plaints. The zealous in religion were pleased
 with the distresses of the crown, in its at-
 tempts against their brethren in opinion;
 and the republicans saw, that the time was
 approaching, when the royal authority must
 fall into a total dependence on popular assem-
 blies.

The House of commons could not be in-
 duced to treat the Scots as enemies. They
 regarded them as friends and brothers. The
 king, therefore, could reap no other fruits
 from

from this assembly than murmurings and complaints. Every method he had taken to supply himself with money was declared an abuse, and a breach of the constitution. Tonnage and poundage, ship-money, the sale of monopolies, the billeting soldiers upon refractory citizens, were all voted as stretches of arbitrary power. The king finding no hopes of redress from the commons, had recourse to the house of peers; but this was equally ineffectual. So he once more dissolved the parliament, to try more feasible methods of removing his necessities.

It was thought by many, that the king never took a more fatal step, than the dissolution of this parliament, as very many of the members loved both him and the constitution both in church and state. So that had he made to these half the concessions which he made to the following parliament, a lasting peace would have ensued.

The marquis of Hamilton had too great an interest there not to advise Charles to agree to this fatal dissolution; and he prevailed on him to set Loudon at liberty, on his promising to do his majesty all the service he could in Scotland. When the parliament was dissolved, Charles received by his loan and subscriptions three hundred thousand pounds in ready money, which he appropriated to preparations for the invasion of Scotland. He then proceeded to a nomination of his general officers; but omitted all who had any considerable command in the late expedition. He

appointed the earl of Northumberland to command in chief, and the earl of Strafford to be his lieutenant-general.

By this time, the covenanters so thoroughly disregarded the royal authority in Scotland, that they had imprisoned the earl of Southesk, and the other eminent royalists.

They continued the blockade of the castle of Edinburgh; and treated all who refused to take the covenant, as traitors. The king had ordered the parliament not to assemble; but the members notwithstanding, met on the second day of June; and perhaps no parliament ever went through so much, and such important business as it did in eight days, which was the term of its duration.

The king's manifesto was condemned as full of untruths and lies, and, in fact, a fire-brand. In short, this parliament, upon the whole, took from the king all executive power.

This session of parliament made the greatest change, at one blow, that ever happened to this church and state these six hundred years past; in effect, it overturned not only the ancient state-government, but fettered monarchy with chains, and set new limits and marches to the same, beyond which it was not to proceed.

The constitution of Scotland being thus new modelled, both parties proceeded in their levies of men and money. The earl of Stirling, secretary of state, for Scotland, being dead, was succeeded in that post by the earl of Lanerk, brother to the marquis of Hamilton

milton; a promotion which was far from being disagreeable to the covenanters. They were, however, not a little disconcerted in the choice of their military officers. The chief command was again given to Lesley; but Montrose, who had been gained by Charles, was the best officer in the field.

It was about this time, that Sir William Boswell, who was resident from Charles at the Hague, discovered the deep part which Richlieu had taken in fomenting the troubles of Charles.

The king having now made enemies of his Scotch subjects, by controlling them in their mode of worship, and of the commons by dissolving them, it remained to exasperate the city of London against him by some new imprudence. Upon their refusing to lend him money to carry on the Scotch war, he sued the citizens in the Star-chamber for some lands in Ireland, and made them pay a considerable fine. He continued also to exact all the taxes against which every former parliament had remonstrated; but all were insufficient. A loan of forty thousand pounds was extorted from the Spanish merchants, who had bullion in the Tower, exposed to the attempts of the king. Coat and conduct money for the soldiers was levied on the counties; an ancient practice, but supposed to be abolished by the petition of right. All the pepper was bought from the East India company upon trust, and sold at a great discount for ready money. Yet all these methods were far from being effectual. The Scots, sensible of the extremities to which he was reduced, led on an army

of twenty thousand men as far as Newcastle upon Tyne, to lay their grievances before their sovereign, as they were pleased to term their rebellion. One of the most disgusting strokes in the character of the republicans, was this gentle language and humble cant, in the midst of treason; and their flattery to their prince, while they were attempting to dethrone and destroy him.

To these troops, inspired by religion, flushed with some slight victories obtained over straggling parties of the royalists, and encouraged by the English themselves, the king was able to oppose only a smaller force, new levied, undisciplined, seditious, and ill paid. Being therefore in despair of stemming the torrent, he at last yielded to it. He first summoned a great council of peers to York; and, as he foresaw that they would advise him to call a parliament, he told them in his first speech that he had already taken that resolution.

† The expectations of men with regard to a parliament at such a critical juncture, might naturally engage the attendance of the members on their duty. ‡ The house of commons was never, from its first institution, observed to be so numerous, or the assiduity of its members greater. Without any interval, they entered upon business; and by unanimous consent struck a blow that was decisive.

* Instead of granting the demanded subsidies, they impeached the earl of Strafford, the king's first minister, and had him arraigned before the house of peers for high treason. Pym, a tedious, but sensible speaker, who had first

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opened

† A. D. 1640. ‡ Nov. 3. * Nov. 11.

opened the accusation against him in the house of commons, was sent up to defend it at the bar of the house of lords; and most of the house accompanied their member on so agreeable an errand.

‡ To bestow the greatest solemnity on this important trial, scaffolds were erected in Westminster Hall, where both houses sat, the one as judges, the other as accusers. Beside the chair of state, a close gallery was prepared for the king and queen, who attended during the whole trial. The articles of impeachment against him were twenty-eight, the substance of which was, that he had attempted to extend the king's authority at home, and had been guilty of exactions in Ireland. But though four months were employed by the managers in framing the accusation, yet there appears very little cause of blame in him, since the stretches of the king's power were made before he came into authority. However, the managers for the house of commons pleaded against him with vehemence stronger than their reasons, and summed up their arguments, by insisting, that though each article separately did not amount to a proof, yet the whole taken together, did. This is a method of arguing sometimes used even at this day: and perhaps none can be more erroneous; for almost every fallhood may be found to have a multiplicity of weak reasons to support it. In this tumult and clamour, the earl himself, whose parts and wisdom had been long respectable, stood unmoved and undaunted. He defended his cause with all the presence

‡ A. D. 1641.

presence of mind, judgment, and sagacity, that could be expected from innocence and ability. His children were placed beside him as he was thus defending his life, and the cause of his master. After he had in a long and eloquent speech, delivered without premeditation, confuted all the accusations of his enemies; after he had shewn that during his government in Ireland, he had introduced the arts of peace among the savage part of that people; and that though his measures in England were harsh, yet they were absolutely necessary; after he had clearly refuted the argument upon the accumulative force of his guilt, he thus drew to a conclusion. “But
“my lords, I have troubled you too long;
“longer than I should have done, but for the
“sake of these dear pledges, which a saint in
“heaven has left me.”—Upon this he paused, dropped a tear, looked upon his children, and proceeded.—“What I forfeit for myself is a
“trifle; that my indiscretions should reach
“my posterity, wounds me to the heart.—
“Pardon my infirmity.—Something I should
“have added, but am not able; therefore let
“it pass. And now, my lords, for myself; I
“have long been taught that the afflictions of
“this life are overpaid by that eternal weight
“of glory which awaits the innocent; and
“so my lords, even so, with the utmost tran-
“quility, I submit myself to your judg-
“ment, whether that judgment be life or
“death; not my will, but thine, O God, be
“done.” His eloquence and innocence induced those judges to pity, who were the most

zealous to condemn him. * The king himself went to the house of lords, and spoke for some time in his defence; but the spirit that had been chained for eleven years, was now roused, and nothing but his blood could give the republicans satisfaction. He was found guilty by both houses of parliament; and nothing remained but for the king to give his consent to the bill of attainder. But in the present commotions the consent of the king was a thing that would very easily be dispensed with. Yet still Charles, who loved Strafford tenderly, hesitated, and tried every expedient to put off signing the warrant for his execution. While he continued in this agitation of mind, not knowing how to act, his doubts were at last silenced by an act of heroic bravery in the condemned lord. He received a letter from that unfortunate nobleman, desiring that his life might be made the sacrifice of a mutual reconciliation between the king and his people; adding, that he was prepared to die, and to a willing mind there could be no injury. This instance of noble generosity was but ill repaid by his master, who complied with his request. At the same time he passed a bill, that the present parliament should not be dissolved but by themselves. By this he gave the power out of his own hands, and in effect laid his head on the block. It does not seem, that any measures he could afterwards take could possibly prevent his destruction. He consented to the signing the fatal bill by commission. On the 12th of May Strafford was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill. In
this

* May 1.

this last scene he appeared, with the serenity which is the effect of true courage and internal peace. He expressed his fears, that a reformation begun with shedding innocent blood, would not have a happy issue. Having bid adieu to his brother and friends,

“And now, said he, one stroke will make my wife a widow, my dear children fatherless, deprive my poor servants of their indulgent master, and separate me from my affectionate brother, and from all my friends.”

In preparing himself for the block, “I thank God, added he, I am no way afraid of death, nor am daunted with any terrors; but do as cheerfully lay down my head at this time, as ever I did when going to repose.”

The executioner severed his head from his body at one stroke. Such was the fate of Strafford, a nobleman of rare talents, invincible courage and unshaken honesty. And the bill of attainder by which he fell is a standing reproach to both houses of parliament. Archbishop Laud, after a deliberation which did not continue half an hour, was considered as sufficiently culpable to incur the same accusation, and was committed to custody. Finch, the lord-keeper, was also impeached; but he had the precaution to make his escape, and fly over into Holland, as did Sir Francis Wyndebank, the secretary, into France.

The crown being thus deprived of the services of its ministers, the commons next proceeded to attack the few privileges it still possessed. During the late military operations,

tions, several powers had been exerted by the lieutenants, and deputy-lieutenants of counties, men who were all under the influence of the crown. These were, therefore, voted *Delinquents*; a term now first used to signify transgressors, whose crimes were not as yet ascertained by law. The sheriffs also, who had obeyed the king's mandate in raising ship-money, were voted to be delinquents. All the farmers and officers of the customs, who had been employed during so many years in levying tonnage and poundage, were subjected to the same imputation, and only purchased their safety by paying an hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Every sentence of the Star-chamber, and High commission courts, underwent a severe scrutiny; and all those who had any hand in such sentences were voted to be liable to the penalties of the law. The judges, who had declared against Hambden in the trial of ship-money, were accused before the peers, and obliged to find security for their appearance. All those monopolies which had been lately granted by the crown, were annihilated by the order of the commons; and they carried their detestation of that grievance so far, as to expel from their own house all such members as had been monopolists.

Hitherto we have seen the commons in some measure the patrons of liberty; opposing illegal power, or repressing those claims which, tho' founded on custom, were destructive of freedom. Thus far their aims were just and honourable: but the passions of the

the nation were now excited; and having been once put into motion, they knew not where to stop. Had they been contented with resting here, after abridging all those privileges of monarchy which were capable of injuring the subject, and leaving it all those prerogatives that could benefit, they would have been considered as the great benefactors of mankind. But they were resolved to revenge their former sufferings. The horrors of a civil war were not sufficiently attended to; and they precipitately involved the nation in calamities, of which they themselves soon found cause to repent.

The whole nation was thrown into a general ferment. The harangues of the members, now first published and dispersed, kept it alive. The pulpits, delivered over to those preachers, whom the commons arbitrarily placed in all the considerable churches, re-founded with faction. The press, freed from all fear or restraint, swarmed with productions, dangerous by their sedition and calumny, more than by their eloquence.

In this universal uproar against the crown, Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, who had some years before suffered so severely for their licentious abuses, and had been committed to remote prisons, were set at liberty by order of the commons, and were seen making their triumphant entry into the capital. Landing at their respective places, they were received by the acclamations of the people, and attended by crowds to London. Boughs were carried in this tumultuous procession; the roads were strewn

strewn with flowers, their sufferings were aggravated, and their persecutors reviled. All persons who had been punished for seditious libels during the foregoing administration, now recovered their liberty, and had damages given them upon those who had decreed their punishment.

Grievances had, no doubt been endured during the last intermission of parliaments; but the very complaints against them now became one of the greatest grievances. So many were offered within doors, and petitioned against without, that the house was divided into above forty committees, charged each of them with the examination of its respective complaints. The torrent rising to so dreadful and unexpected an height, despair seized all those who were attached to monarchy; while the king himself saw, with amazement, the whole fabric of government overturned. "You have taken, said he to the parliament, the whole machine of government to pieces; a practice frequent with skilful artists, when they desire to clear the wheels from any rust which may have grown upon them. The engine may be restored to its former use and motions, provided it be fitted up entire, so as not a pin be wanting." But the commons, in their present temper, were much better adapted to destroy than to fit up; and having taken the machine asunder, they soon found an expeditious set of workmen ready to step in and take the whole business off their hands.

But

But in this universal rage for abolishing the former constitution, the parliament fell with great justice on the High-commission court, and the court of Star-chamber. A bill unanimously passed the houses to abolish both; and in them to annihilate the most dangerous articles in the king's prerogative. The first of those, which was instituted for defending the church, had great power in all ecclesiastical matters; and the judges in that court were entirely arbitrary in whatever punishments, or fines, they thought proper to inflict. The Star-chamber had given force to the king's proclamations, and punished such as ventured to transgress them; but that being now taken away, his proclamations were of no effect, and might be opposed with impunity. Such were the transactions of this first session of the long parliament; and though in some cases they acted with anger, and in all with precipitation, yet had they stopped here, they would have deserved gratitude from posterity. After this, the parliament seemingly adjourned; but a committee of both houses, a thing altogether unprecedented, was appointed to sit during the recess, with very ample powers, and very little less than those of the parliament in the plenitude of its authority. Pym was appointed chairman of the lower house; in this, further attempts were made for assuming the sovereign executive powers, and publishing the ordinances of this committee, as statutes enacted by all the branches of the legislature. In the meantime the king went to pay a visit to his subjects in Scotland.

In

In the midst of these troubles, the papists of Ireland fancied they had a convenient opportunity of throwing off the English yoke. There was a gentleman called Roger Moore, who, though of a narrow fortune, was descended from a very ancient Irish family, and was very much celebrated among his countrymen for his valour and capacity. This man first formed the project of expelling the English, and asserting the independency of his country. The occasion was favourable; the English, engaged in domestic animosities, were unable to attend to a distant insurrection; and those of that nation, who resided among them, were too feeble to resist. Struck with these motives, Sir Phelim O'Neale entered into a conspiracy; lord Macguire came into his designs, and soon after all the chiefs of the native Irish promised their concurrence.

Their plan was laid accordingly, which was, that Sir Phelim O'Neale, and the other conspirators, should all begin an insurrection on one day throughout the provinces; should destroy all the English, while lord Macguire, and Roger Moore, should surprize the castle of Dublin. They had fixed on the approach of winter for this revolt, * the day was appointed, every thing in readiness, the secret profoundly kept, and the conspirators certain of success. The earl of Leicester, who had been appointed lord lieutenant, was then in London. Sir William Parsons, and Sir John Borlace, the two lords justices, weak men, were in the most profound tranquility on the brink of ruin.

What

* Oct. 23.

What regard their general, Sir Phelim, had to mercy and truth may be judged from the following anecdote. In the beginning of the rebellion, he came with a party of horse one night to the house of Mr. Tate, a gentleman who lived a few miles from Augher, who stood in a relation to him, which the Irish account exceeding sacred, and said, "Gossip, you must go with me. I am afraid lest some of my straggling soldiers should hurt you." Mrs. Tate said, "nay, Sir Phelim, do not take him away. For I am near my time, and am very ill." He replied, "you fool, I take him away, that I may save him." After they were gone, she said to an old servant, "I am so uneasy, I cannot stay here: I must go after my husband." Finding her quite determined, he prepared an horse, and she was helped up behind him. An Irish maid servant followed. They went slowly toward Augher castle, and came thither about sun rise. The first thing she saw there, was her husband hanging upon a tree. She alighted, and being supported by her man on one side and her maid on the other, walked toward Sir Phelim, who was exercising his men. He saw her, and sent a soldier, to order the Irish girl, to stand away from her. The girl said, "no, I will die with my mistress." On this, he ordered them to fire. She dropt down dead, and two children fell out of her womb.

Another instance out of a thousand may illustrate the gratitude of these men. A gentlewoman of Killbeggan in the county of West Meath,

had

had taken a poor child, which she brought up as her own. She was almost grown up, when a party of Irish broke into the house, and killed all the English they found in it. They were going away, when the girl called them back, and pointed to the bed. They looked under it, found the old woman, cut her throat, and threw her on the dunghill among the rest.

The very day before the intended seizure of the castle of Dublin, the plot was discovered by one O'Conolly, an Irishman, but a protestant, to the justices, who warned all the protestant inhabitants of the city to prepare for their defence. Macguire was taken, but Moore escaped; and new informations being every hour added to those already received, the project of a general insurrection was no longer a secret.

But though the citizens of Dublin had just time enough to save themselves from danger; the protestants dispersed over the different parts of the country, were taken unprepared. O'Neale and his confederates had already taken arms in Ulster. The Irish, every where intermingled with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders and priests to massacre a people whom they hated for their religion, and envied for their riches. The insurrections of a civilized people, are usually marked with little cruelty; but the revolt of a savage nation, generally aims at extermination. The Irish accordingly resolved to cut off all the protestants of the kingdom at a stroke; so that neither age, sex, nor condition, received
pity

any pity. In such indiscriminate slaughter, neither former benefits, nor alliances, nor authority, were any protection; numberless were the instances of friends murdering their intimates, relations their kinsmen, and servants their masters. In vain did flight save from the first assault; destruction, that had an extensive spread, met the hunted victims at every turn. Not only death, but studied cruelties were inflicted on the unhappy sufferers; the very avarice of the revolters could not restrain their thirst for blood, and they burned the inhabitants in their own houses to increase their punishment. Several hundreds were driven upon a bridge; and from thence obliged, by these barbarians, to leap into the water where they were drowned. The English colonies were totally annihilated in the open country of Ulster; but in the other provinces the rebels pretended to act with greater humanity. But even there the protestants were driven from their houses, to meet the severity of the weather, without food or raiment, and numbers of them perished with the cold, which happened at that time to be peculiarly severe. By some computations, those who perished by all these cruelties, amounted to an hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand; but, by a moderate computation, they could not have been less than forty thousand.

In the mean time the English Pale*, as it was called, consisting of the old English catholics, who had first come over, joining

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with

* The *Pale* comprehends the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, and Lowth.

with the native Irish, a large army was formed, amounting to above twenty thousand men, which threatned a total extermination of the English power. The king was at that time in Scotland, when he received the first accounts of this rebellion; and though he did all in his power to induce his subjects there to lend assistance to the protestant cause, yet he found them totally averse to sending any succours into Ireland. Their aim was to oblige the parliament of England, with what succours they could spare, and not to obey the injunctions of their sovereign. They went still farther, and had the assurance to impute a part of these dreadful massacres to the king's own contrivance. In fact, the rebels of Ireland did not fail to shew a royal patent, authorising their attempts; Sir Phelim O'Neale, having found a royal patent in lord Caulfield's house, whom he had murdered, he tore off the seal, and affixed it to a commission which he had forged for himself.

The king took all the precautions in his power to shew his utter detestation of these bloody proceedings; and being sensible of his own inability to suppress the rebellion, he had once more recourse to his English parliament, and craved their assistance for a supply. But here he found no hopes of assistance; many insinuations were thrown out that he had himself fomented this rebellion, and no money could be spared for the extinction of distant dangers, when they pretended that the kingdom was threatened with greater at home.

It

It was now the republican spirit began to appear without disguise in the parliament; and that party, instead of attacking the faults of the king, resolved to destroy monarchy. They had seen a republican system of government lately established in Holland; they began to wish for a similar system at home, and many productions of the press sketched out the form. Perhaps these men were guided by honest motives, but certainly by wrong ones. In the comparison between a republic and a limited monarchy, the balance entirely inclines to the latter, since a real republic never yet existed, except in speculation; and that liberty which demagogues promise to their followers, is generally only sought for themselves. The aim in general of popular leaders, is rather to depress the great, than exalt the low; and in such governments, the lower ranks of people are too commonly the most abject slaves. Again, in a republic, the number of tyrants are capable of supporting each other in their injustice; while in a monarchy there is one object, who, if he offends, is more easily punishable.

The leaders of the opposition began their operations by a resolution to attack episcopacy, one of the strongest bulwarks of the royal power; but first framed a remonstrance, in which they summoned up all their former grievances. * These they ascribed to a regular system of tyranny in the king, and asserted that they amounted to a total subversion of the constitution. This, when drawn up by a tumultuous majority of the house, they ordered

P 2

to

* A. D. 1641.

to be printed and published, without being carried up, as is usual in such cases, to the house of peers, for their assent and approbation. The commons having thus endeavoured to render the king's administration universally odious, began upon the hierarchy. Their first measure was, by their own single authority, to suspend all the laws which had been made for the observance of public worship. They particularly forbade bowing at the name of Jesus. They complained of the king's filling five vacant bishoprics; and considered it as an insult upon them, that he should complete an order which they were resolved to abolish. They accused thirteen bishops of high treason, for enacting canons without the consent of parliament; and endeavoured to prevail upon the house of peers to exclude all the prelates from their seats and votes. But the lords refused their concurrence to this law; and all such as any way tended to the farther limitation of royal authority. The majority of the peers adhered to the king; and plainly foresaw the depression of the nobility as a necessary consequence of the popular usurpations on the crown. The commons murmured at their refusal, mixed threats with their indignation, and began, for the first time, to insinuate that the business of the state could be carried on without them.

In order to intimidate the lords into their measures, the populace was let loose to insult and threaten them. Multitudes of people flocked every day to Westminster, and insulted the prelates, and such lords as adhered to the

CROWN.

rown. Some seditious apprentices being seized and committed to prison, the house of commons immediately ordered them to be set free. Encouraged by the countenance of the house, the populace crowded about Whitehall, and threw out insolent menaces against the king himself. The rabble were now called Round-heads, from the manner of wearing their hair, and the gentlemen, Cavaliers. These names afterwards distinguished the partizans of either side, and served still more to divide the nation.

The fury of the commons, and also of the populace, did not fail to intimidate the bishops; they saw the storm that was gathering against them; and, to avert its effects, resolved to attend the house no longer; but drew up a protest, which was signed by twelve of them, in which they declared, that being hindered by the populace from attending at the house of lords, they resolved to go there no more till all commotions should be appeased; protesting, in the mean time, against all such laws as should be enacted in their absence.

This secession of the bishops from the house of lords was what the commons most ardently wished for; and they seized the opportunity with pleasure. An impeachment of high treason was immediately sent up against them. In consequence of this, they were by the commons excluded from parliament, and committed to custody, no man in either house daring to speak a word in their vindication.

This was a fatal blow to the royal interest; but it soon felt a much greater. Charles had

long strove to satisfy the commons by the greatness of his concessions; but finding all his compliance only increased their demands, he could no longer contain. † He gave orders to Herbert, his attorney general, to enter an accusation of high treason in the house of peers against lord Kimbolton, one of the most popular men of his party, together with five commoners, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Hollis, Hambden, Pym, and Strode. The articles were, that they had traiterously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom; to deprive the king of his regal power, and to impose on his subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical authority; that they had aimed at subverting the rights and being of parliaments, and had raised and countenanced tumults against the king. Men had scarce leisure to wonder at the imprudence of this impeachment, when they were astonished by another measure, still more rash. A serjeant at arms, in the king's name, demanded of the house the five members, and was sent back without any positive answer. This was followed by a conduct still more extraordinary. The next day the king himself was seen to enter the house of commons alone, advancing through the hall, while all the members stood up to receive him. The speaker withdrew from his chair, and the king took possession of it. Having seated himself, and looked round him for some time, he told the house that he was sorry for the occasion that forced him thither, that he was come in person to seize the members, whom
he

† A. D. 1642.

he had accused of high treason, seeing they would not deliver them up to his serjeant at arms. Addressing himself to the speaker, he desired to know whether any of them were in the house; but the speaker falling on his knees, replied, that he had neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in that place, but as the house was pleased to direct him; and he asked pardon for being able to give no other answer. He then sat for some time to see if the accused were present; but they had escaped a few minutes before his entry. Thus disappointed, perplexed, and not knowing on whom to rely, he next proceeded, amidst the clamours of the populace, who continued to cry out, "Privilege! privilege!" to the common council of the city, and made his complaint to them. The common council only answered his complaints with a contemptuous silence; and on his return, one of the populace, cried out, "To your tents, O Israel!" a watch word among the Jews, when they intended to abandon their princes.

When the commons were assembled the next day, they affected the greatest terror, and passed an unanimous vote that the king had violated their privileges, and that they could not assemble again in the same place, till they should have a guard for their security. They ascribed the last measure of the king to the counsels of the papists, and the city was filled with groundless consternation.

As the commons had artfully kept up their panic, in order to inflame the populace, and as the city was now only one scene of

con-

confusion, the king, afraid of exposing himself to any fresh insult from the populace, retired to Windsor, overwhelmed with grief, shame and remorse. There he began to reflect on the rashness of his proceedings; and too late resolved to make some atonement. He therefore wrote to the parliament, informing them, that he desisted from his former proceedings against the accused members; and assured them, that upon all occasions he would be as careful of their privileges as of his life or his crown. Thus his former violence had rendered him hateful to the commons, and his present submission rendered him contemptible. And yet what better step was it possible for him to take?

The commons had already stript the king of almost all his privileges; the bishops were fled, the judges were intimidated: it now only remained that, after securing the church and the law, they should take possession of the sword also. The power of appointing governors, generals, and levying armies, was a prerogative of the crown still remaining. Having, therefore first magnified their terrors of popery, they proceeded to petition that the Tower might be put into their hands, and that Hull, Portsmouth, and the fleet, should be intrusted to persons of their chusing. These were requests, the complying with which levelled all that remained of the ancient constitution; however, such was the necessity of the times, that they were at first contested, and then granted. But every compliance only increased their demands; so
now

now the commons desired to have a militia, raised and governed by such officers and commanders as they should nominate, under pretext of securing them from the Irish papists*.

It was here that Charles first ventured to put a stop to his concessions; and that not by a refusal, but a delay. He was at that time at Dover, attending the queen, and the princess of Orange, who had thought prudent to leave the kingdom. He replied to the petition of the commons, that he had not now leisure to consider a matter of so great importance; and therefore would defer an answer till his return. But the commons were well aware, that though this was depriving him even of the shadow of power; yet they had now gone too far to recede, and therefore resolved to leave him no authority whatsoever. They alledged, that the dangers of the nation were such as could endure no delay; and unless the king speedily complied with their demands, they should be obliged, both for his safety and that of the kingdom, to dispose of the militia by the authority of both houses. In their remonstrances to the king, they desired to be permitted to command the army for an appointed time; which so exasperated him, that he exclaimed, "No, not for an hour." This peremptory refusal

* Nothing can be clearer, than that the House of Commons began the civil war, from the very beginning of their second session. And they continued it from that very time, till they made themselves masters of the kingdom. Long before king Charles was repelled from Hull, he was only a royal shadow.

refusal broke off all further treaty ; and both sides now resolved to have recourse to arms.

Charles, taking the prince of Wales with him retired to York, where he found the people less infected with religious frenzy. He found his cause there backed by a more numerous party than he expected. The queen, who was in Holland, was making successful levies of men and ammunition, by selling the crown-jewels. But before war was openly declared, the shadow of a negotiation was carried on. The king offered proposals to the commons ; and they, in return, submitted nineteen propositions to his consideration, which, if complied with, would have rendered him entirely subservient to their commands. Their import was, that the privy-council, the principal officers of state, the governors of the king's children, the commanders of the forts, his fleet, and army, should be all appointed by, and under the controul of parliament ; that papists should be punished by their authority ; that the church and liturgy should be reformed at their discretion ; and that such members as had been displaced, should be restored. These proposals, which, would have moulded the government into an aristocracy, were, happily for posterity, rejected by the king. " Should I grant these
 " demands, said he, in his reply, I might
 " be waited on bare-headed ; I might have
 " my hand kissed, the title of majesty con-
 " tinued to me, and the king's authority fig-
 " nified by both houses of parliament, might
 " be still the style of your commands ; I
 " might

“ might have swords and maces carried be-
 “ fore me, and please myself with the sight
 “ of a crown and sceptre (tho’ even these
 “ twigs would not long flourish, when the
 “ stock upon which they grew was dead) :
 “ but as to true and real power, I should
 “ remain but the outside, but the picture,
 “ but the sign of a king.” War on any
 terms was, therefore esteemed preferable to
 such an ignominious peace,

C H A P. IV.

NO period since England began could shew
 so many instances of courage, abilities,
 and virtue, as the present fatal opposition cal-
 led forth into exertion. Now was the time
 when talents of all kinds, were called from
 the lower ranks of life to dispute for power
 and pre-eminence. Both sides, equally con-
 fident of the justice of their cause, appealed to
 God to judge of the rectitude of their inten-
 tions. The parliament was persuaded that it
 fought for heaven, by asserting its regards for
 a peculiar mode of worship : and the king was
 not less persuaded that his claims were sacred,
 having ever considered them as of divine ori-
 ginal.

Never

Never was contest more unequal than this seemed at first between the contending parties; the king being entirely destitute of every advantage. His revenue had been seized by parliament; all the sea-port towns were in their hands, except Newcastle, and thus they were possessed of the customs; the fleet was at their disposal; all magazines of arms and ammunition were seized for their use; and they had the wishes of the most active members of the nation.

To oppose this, the king had that acknowledged reverence which was paid to royalty. The greater part of the nobility adhered to him, as their distinctions must rise or fall with the source of honour. Most of the men of education also, and the ancient gentry, still considered loyalty as a virtue, and armed their tenants and servants in his cause. With these followers and hopes, he resolved at length to take the field, and erected the royal standard at Nottingham^s, August 25th, having issued a proclamation, requiring all persons to repair thither on that day, who were able to bear arms. But this produced so little effect, that when the royal standard was set up, not a soul appeared, but a few train bands.

Manifestoes on the one side and the other were now dispersed throughout the whole kingdom; and the people were universally divided between the two factions, of Cavaliers and Roundheads. The king, to bind himself by the most solemn engagements to his people, made

§ Indeed he had no other choice left, but either war or slavery.

made the following protestation before his whole army.

“ I do promise, in the presence of almighty
 “ God, and as I hope for his blessing and pro-
 “ tection, that I will, to the utmost of my
 “ power, defend and maintain the true re-
 “ formed protestant religion, established in the
 “ church of England; and, by the grace of
 “ God, in the same will live and die.

“ I desire that the laws may be ever the
 “ measure of my government, and that the
 “ liberty and property of the subject may be
 “ preserved by them, with the same care as
 “ my own just rights. And if it please God
 “ by his blessing on this army, raised for my
 “ necessary defence, to preserve me from the
 “ present rebellion, I do solemnly and faith-
 “ fully promise, in the sight of God, to main-
 “ tain the just privileges and freedom of par-
 “ liament, and to govern, to the utmost of
 “ my power, by the known statutes and cus-
 “ toms of the kingdom; and particularly to
 “ observe inviolably the laws to which I have
 “ given my consent in this parliament.
 “ Mean while, if this emergence, and the
 “ great necessity to which I am driven, beget
 “ any violation of law, I hope it shall be
 “ imputed by God and man to the authors
 “ of this war, not to me, who have so ear-
 “ nestly laboured to preserve the peace of the
 “ kingdom.

“ When I willingly fail in these particu-
 “ lars, I shall expect no aid or relief from
 “ man, nor any protection from above. But
 “ in this resolution I hope for the chearful
 Vol. III. Q “ assistance

“ assistance of all good men, and for the
“ blessing of heaven.”

The sincerity with which this speech was delivered, and the justice of its contents, served to strengthen the king's cause. At first he appeared in a very low condition; besides the train-bands of the county, raised by Sir John Digby, the sheriff, he had not got together three hundred infantry. His cavalry, which composed his chief strength, exceeded not eight hundred, and were very ill provided with arms. However, he was gradually reinforced; but not being in a condition to face his enemies, he thought it prudent to retire by slow marches to Derby, and thence to Shrewsbury, in order to countenance the levies which his friends were making in those quarters.

In the mean time, the parliament were not remiss in preparations on their side. They had a magazine of arms at Hull, and had appointed Sir John Hotham governor of that place. Charles had some time before presented himself before that town, but was refused admission. The forces also, which had been every where raised on pretence of the service of Ireland were now openly used by the parliament against him; and the command given to the earl of Essex, a bold man, who rather desired to see monarchy abridged, than destroyed. In London, no less than four thousand men were enlisted in one day; and the parliament voted a declaration, which they required every member to subscribe, that they would live and die with their general.

Orders

Orders were also issued out for loans of money and plate, which were to defend the king, and both houses of parliament; for they still preserved this style. This brought immense quantities of plate to the treasury; and so great was men's ardour in the cause, that there was more than they could find room for. By these means they found themselves in a short time at the head of sixteen thousand men; and the earl of Essex led them towards Northampton against the king.

The army of the royalists was not so great as that of Essex; but it was better disciplined and conducted. The two sons of the unfortunate Elector Palatine, prince Rupert and prince Maurice, offered their services to the king, and were gladly accepted. A slight advantage gained by prince Rupert over colonel Sandys, in the beginning, gave the army resolution to hazard a battle. Yet so little were both armies skilled in the arts of war, that they were within six miles of each other before they knew it: nay, they had been ten days within twenty miles of each other, without knowing it.

Edge-Hill was the first place where the two armies met, and the country was first drenched in civil slaughter. It was a dreadful fight to see above thirty-thousand of the bravest men in the world, instead of employing their courage abroad, turning it against each other, while the dearest friends, and the nearest kinsmen embraced opposite sides, and prepared to bury their private regards in factious hatred. In the beginning of the engagement,

Q 2

Sir

Sir Faithful Fortescue, who had levied a troop for the Irish war, but had been obliged to serve in the parliamentary army, deserted to the royalists; and so intimidated the parliamentary forces, that the whole body of cavalry fled. The right wing of their army followed the example; but the victors too eagerly pursuing, Essex's body of reserve wheeled upon the rear of the pursuers, and made great havock among them. After the royalists had a little recovered from their surprize, they made a vigorous stand; and both sides, for a time stood gazing at each other, without sufficient courage to renew the attack. They lay all night under arms, and next morning found themselves in sight of each other. This had been the time for the king to have struck a decisive blow: he lost the opportunity, and both sides separated with equal loss. Five thousand men are said to have been found dead on the field of battle.

It would be tedious to enter into the marchings and countermarchings of these undisciplined and ill conducted armies: war was a new trade to the English, as they had not seen an hostile engagement in the island for near a century before. The queen came to reinforce the royal party; she had brought soldiers and ammunition from Holland, and immediately departed to furnish more. But the parliament, who knew its own strength, was no way discouraged. Their demands seemed to increase in proportion to their losses; and as they were repressed in the field, they grew more haughty in the cabinet. Such

Such governors as gave up their fortresses to the king, were attainted of high treason. It was in vain for the king to send proposals, as he constantly did after any success; this only raised their pride and their animosity. But though this desire in the king to make peace with his subjects was the highest encomium on his humanity, yet his long negotiations, one of which he carried on at Oxford, were faulty as a warrior. He wasted that time in altercation and treaty, which he should have employed in vigorous exertions in the field.

However, his first campaign upon the whole, wore a favourable aspect. One victory followed after another; Cornwall was reduced to peace and obedience under the king: a victory was gained over the parliamentarians at Stratton Hill, in Devonshire, another at Roundaway Down, about two miles from the Devizes. Bristol was besieged and taken; and Gloucester was besieged: the battle of Newbury was favourable to the royal cause, and great hopes of success were formed from an army in the North, raised by the marquis of Newcastle.

* The next year, the two bravest and greatest men of their respective parties were killed; as if it was intended, by the kindness of Providence, that they should be exempted from seeing the miseries which ensued. These were John Hampden, and Lucius Cary, lord Falkland.

In an incursion made by prince Rupert to within about two miles of the enemies quarters, a great booty was obtained. This the parliamentarians attempted to rescue; and

Q 3

Hampden

* A. D. 1643.

Hampden at their head, overtook the royalists on Chalgrave Field†. As he was the first to enter into the thickest of the battle, he was shot in the shoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broke. Some days after, he died in great pain; nor could his whole party, had their army met a total overthrow, have been cast into greater consternation. Even Charles felt for his disaster, and offered his own surgeon to assist him, Hampden, had gained by his inflexible integrity, the esteem even of his enemies. To these he added affability in conversation, temper, art, eloquence in debate, and penetration in counsel. But the candour and moderation for which he was at first distinguished, had given way to a violent animosity, against the antient constitution, and the person of his sovereign. He was become passionate and even ferocious, and discouraged all overtures of accommodation.

Yet Falkland was still a greater loss, and a greater character. He added to Hampden's severe principles, a politeness and elegance, but then beginning to be known in England. He had boldly withstood the king's pretensions, while he saw him making a bad use of his power; but when he perceived the design of the parliament, to overturn the religion and the constitution of his country, he changed his side, and stedfastly attached himself to the crown. From the beginning of the civil war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity forsook him;

† The very place where he first raised the militia against the king, in the beginning of the rebellion! — Was this by chance?

him; he became melancholy, sad, pale, and negligent of his person. When the two armies were in fight of each other, and preparing for the battle of Newbury, he appeared desirous of terminating his life, since he could not compose the miseries of his country. Still anxious for his country alone, he dreaded the too prosperous success of his own party, as much as that of the enemy; and he professed that its miseries had broken his heart. His usual cry among his friends, after a deep silence, and frequent sighs, was, Peace! Peace! He now said, upon the morning of the engagement, that he was weary of the times, and should leave them before night. He was shot by a musquet-ball in the belly; and his body was next morning found among an heap of slain. His writings, his elegance, his uprightness and his courage, deserved such a death of glory.

The king, that he might make preparations during the winter for the ensuing campaign, and oppose the designs of the Westminster parliament, called one at Oxford; and this was the first time that England saw two parliaments sitting at the same time. His house of peers was pretty full; his house of commons consisted of about an hundred and forty, which amounted to not above half of the other house of commons. From this shadow of a parliament he received some supplies, after which it was prorogued, and never after assembled.

In the mean time the parliament was equally active. They passed an ordinance, commanding

manding all the inhabitants of London and its neighbourhood, to retrench a meal a week, and to pay the value of it for the support of the public cause. But what was much more effectual, the Scotch led a strong army to their assistance. They levied an army of fourteen thousand men in the east, under the earl of Manchester; they had an army of ten thousand men under Essex; another of nearly the same force, under Sir William Waller. These were superior to any force the king could bring into the field; and were well appointed with ammunition, provision, and pay.

Hostilities, which even during the winter had not been discontinued, were renewed in spring with their usual fury, and served to desolate the kingdom without any decisive victory. But several counties petitioned for peace; and all the wise and good were earnest in the cry. What particularly deserves remark, was an attempt of the women of London; who, to the number of two or three thousand, went in a body to the house of commons, earnestly demanding a peace. "Give us those traitors, said they, that are against a peace; give them, that we may tear them in pieces." The guards found some difficulty in quelling this insurrection, and one or two women lost their lives in the fray.

‡ The first decisive battle, was that of Marston-Moor. The Scotch and Parliamentary army had joined and were besieging York; when prince Rupert, joined by the
marquis

marquis of Newcastle, determined to raise the siege. Both sides drew up on Marston-Moor. to the number of fifty thousand, and the victory seemed long undecided between them. Rupert, who commanded the left wing of the royalists, was opposed by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and charged their right wing with such impetuosity, that they were totally routed. But mean time Cromwell, at the head of their left wing, entirely defeated the right of the royalists: and then attacked prince Rupert's wing, carelessly returning from the pursuit, with such fury, that they were quite broken and dispersed. So that the parliament gained a compleat victory, with all the artillery, baggage and ammunition.

In the latter end of the year, a treaty was begun at Uxbridge, which, like all others, came to nothing. The puritans demanded a total abolition of the episcopacy, and all church ceremonies; and this Charles could not in conscience agree to. He esteemed bishops as essential to the christian church; and thought himself bound, by sacred ties, to defend them. The parliament was as obstinately bent upon removing them; and began with the foremost of the number.

William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, as we have already seen, had been imprisoned in the tower at the same with Strafford; and he had patiently endured so long a confinement, without being brought to any trial. He was now accused of high treason, in endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and of other high crimes and misdemeanors.

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The charge of popery likewise, which his life, and afterwards his death belied, was urged against him. In his defence, he spoke several hours, with that courage which is the result of innocence and integrity. The lords, who were his judges, appeared willing to acquit him; but the commons, his accusers, finding how the trial was likely to go, passed an ordinance for his execution, and terrified the lords into consent. Seven peers alone voted in this important question; all the rest, either from shame or fear, did not appear. When brought to the scaffold, this venerable prelate, without any terror, but in the usual tone of his exhortations from the pulpit, made the people a long speech. He told them, that he had examined his heart; and thanked God that he found no sins there, which deserved the death he was going to suffer. The king, he said, had been traduced by some, as labouring to introduce popery; but he believed him as sound a protestant as any man in the kingdom; and as for parliaments, though he disliked the conduct of one or two, yet he never designed to change the laws of his country, or the protestant religion. After he had prayed for a few minutes, the executioner severed his head at a blow. It is a melancholy consideration, that in these times, the best men were those on either side who chiefly suffered.

The death of Laud was followed by a total alteration of the church-discipline. The Liturgy was, by a public act abolished the day he died, as if he had been the only ob-

obstacle to its removal. The church of England was in all respects brought to a conformity to the presbyterian establishment; while the citizens of London, and the Scotch army, gave public thanks for so happy an alteration.

About this time, Sir John Hotham and his son, captain Hotham, were tried, condemned, and executed, for an attempt to deliver up Hull to the king. What a surprizing instance of divine justice! So was he well requited by his merciful masters, for kindling the war, by shutting him out before!

The total abolition of the reformed religion, as established by queen Elizabeth, seemed at first to promise vigour and consistence to the counsels of the parliamentarians. But such is the nature of man, that if he does not find, he makes opposition. From the time the republicans were apparently united, and ranked under one denomination of presbyterians, they began again to divide into fresh parties, each professing different views and interests. One part of the house was composed of Presbyterians, strictly so called; the other, though a minority, of Independents: a new sect that had lately been introduced.

The difference between these two sects would be hardly worth mentioning, did not their religious opinions influence their political conduct. The church of England, as we have seen, had appointed bishops of clerical ordination, and a book of common prayer. The presbyterians exclaimed against both;

both; they were for having the church governed by clergymen elected by the people, and prayers made without premeditation. The independents went still farther; they excluded all the clergy; they maintained that all congregations were independent on each other, and that every man might pray in public, exhort his audience, and explain the scriptures. Their political system kept pace with their religious. Not contented with reducing the king to a first magistrate, which was the aim of the presbyterians, this sect aspired at the abolition not only of all monarchy, but of all subordination. Possessed with an high idea of their own judgment, both in religion and politics, they gave way to a surly pride, which is ever the result of narrow manners and solitary thinking.

These were a body of men that were now growing into consideration; their apparent sanctity, their natural courage excited by enthusiasm, and their unceasing perseverance, began to work considerable effects; and tho' they were out-numbered in the house of commons, they formed a majority in the army.

The royalists laughed at this fanaticism, without being sensible how much reason they had to apprehend its consequences. The forces of the king were united by much feebler ties; and the licence among them, which had been introduced by the want of pay, had risen to a dangerous height, rendering them as formidable to their friends as their enemies. To increase this unpopularity, the king finding the parliament of Scotland, as well as that of England

England declaring against him thought proper to make a truce with the papists of Ireland, in order to bring over the English forces who served in that kingdom. With these troops he also received some of the native Irish into his service, who still retained their fierceness and barbarity. This gave the parliament a plausible opportunity of upbraiding him with taking papists into his service, and gave a colour to the ancient calumny of his having excited them to rebel. Indeed they rather increased the hatred of his subjects, than added to the strength of his army. They were routed by Fairfax, one of the generals of the parliament army; and though they threw down their arms, were slaughtered without mercy.

These misfortunes were soon succeeded by another. Charles, who had now retired to Oxford, found himself at the head of a turbulent, seditious army, who, wanting pay, were scarcely subject to controul; while, on the other hand, the parliamentarians were well supplied and paid, and held together from principle. † The parliament, to give them an example of disinterestedness, passed an act, called the *Self-denying ordinance*. They resolved, lest it should be suggested that their intent was to make themselves masters, that no member of their house should have a command in the army. The former generals were therefore changed; the earls of Essex, Denbigh, and Manchester, gave up their commissions; and Fairfax, now appointed general with Cromwell, (who found means to keep

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† A. D. 1645.

at once his feat and his commission,) new modelled the army. This, which might at first have seemed to weaken their forces, gave them new spirit; and the soldiers, become more confident in their new commanders, were irresistible.

Never was a more singular army assembled. The officers exercised the office of chaplains; and, during the intervals of action, instructed their troops by sermons, prayers, and exhortations. The private soldiers, employed their vacant hours in prayer, in perusing the holy scriptures, and in religious conferences. When marching to the field of battle, the hymn and the ejaculation, mixed their notes with those of the trumpet. An army thus actuated became invincible.

The well-disputed battle which decided the fate of Charles, was * fought at Naseby, a village in Northamptonshire. The main body of the royal army was commanded by lord Aftley, prince Rupert led the right wing, Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left, and the king himself headed the body of reserve. On the opposite side, Fairfax and Skippon commanded the main body; Cromwell led on the right wing, and Ireton, his son-in-law, the left. Prince Rupert attacked the left wing with his usual impetuosity: they were broke and pursued as far as the village; but he lost time in attempting to make himself master of their artillery. Cromwell, in the mean time, was equally successful on his side, and broke thro' the enemies' horse after a very obstinate resistance. While these were thus engaged, the infantry

* June 14.

infantry on both sides maintained the conflict with equal ardour; but in spite of the efforts of Fairfax and Skippon, their battalions began to give way. But it was now that Cromwell returned with his victorious forces, and charged the king's infantry in flank with such vigour, that a total rout began to ensue. By this time prince Rupert had rejoined the king, and the small body of reserve; but his troops, though victorious, could not be brought to a second charge. They were at all times ungovernable; but they were now intimidated; for the parliamentarians having recovered from the first shock, stood ready in order of battle to receive them. The king would have charged them at the head of his reserve; but the earl of Carnwarth, who rode by his majesty's side, seizing the bridle of his horse, turned him round, saying with a loud oath, "Will you go upon your death in an * instant?" The troops seeing this motion, wheeled to the right, and rode off in such confusion, that they could not be rallied during the rest of the day. The king perceiving the battle wholly lost, was obliged to abandon the field to his enemies, who took all his cannon, baggage, and above five thousand prisoners.

This fatal blow the king never recovered; his army was dispersed, and the conquerors made as many captives as they thought proper. Among the other spoils taken, the king's cabinet of letters was seized, in which was

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* Who can account for this? It does not appear to have been treachery. Was he not seized with a sudden, perhaps preternatural, panic?

contained all his private correspondence with the queen. These were shortly after published by the command of the parliament, who took a brutal pleasure in ridiculing all those tender effusions, which were never drawn up for the public eye.

The battle of Naseby put the parliamentarians in possession of almost all the strong cities of the kingdom: Bristol, Bridgewater, Chester, Sherborn and Bath. Exeter was besieged; and all the king's troops in the western counties being entirely dispersed, Fairfax pressed the place, and it surrendered at discretion. The king's interests seemed going to ruin on every quarter. The Scotch army, which, as has been said, took part with the parliament, having made themselves masters of Carlisle, after an obstinate siege, marched south and laid siege to Hereford. Another engagement followed between the king and the parliamentarians, in which his forces were put to the rout by colonel Jones, a thousand of his men made prisoners, and five hundred slain. Thus surrounded, harrassed on every side, he retreated to Oxford, which in all conditions of his fortune had held steady; and there he resolved to offer new terms to his victorious pursuers.

‡ Nothing could be more affecting than the king's situation at Oxford. Saddened by his late melancholy disasters, impressed with the apprehensions of such as hung over him, harrassed by the murmurs of those who followed his cause, and stung with sorrow for his incapacity to relieve them. He now

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‡ A. D. 1646.

was willing to grant the parliament any terms. He sent them repeated messages to this purpose; but they never deigned to make him the least reply. At last, after reproaching him with the blood spilt during the war, they told him that they were preparing some bills, to which if he would consent, they would then be able to judge of his pacific inclinations.

In the mean time, Fairfax was approaching with a powerful army, and taking the proper measures of laying siege to Oxford, which promised an easy surrender. To be led in triumph by his insolent subjects, was what Charles justly abhorred; and every insult was to be dreaded from the soldiery. In this extremity he embraced a measure, which, in any other situation, might lie under the imputation of imprudence. He resolved to give himself up to the Scotch army, who had never testified such implacable animosity against him.

That he might the better conceal his design from the people of Oxford, orders were given at every gate of the city, for allowing three persons to pass. || In the night, the king, accompanied by one doctor Hudson, and Mr. Ashburnham, took the road towards London, travelling as Ashburnham's servant. At last, after passing through many bye-ways, he arrived at the Scotch camp before Newark, * and discovered himself to lord Leven, the Scotch general.

The Scotch who had given him general assurances of protection, now seemed greatly surprised,

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‡ April 27. * May 5.

surprised. Instead of bestowing a thought on his interests, they instantly entered into a consultation upon their own. The commissioners of their army sent up an account of the king's arrival to the parliament, and declared, that his coming was altogether uninvited and unexpected. In the mean time they prevailed upon the king to give directions for surrendering all his garrisons to the parliament. In return for this condescension, they treated him with very long sermons among the ecclesiastics, and with the most cautious reserve, but very different from respect, among the officers. The preachers indeed insulted him from the pulpit; and one of them, after reproaching him to his face with his misconduct, ordered that psalm to be sung, which begins,

“ Why dost thou, Tyrant, boast thyself,
Thy wicked deeds to praise ?”

The king stood up, and called for that Psalm which begins with these words :

“ Have mercy, Lord, on me I pray,
For men would me devour.”

The audience accordingly sung this Psalm in compassion to majesty in distress.

The parliament being informed of the king's captivity, immediately entered into a treaty with the Scotch about delivering him up. The Scotch had, from their first entrance into England, been allowed pay by the parliament; much of this, however, remained unpaid, and much more was claimed by the Scotch than
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was really due. Nevertheless they now saw this a convenient time for insisting on their arrears; and they resolved to make the king the instrument by which this money was to be obtained. After various debates upon this head between them and the parliament, in which they pretended to great honour, and insisted upon many punctilios, they agreed, that upon payment of four hundred thousand pounds they would deliver up the king; and this was cheerfully complied with. † An action so atrocious may be palliated, but can never be defended; they returned home laden with plunder, and the reproaches of all good men.

From this period, to the despotic government of Cromwell, the constitution was convulsed with all the agitations of faction, guilt, ignorance, and enthusiasm. The kingly power being laid low, the parliament assumed the rein; but they were soon to submit to the military power, which, like all democracies, was turbulent, transient, feeble, and bloody.

The king being delivered by the Scotch to the parliamentary commissioners, was conducted under a guard to Holmby Castle, in Northamptonshire. They treated him with the most rigorous severity; dismissing all his ancient servants, debarring him from all visits, and cutting off all communication with his friends and family.

‡ The civil war was now over; and the parliament had no enemy to fear, except those very troops by which they had extended their
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† Jan. 30. A. D. 1647.

overgrown authority. But in proportion as the terror of the king's power diminished, the divisions between the independents and the presbyterians increased. The majority in the house were presbyterians; but the majority of the army were staunch independents. At the head of this sect was Cromwell, who secretly directed its operations.

Oliver Cromwell was the son of a private gentleman of Huntingdonshire; but being the son of a second brother, he inherited a very small paternal fortune. He had been sent to Cambridge; but his inclinations not turning to literature, he was remarkable only for the profligacy of his conduct, and the wasting his paternal fortune. But by hearing the puritan ministers, from being one of the most debauched men in the kingdom, he became the most rigid and abstemious. The same vehemence of temper, which had transported him into the extremes of pleasure, now distinguished his religious habits. Not long after he determined to go over and settle in New England; but was hindered by the king's ordinance to the contrary. Being chosen member for the town of Cambridge, in the long parliament; he seemed at first to possess no talents for oratory, his person being ungraceful, his dress slovenly, his elocation homely, tedious, obscure, and embarrassed. He made up, however, by zeal and perseverance, what he wanted in natural powers; and being endowed with unshaken intrepidity, much dissimulation, and a thorough persuasion of the rectitude of his cause, he rose, through the gradations

dations of preferment, to the post of lieutenant-general under Fairfax. And in reality, he possessed the supreme command over the whole army.

Soon after the retreat of the Scotch, the presbyterian party, seeing every thing reduced to obedience, began to talk of dismissing a considerable part of the army, and sending the rest to Ireland. It may easily be supposed the army were as unwilling to disband, as to be led over into another country. Cromwell took care to inspire them with an horror of either. Instead, therefore, of preparing to disband, they resolved to petition; and they began by desiring an indemnity, for any illegal actions, which they might have committed during the war. This the commons treated with great severity; they voted, that this petition tended to introduce mutiny, to put conditions upon the parliament, to obstruct the relief of the kingdom of Ireland; and they threatened to proceed against the promoters of it, as enemies to the state and disturbers of the public peace.

The army now began to consider themselves as a body distinct from the commonwealth; and complained, that they had secured the general tranquility, while they were at the same time, deprived of the privileges of Englishmen. † In opposition, therefore, to the parliament at Westminster, a military parliament was formed, composed of the officers and common soldiers of each regiment. The principal officers formed a council to represent the body of peers; the soldiers elected two men

† May 16.

men out of each company to represent the house of commons, and these were called the Agitators of the army. Cromwell took care to be one of the number, and thus contrived an easy method of conducting and promoting the sedition of the army.

This fierce assembly having debated for a very short time, declared, that they found many grievances to be redressed; and began by specifying such as they desired to be speedily removed. The very same conduct which had formerly been used by the parliament against their sovereign, was now put in practice by the army against the parliament. As the commons granted every request, the agitators rose in their demands; these accused the army of mutiny and sedition; the army retorted the charge, and alledged, that the king had been deposed, only to make way for their usurpations.

The unhappy king, in the mean time, continued a prisoner at Holmby castle; and as his countenance might add some authority, Cromwell, who conducted all the measures of the army, resolved to seize his person. Accordingly a party of fifty horse appeared at Holmby castle, June 3. at break of day, under the command of one Joyce, who had been originally a taylor; but was now a cornet. Without any opposition, he and three troopers entered the king's apartment, armed with pistols, and told him that he must go with him. Whither? said the king. To the army, replied Joyce. By what warrant? asked the king. Joyce pointed to his pistol. Without much delay

delay he went into his coach, and was conducted to the army, who were hastening to their rendezvous at Triplo-heath, near Cambridge. The next day Cromwell arrived among them, where he was received with acclamations of joy, and instantly invested with the supreme command.

It was now that the commons perceived a settled design in the army to prescribe laws to their employers. But it was too late to resist; the army, with Cromwell at their head, advanced with precipitation, and arrived in a few days at St Alban's; so that the commons now began to think of temporizing. The declaration, by which they had voted the military petitioners enemies to the state, was recalled, and erased from their journal book. But submission too was vain; the army rose in their demands, in proportion as those demands were gratified, until at last they entirely threw off the mask, and claimed a right of modelling the whole government.

But as too precipitate an assumption of authority might appear invidious, Cromwell began by accusing eleven members of the house as guilty of high treason. The members accused were the leaders of the presbyterian party, the very men who had prescribed such rigorous measures to the king. As they were the leading men in the house, the commons were willing to protect them; but the army insisting on their dismissal, || they voluntarily left the house, rather than be compelled to withdraw.

At

|| June 25.



At last, the citizens of London, who had been ever foremost in sedition, began to open their eyes, and to perceive that the constitution was totally overturned. They saw an oppressive parliament now subjected to a more oppressive army; they found their religion abolished, their king a captive, and no hopes of redress but from another scene of slaughter. In this exigence, therefore, the common-council assembled the militia of the city; the works were manned, and a manifesto published, aggravating the hostile intentions of the army. Finding that the house of commons, in compliance with the request of the army, had voted that the city militia should be disbanded, the multitude rose, besieged the door of the house, and obliged them to reverse that vote.

In this manner was this wretched house intimidated, obliged at one time to obey the army, at another, to comply with the clamours of the rabble. This assembly was, in consequence, divided into parties, one part siding with the citizens; while the minority, with the two speakers at their head, were for encouraging the army. In such an universal confusion, it is not to be expected that any thing less than a separation of the parties could take place; and accordingly the two speakers, with sixty-two members, retired from the house, and threw themselves under the protection of the army, then at Hounslow-heath. They were received with shouts and acclamations, their integrity was extolled, and the whole body of the soldiery, a formidable force
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of twenty-thousand men, now moved forward to reinstate them in their former seats.

In the mean time, that part of the house that was left behind, resolved to act with vigour. § They chose new speakers, they gave orders for inlisting troops, they ordered the trainbands to man the lines; and the whole city boldly resolved to resist the invasion. But this resolution only held while the enemy was thought at a distance; for when Fairfax with the army appeared, all was obedience and submission; * the gates were opened to the general, who attended the two speakers, and the rest of the members, to their habitations. The eleven impeached members were expelled, and most of them retired to the continent. The mayor, sheriff, and three aldermen, were sent to the Tower; several citizens, and officers of militia, were committed to prison, and the lines about the city were levelled to the ground. The command of the Tower was given to Fairfax, the general; and the parliament ordered him their hearty thanks for having disobeyed their commands.

It now only remained to dispose of the king, who had been sent by the army a prisoner to Hampton-Court. † The independent army, at the head of whom was Cromwell, on one hand; and the presbyterians in the name of either house, on the other hand, treated separately with him in private. He had at one time even hopes, that in these struggles for power, he might have been chosen mediator in the dispute; and he expected

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§ July 7. * Aug. 6. † Aug. 26.

that the kingdom, at last sensible of the miseries of anarchy, would settle into its former tranquil constitution. However, in all his miseries and doubts, though at first led about with the army, and afterwards kept a prisoner by them at Hampton, such was his admirable equality of temper, that no difference was perceived in his countenance and behaviour. Though a captive in the hands of his most inveterate enemies, he still supported the dignity of a monarch; and he never one moment sunk from the consciousness of his own superiority.

At first he was treated with some marks of distinction; he was permitted to converse with his old servants, his chaplains were allowed to attend him, and celebrate divine service their own way. But the most exquisite pleasure he enjoyed was in the company of his children, with whom he had several interviews. The meeting on these occasions was so pathetic, that Cromwell himself, who was once present, could not help being moved; he was heard to declare, that he had never beheld such an affecting scene before; and we must do justice to this man's feelings, as he was himself a tender father.

But those flattering instances of respect and submission were of no long continuance. As soon as the army had gained a complete victory over the house of commons, the independents began to abate in their expressions of duty and respect. The king was now more strictly guarded: they would hardly allow his domestics to converse with him in private, and spies were employed to mark all
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his words and actions. He was every hour threatened with false dangers of Cromwell's contrivance; by which he was taught to fear for his personal safety. The creatures of that cunning man were sedulously employed in representing to him the danger of his situation. These at length prevailed, and Charles resolved to withdraw himself from the army. Cromwell considered, that if he should escape the kingdom, there would be then a theatre open to his ambition; if he should be apprehended, the late attempt would apologize for any succeeding severity.

Early in the evening the king retired to his chamber, on pretence of being indisposed; and about an hour after midnight, he went down the back-stairs, attended by Ashburnham and Legg, both gentlemen of his bed-chamber. Sir John Berkeley waited for him at the garden-gate with horses, which they instantly mounted, and travelling through the forest all night, arrived at Tichfield, the seat of the earl of Southampton. Before he arrived at this place, he had gone towards the shore; but a ship, which Ashburnham had promised to be in readiness, was not to be seen. At Tichfield he deliberated with his friends upon his next excursion, and they advised him to cross over to the isle of Wight, where Hammond was governor; who, though a creature of Cromwell's, was yet a nephew of doctor Hammond, the king's chaplain. To this inauspicious protector it was resolved to have recourse; Ashburnham and Berkeley were sent before to exact a promise from this officer, that if he would not

protect the king, he would not detain him. Hammond seemed surprized at their demand; expressed his inclination to serve his majesty, but at the same time alledged his duty to his employers. He therefore attended the king's gentlemen to Tichfield, with a guard of soldiers, and staid in a lower apartment while Ashburnham went up to the king's chamber. Charles no sooner understood that Hammond was in the house with a body of troops, than he exclaimed, "O Jack! thou hast undone me!" Ashburnham shed a flood of tears, and offered to go down and dispatch the governor; but the king repressed his ardour. When Hammond came into his presence, he repeated his professions of regard; Charles submitted to his fate; and, without further delay, § attended him to Carisbrook castle, in the isle of Wight.

While the king continued in this forlorn situation, the parliament, new modelled by the army, was every day growing more feeble and factious. Cromwell, on the other hand, was strengthening the army, and taking every precaution to repress any tendency to factious division among them. Nor were his fears without cause; for had it not been for the quickness of his penetration, boldness and activity, the whole army would have been thrown into a state of ungovernable frenzy.

‡ Among the independents, who, in general, were for having no ecclesiastical subordination, a set of men grew up called *Levellers*, who disallowed all subordination whatsoever, and

and declared that they would have no other chaplain, king, or general, but Christ. They declared that all degrees and ranks should be levelled, and an exact partition of property established in the nation. This ferment spread through the army; and as it was a doctrine well suited to the poverty of the daring soldiery, it promised every day to become more fatal. Several petitions were presented, urging the justice of a partition, and threatening vengeance in case of refusal.

Cromwell saw that he was upon the point of losing all the fruits of his schemes and dangers, and dreaded this new faction still more, as they turned his own principles against himself. Finding all at stake, he resolved, by one resolute blow, to disperse the faction, or perish in the attempt. Having intimation that the levellers were to meet at a certain place, he unexpectedly appeared, at the head of his red regiment, which had been hitherto invincible. He demanded, in the name of God, what these meetings and murmurings meant; he expostulated with them upon the consequence of their precipitate schemes, and desired them immediately to depart. But instead of obeying, they returned an insolent answer; wherefore, rushing on them in a fury, he laid, with his own hands, two of them dead at his feet. His guards dispersing the rest, he caused several of them to be hanged upon the spot; and sent others prisoners to London; and so quelled the faction at a stroke.

This action served still more to increase the power of Cromwell in the camp, and in the

parliament; and while Fairfax was nominally general of the troops, he was invested with all the power. His authority soon became irresistible, in consequence of a new addition to his successes. The Scotch, perhaps ashamed of the reproach of having sold their king, and stimulated farther by the independents, who took all occasions to mortify them, raised an army in his favour, and the chief command was given to the earl of Hamilton; while Langdale, marched at the head of his separate body, and both invaded the North of England. Their two armies amounted to above twenty thousand men. But Cromwell, at the head of eight thousand of his hardy veterans, feared not to give them battle, * he attacked them one after the other, routed and dispersed them, took Hamilton prisoner; and, following his blow, entered Scotland, where he settled the government entirely to his satisfaction. An insurrection in Kent, was quelled by Fairfax, at the same time with the same ease.

During these contentions, the king, who was kept a prisoner at Carisbrook, continued to negotiate with the parliament. The parliament saw no other method of destroying the military power, but to depress it by the kingly. Frequent proposals for an accommodation passed between the captive king and the commons; but the great obstacle which had all along stood in the way, still kept them from agreeing. This was the king's refusing to abolish episcopacy, though he consented to destroy the liturgy of the church. However,
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* Aug. 17.

the treaty was still carried on with vigour, as the parliament had more to apprehend from the designs of their generals, than from the attempts of the king; and, for the first time, they seemed in earnest to conclude their negotiations.

But it was now too late; for the army, crowned with success, was returned from the destruction of their enemies; and, sensible of their own power, with furious remonstrances began to demand vengeance on the king. At the same time they advanced to Windsor; † and sending an officer to seize the king, conveyed him to Hurst-castle, in Hampshire, opposite the Isle of Wight. It was in vain that the parliament complained of this, as being contrary to their approbation; it was in vain that they began to issue ordinances for a more effectual opposition; they received a message from Cromwell, that he intended paying them a visit the next day with his army; and in the mean time, ordered them to raise him forty thousand pounds upon the city of London.

The commons, however, though destitute of all hopes of prevailing, had still courage to resist, and attempted, in the face of the whole army, to close their treaty with the king. They had taken into consideration the whole of his concessions; and though they had formerly voted them unsatisfactory, they now renewed the consultation with fresh vigour. After a violent debate, which had lasted three days, it was carried in the king's favour by an hundred and twenty-nine against eighty-

† Nov. 30.

eighty-three, that his concessions were a foundation for the houses to proceed upon in the settlement of the kingdom. || This was the last attempt in his favour; for the next day colonel Pride, at the head of two regiments, blockaded the house, and seized in the passage forty-one members of the presbyterian party, and sent them to a low room belonging to the house, that passed by the denomination of Hell. Above an hundred and sixty members more were excluded: and none were allowed to enter but the most furious and determined of the independents, in all not exceeding sixty. This atrocious invasion of the parliamentary rights, commonly passed by the name of Pride's purge, and the remaining members were called the Rump. These soon voted, that the transactions of the house a few days before were illegal, and that their general's conduct was just and necessary.

Nothing now remained, after the constitution had been quite destroyed, after the parliament had been ejected, after the religion of the country had been abolished, after the bravest and the best of his subjects had been slain, but to murder the king! This vile parliament, if it now deserves the name, was composed of a medley of the most obscure citizens, and the officers of the army. In this assembly, therefore, a committee was appointed to bring in a charge against the king; and, on their report, a vote passed, declaring it treason in a king to levy war against his parliament. It was therefore resolved that an High Court of Justice should
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be appointed to try his majesty for this new-invented treason. For form sake they desired the concurrence of the few remaining lords in the other house; but here there was virtue enough still left, unanimously to reject the horrid proposal.

But the commons were not to be stopped by so small an obstacle. They voted, that the concurrence of the house of lords was unnecessary; and colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, was commanded to conduct the king from Hurst-castle to Windsor, and from thence to London. His afflicted subjects, who ran to have a sight of their sovereign, were greatly affected at the change that appeared in his face and person. He had allowed his beard to grow; his hair was become venerably grey, rather by the pressure of anxiety than the hand of time; while the rest of his apparel bore the marks of misfortune and decay. Thus he stood a solitary figure of majesty in distress, which even his adversaries could not behold without reverence and compassion. He had been long attended only by an old decrepid servant, whose name was Sir Philip Warwick, who could only deplore his master's fate, without being able to revenge it. † All the exterior symbols of sovereignty were now withdrawn; and his new attendants had orders to serve him without ceremony. The duke of Hamilton, who was reserved for the same punishment with his master, having leave to take a last farewell as he departed from Windsor, threw himself at the king's feet, crying out, "My dear master!" The
unhappy

† Dec. 27.

unhappy monarch raised him up, and embracing him tenderly, replied, while the tears ran down his cheeks, "I have indeed been a dear master to you." These were severe distresses; however, he could not be persuaded that his adversaries would bring him to a formal trial; but he expected to be dispatched by private assassination.

|| From the sixth, to the twentieth of January, was spent in making preparations for this extraordinary trial. The court of justice consisted of an hundred and thirty-three persons named by the commons; but of these never above seventy met upon the trial. The members were chiefly officers of the army, most of them of very mean birth, together with some of the lower house, and a few citizens of London. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president, Coke was appointed solicitor for the people of England, Dorislaus, Steele and Aike, were named assistants. The court sat in Westminster-Hall.

The king was now conducted from Windsor to St. James's, and the next day was brought before the high court to take his trial. *While the crier was calling over the names of the commissioners for trying him, no body answering for lord Fairfax, a female voice from the gallery was heard to cry out, "He has more wit than to be here." When the impeachment was read in the name of all the people of England, the same voice exclaimed, "No nor a twentieth part of them." Axtel, the officer who guarded the court, giving orders to fire into the box from whence the voice proceeded

proceeded, it was discovered that these bold answers came from the lady Fairfax, who alone had courage to condemn their proceedings.

When the king was brought forward before the court, he was conducted by the mace-bearer to a chair placed within the bar. Tho' long detained a prisoner, and now produced as a criminal, he still sustained the dignity of a king; he surveyed the members of the court with a stern air, and, without moving his hat, sat down, while the members also were covered. His charge was then read by the solicitor, accusing him of having been the cause of all the bloodshed which followed since the commencement of the war; at that part of the charge he could not suppress a smile of contempt and indignation. After the charge was finished, Bradshaw directed his discourse to the king, and told him, that the court expected his answer.

The king with great temper entered upon his defence, by declining the authority of the court. He represented, that having been engaged in treaty with his two houses of parliament, and having finished almost every article, he expected a different treatment from that he now received. He perceived, he said, no appearance of an upper house, which was necessary to constitute a just tribunal. That he was himself the king and fountain of law, and consequently could not be tried by laws to which he had never given his assent; that having been intrusted with the liberties of the people, he would not now betray them, by recognizing

a power founded in usurpation; that he was willing before a proper tribunal to enter into the particulars of his defence; but that before them he must decline any apology for his innocence, lest he should be considered as the betrayer of, and not a martyr for the constitution.

Bradshaw, in order to support the authority of the court, insisted, that they had received their power from the people, the source of all right. He pressed the prisoner not to decline the authority of the court, that was delegated by the commons of England, and interrupted, and over-ruled the king in his attempts to reply.

In this manner the king was three times produced before the court, and as often persisted in declining its jurisdiction. The fourth and last time he was brought before this self-created court, as he was proceeding thither, he was insulted by the soldiers and the mob, who exclaimed, "Justice! justice! execution! execution!" but he continued undaunted. His judges having now examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved that the king had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by parliament, they pronounced sentence against him, He seemed very anxious at this time to be admitted to a conference with the two houses; and it was supposed that he intended to resign the crown to his son; but the court refused compliance.

The conduct of the king under all these instances of low-bred malice was great, firm, and

and equal. In going through the hall from this execrable tribunal, the soldiers and rabble were again instigated to cry out justice and execution. They reviled him with the most bitter reproaches. Among other insults, one miscreant presumed to spit in the face of his sovereign. He patiently bore their insolence. "Poor souls, cried he, they would treat their generals in the same manner for six pence." Those of the populace, who still retained the feelings of humanity, expressed their sorrow in sighs and tears. A soldier more compassionate than the rest, could not help imploring a blessing upon his royal head. An officer overhearing him, struck the honest sentinel to the ground before the king, who could not help saying, that the punishment exceeded the offence.

At his return to Whitehall, he desired the permission of the house to see his children, and to be attended in his private devotions by doctor Juxon, late bishop of London. These requests were granted, and also three days to prepare for the execution of the sentence. All that remained of his family now in England, were the princess Elizabeth, and the duke of Gloucester, a child of about three years of age. After many seasonable and sensible exhortations to his daughter, he took his little son in his arms, and embracing him, "My child, said he, they will cut of thy father's head, yes they will cut of my head, and make thee a king. But mark what I say; thou must not be a king as long as thy brothers Charles and James are alive. They
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“ will cut off their heads which they can take
 “ them, and thy head too they will cut off at
 “ last, and therefore I charge thee do not be
 “ made a king by them.” The child, burst-
 ing into tears, replied, “ I will be torn in
 “ pieces first.”

Every night during the interval between his sentence and execution, the king slept sound as usual, though the noise of the workmen, employed in framing the scaffold, continually resounded in his ears. The fatal morning being at last arrived, he rose early; and calling one of his attendants, he bade him employ more than usual care in dressing him, and preparing him for so great and joyful a solemnity. The street before Whitehall was the place destined for his execution; for it was intended that this would increase the severity of his punishment.

He was conducted on foot thro' the Park to Whitehall, he continued his devotions there till noon; then he ate a morsel of bread and drank a glass of wine, and went thro' the Banqueting-House to the scaffold adjoining to that edifice, attended by bishop Juxon, a man endowed with the same mild and steady virtues with his master. The scaffold, which was covered with black, was guarded by a regiment of soldiers under the command of colonel Tomlinson, and on it were to be seen the block, the ax, and two executioners in masques. The people in great crowds stood at a greater distance, in dreadful expectation of the event. The king surveyed all these solemn preparations with calm composure; and

and as he could not expect to be heard by the people at a distance, he addressed himself to the few persons who stood round him. He there justified his own innocence in the late fatal wars; and observed, that he had not taken arms till after the parliament had shewn him the example: that he had no other object in his warlike preparations, than to preserve that authority which had been transmitted to him by his ancestors: but, though innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker. He owned that he was justly punished for having consented to the execution of an unjust sentence upon the earl of Strafford. He forgave all his enemies, exhorted the people to return to their obedience, and acknowledge his son as his successor, and signified his attachment to the protestant religion, as professed in the church of England. So strong was the impression his dying words made upon the few who could hear him, that colonel Tomlinson himself, to whose care he had been committed, acknowledged himself a convert. Just then Fairfax came and told Cromwell, The king must not die. Cromwell said, "Let us seek the Lord concerning it:" and began a long prayer. Before this was ended, the fatal blow was struck.

While he was preparing himself for the block, bishop Juxon called out to him: "There is, Sir, but one stage more, which, though turbulent and troublesome, is yet a very short one. It will soon carry you

“ a great way. It will carry you from earth
“ to heaven, and there you shall find to your
“ great joy, the prize to which you hasten,
“ a crown of glory.” “ I go,” replied the
“ king, from a corruptible to an incorrupti-
“ ble crown, where no disturbance can have
“ place.” “ You exchange,” replied the
“ bishop, a temporal for an eternal crown,
“ a good exchange.” Charles having taken
off his cloak, delivered his George to the pre-
late, pronouncing the word “ Remember.”
Then he laid his neck on the block, and
stretching out his hands as a signal, one of
the executioners severed his head from his
body at a blow, while the other, holding it
up, exclaimed, “ This is the head of a traitor.”
The spectators testified their horror in
sighs, tears and lamentations ; the tide of their
affection began to return, and each blamed
himself either with active disloyalty to his
king, or a passive compliance with his destroy-
ers. The very pulpits, that used to resound
with insolence and sedition, were now bedew-
ed with tears of unfeigned repentance ; and
all united in their detestation of those hypo-
crites, who, to satisfy their own enmity, in-
volved a whole nation in the guilt of treason.
* Charles was executed in the forty-ninth
year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his
reign. He was of a middling stature, robust,
and well proportioned. His visage was pleas-
ing, but melancholy ; probably the continual
troubles in which he was involved made that
impression on his countenance. As for his
character, the reader will deduce it from the
detail

* Jan. 30. A. D. 1649.

detail of his conduct, better than from any summary given of it by the historian. It will suffice to say, that all his faults seem to have arisen from the error of his education; while all his virtues, and he possessed many, were the genuine offspring of his heart. He lived at a time when the spirit of the constitution was at variance with the genius of the people; and governing by old rules and precedents, instead of accommodating himself to the changes of the times, he fell, and as he sunk, drew down the constitution in ruins round him. Many kings before him expired by treasons or assassinations; but never since the times of Agis the Lacedemonian was there any other sacrificed by his subjects with all the formalities of justice.

All agree that king Charles was a pattern of piety, sobriety, temperance and chastity. He could not endure an obscene or a profane word. He was punctual in his devotions both public and private. He was rigorously just; but is supposed to have been sometimes wanting in sincerity. He was a good father, a good master, and a good husband: yea, a fond one, which was the chief source of his troubles; together with the wrong bias towards arbitrary power, which had been instilled into him from his infancy. But for this, he would have been one of the most accomplished princes, that ever sat upon the English throne.

As for his
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The next day they proceeded to try those gallant men, whose attachment to their late sovereign had been the most remarkable. The duke of Hamilton and lord Castel were condemned and executed. The duke of Hamilton lost his life by a like execution. The earl of Norwich and a lord of the council were also put to death.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

CROMWELL, after the king's death, began to feel wishes to which he had been hitherto a stranger. His prospects widening as he rose, his first principles of liberty were lost. When the peers met on the day appointed in their adjournment, they entered upon business, and sent down some votes to the commons, of which the latter designed not to take the least notice. In a few days after the commons voted, that the house of lords was useless and dangerous, and therefore was to be abolished. They voted it high treason to acknowledge Charles Stuart, son of the late king, as successor to the throne. A great seal was made, on one side of which were engraven the arms of England and Ireland, with this inscription: "The great seal of England." "On the reverse was represented the house of commons sitting, with this motto: On the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored, 1648." The forms of

of all public business were changed from the king's name, to that of The keepers of the liberties of England.

§ The next day they proceeded to try those gallant men, whose attachment to their late sovereign had been the most remarkable. The duke of Hamilton and lord Capel were condemned and executed, the earl of Holland lost his life by a like sentence; the earl of Norwich and Sir John Owen were condemned, but afterwards pardoned by the commons.

The Scots, who had in the beginning shewn themselves so averse to the royal family, having, by a long train of successes, totally suppressed all insurrections in its favour, now began to relent. Their loyalty returned, and the insolence of the independents, served to inflame them still more. The execution of their favourite duke Hamilton also, who was put to death not only contrary to the laws of war, but of nations, was no small vexation; they, therefore, determined to acknowledge prince Charles for their king. But their love of liberty was still predominant, and seemed to combat with their manifold resentments. At the same time that they resolved upon raising him to the throne, they abridged his power with every possible limitation.

Charles, after the death of his father, having passed some time at Paris, and finding no likelihood of assistance from that quarter, was glad to accept of any conditions. He possessed neither the virtues nor the constancy of his father; and being attached to no religion, agreed to all their proposals, being satisfied

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 fled with even the formalities of royalty. It is remarkable, that while the Scots were thus inviting their king over, they were, nevertheless, cruelly punishing those who had adhered to his cause. * Among others, the earl of Montrose, one of the bravest, politest, and most finished characters of that age, was taken prisoner, as he endeavoured to raise the Highlanders in the royal cause; and being brought to Edinburgh was hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high, then quartered, and his limbs stuck up in the principal towns of the kingdom. Yet notwithstanding all this severity to his followers, Charles ventured into Scotland, and had the mortification to enter the gate of Edinburgh, where the limbs of his faithful adherent were still exposed.

Being now entirely at the mercy of the austere zealots, who had been the cause of his father's misfortunes, he soon found that he had only exchanged exile for imprisonment. He was surrounded, and incessantly importuned by their clergy, who obliged him to listen to long sermons, in which they seldom failed to stigmatize the late king as a tyrant, and to accuse his mother of idolatry. Six sermons a day were his usual allowance; and yet he was denied the small consolation of laughter. In short, the clergy having brought royalty under their feet, were resolved to trample upon it with all the contumely of successful upstarts. Charles bore all their insolence with hypocritical tranquility, and even pretended to be highly edified by their instructions. He once, indeed, attempted to

escape

* A. D. 1650.

escape from among them; but being brought back, he owned the greatness of his error, he testified repentance for what he had done, and looked about for another opportunity of escaping.

In the mean time Cromwell, who had been appointed to the command of the army in Ireland, prosecuted the war in that kingdom with his usual success. He had to combat against the Royalists, commanded by the duke of Ormond, and the native Irish, led on by O'Neal. But such ill connected and barbarous troops could give very little opposition to forces, conducted by such a general, and emboldened by long success. He soon over-ran the whole country; and after some time, all the towns revolted in his favour, and opened their gates at his approach. He entered the city of Drogheda by storm, and put to death all he found in arms. He was now in the way of speedily reducing the whole kingdom, when he was called over by the parliament to defend his own country against the Scots, who, having espoused the royal cause, had raised a considerable army to support it.

After Cromwell's return to England, he received the thanks of the house, for the services he had done the commonwealth in Ireland. They then deliberated upon chusing a general for conducting the war in Scotland, which Fairfax refusing upon principle, as he had all along declined opposing the presbyterians, the command necessarily devolved upon Cromwell. Being declared captain-general, he set out for Scotland, at the head of nineteen thousand men.

The

The Scots prepared to meet the invasion. They had given the command of their army to general Lesley, a good officer, who formed a proper plan for their defence. This prudent commander knew, that though superior in numbers, his army was much inferior in discipline to the English; and he kept himself carefully within his intrenchments. After some previous motions on one side and the other, Cromwell, at last, saw himself in a very disadvantageous post near Dunbar, and his antagonist waiting deliberately to take advantage of his situation. But the madness of the Scotch clergy saved him. These had it seems been wrestling with the Lord in prayer, as they termed it; and they at last fancied that they had obtained the superiority. Revelations they said were made them, that the heretical army, together with Agag their general, would be delivered into their hands. Upon the assurances of these visions, they obliged their general, in spite of all his remonstrances, to descend into the plain, and give the English battle.

* When Cromwell was told that the Scotch army were coming down to engage, he assured his soldiers that the Lord had delivered the enemy into his hands; and he ordered his army to sing psalms, as already possessed of a certain victory. The Scots, though double the number of the English, were soon put to flight, and pursued with great slaughter, while Cromwell did not lose above forty men in all.

The unfortunate king, who hated all the Scotch army, and only dreaded Cromwell, was

* Sep. 3.

was well enough pleased at the defeat, which belied all the assurances of his oppressors. It was attended also with this good consequence to him, that it served to introduce him to a greater share of power. * He put himself at the head of the small part of the Scotch army that had survived the defeat; and these he still further strengthened by the royalists, whom the covenanters had before excluded from his service. Cromwell, however, still followed his blow, pursued the king's forces towards Perth, and cutting off the provisions of the Scotch army, made it impossible for Charles to maintain his forces in that country any longer.

In this terrible exigence he embraced a resolution worthy a prince, who was willing to hazard all for empire. Observing that the way was open to England, he resolved immediately to march into that country, where he expected to be reinforced by all the royalists in that part of the kingdom. His generals expected the same; and with one consent the Scotch army, to the number of fourteen thousand men, made an irruption southwards.

But Charles soon found himself disappointed in the expectation of increasing his army. The Scots, terrified at the prospect of so hazardous an enterprize, fell from him in great numbers. The English, affrighted at the name of his opponent, dreaded to join him. His mortification was still increased, when being arrived at Worcester, he was informed, that Cromwell was marching with hasty strides from

* A. D. 1651.

from Scotland, with an army increased to forty thousand men. The news scarce arrived, when that active general himself appeared; and falling upon the town on all sides, broke in upon the disordered royalists. † The streets were strewed with slaughter, the whole Scotch army was either killed or taken prisoners, and the king himself, having given many proofs of personal valour, was obliged to fly.

Imagination can scarce conceive adventures more romantic, or distresses more severe, than those which attended the young king's escape. After his hair was cut off, the better to disguise him, he wrought for some days in the habit of a peasant, cutting faggots in a wood. He next made an attempt to retire into Wales, under the conduct of one Pendrel, a poor farmer, who was sincerely attached to his cause. But he was disappointed, every pass being guarded, to prevent his escape. Being obliged to return, he met one colonel Careless, who, like himself, had escaped the carnage at Worcester; and it was in his company that he was obliged to climb a spreading oak, among the thick branches of which, they passed the day together, while they heard the soldiers of the enemy in pursuit of them below. From thence he passed, with imminent danger, thro' famine, fatigue, and pain, till he arrived at the house of colonel Lane, in Staffordshire. There he deliberated about the means of escaping into France; and Bristol being supposed the properest port, it was agreed that he should ride thither, before this gentleman's sister, on a visit to one Mrs. Norton, who lived

† Sep. 3.

lived in the neighbourhood of that city. During this journey he every day met with persons, whose faces he knew; and at one time passed through a whole regiment of the enemy's army.

When they arrived at Mrs. Norton's, the first person they saw was one of his own chaplains sitting at the door. The king, after having taken proper care of his horse in the stable, was shewn to an apartment, which Mrs. Lane had provided for him, as it was said he had the ague. The butler, being sent to him with some refreshment, no sooner beheld his face, which was very pale with anxiety and fatigue, than he recollected his king and master; and falling upon his knees, while the tears streamed down his cheeks, cried out, "I am rejoiced to see your majesty." The king made him promise to keep the secret from every mortal, even from his master; and the honest servant punctually obeyed him.

No ship being found ready to sail, either for France or Spain, the king was obliged to go elsewhere for a passage. He therefore repaired to the house of colonel Wyndham, in Dorsetshire, where he was cordially received. His mother, a venerable matron, seemed to think the end of her life nobly rewarded, in having it in her power to give protection to her king. She expressed no dissatisfaction at having lost three sons, and one grand-child in the defence of his cause, since she was honoured in being instrumental to his own preservation.

Pursuing his journey to the sea-side, he once more had a very providential escape

from a little inn, where he set up for the night. The day had been appointed by parliament a solemn fast; and a weaver, who had been a foldier in the parliament army, was preaching against the king in a little chapel fronting the house. Charles, to avoid suspicion, was himself among the audience. It happened, that a smith of the same principles with the weaver had been examining the horses belonging to the passengers, and came to assure the preacher that he knew by the fashion of the shoes, that one of the strangers horses came from the north. The preacher immediately affirmed that this horse could belong to no other than Charles Stuart, and instantly went with a constable to search the inn. But Charles had left the inn before the constable's arrival.

At Shoreham, in Suffex, a vessel was at last found, in which he embarked. He was known to so many, that if he had not set sail in that critical moment, it had been impossible for him to escape. † After one and forty days concealment, he arrived safely at Feschamp in Normandy. No less than forty men and women had, at different times, been privy to his escape.

In the mean time, Cromwell, crowned with success, returned in triumph to London, where he was met by the speaker of the house, accompanied by the mayor of London, and the magistrates, in all their formalities. His first care was to take advantage of his late successes, by depressing the Scots, who had so lately withstood the work of the Gospel, as he

† Oct. 20.

he called it. An act was passed for abolishing royalty in Scotland, and annexing that kingdom, as a conquered province, to the English commonwealth. It was impowered, however, to send some members to the English parliament. Judges were appointed to distribute justice; and the people of that country, now freed from the tyranny of the ecclesiastics, were not much dissatisfied with their present government. The prudent conduct of Monk, who was left by Cromwell to complete their subjection, served much to reconcile the minds of the people.

In this manner the English parliament spread their uncontested authority over all the British dominions. Ireland was totally subdued by Ireton and Ludlow. All the settlements in America, that had declared for the royal cause, were obliged to submit; Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the Isle of Man, were brought under subjection. Thus mankind saw, with astonishment, a parliament composed of sixty or seventy obscure and illiterate members, governing a great empire with unanimity and success. Without any acknowledged subordination, except a council of state consisting of thirty-eight, to whom all addresses were made, they levied armies, maintained fleets, and gave laws to the neighbouring powers of Europe. The finances were managed with œconomy and exactness. Few private persons became rich by the plunder of the public: the revenues of the crown, the lands of the bishops, and a tax of an hundred and twenty thousand pounds each month, supplied the wants of the government.

The parliament next resolved to chastise the Dutch, who had given but very slight causes of complaint. It happened that one doctor Dorislaus, who was of the number of the late king's judges, being sent by the parliament as their envoy to Holland, was assassinated by some of the royal party, who had taken refuge there. Some time after Mr. St. John, appointed their ambassador to that court, was insulted by the friends of the prince of Orange. * These were thought motives sufficient to induce the commonwealth of England to declare war against them. The parliament's chief dependence lay in the activity of Blake, their admiral; who, though he had not embarked in naval command till late in life, yet surpassed all that went before him in courage and dexterity. On the other side, the Dutch opposed to him their famous admiral Van Tromp, to whom they never since produced an equal. Many were the engagements between these celebrated admirals, and various was their success. Sea-fights seldom prove decisive; and the vanquished are soon seen to make head against the victors. Several dreadful encounters rather served to shew the excellence of the admirals, than to determine their superiority. The Dutch, however, who felt many great disadvantages by the loss of their trade; and by the total suspension of their fisheries, were willing to treat for a peace; but the parliament gave them a very unfavourable answer. It was the policy of that body, to keep their navy on foot as long as

* A. D. 1652.

as they could; rightly judging, that while the force of the nation was exerted by sea, it would diminish the power of Cromwell by land, which was now become very formidable to them.

This great aspirer, however, quickly perceived their designs; and saw that they dreaded his growing power. All his measures were conducted with a bold intrepidity, and he now saw, that it was not necessary to wear the mask any longer. He resolved to make another daring effort; and persuaded the officers to present a petition for payment of arrears and redress of grievances, which he knew would be rejected with disdain. The petition was soon drawn up and presented, in which the officers, after demanding their arrears, desired the parliament to consider how many years they had sat; * and what professions they had formerly made of establishing freedom on the broadest basis. They alledged, that it was now full time to give place to others; and however meritorious their actions might have been, yet the rest of the nation had some right, in turn, to shew their patriotism in the service of their country.

The house was highly offended at the presumption of the army, although they had seen, but too lately, that their own power was wholly founded on that very presumption. They appointed a committee to prepare an act, ordaining that all persons who presented such petitions, for the future, should be deemed guilty of high treason. To this the

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officers.

* A. D. 1653.

officers made a very warm remonstrance, and the parliament as angry a reply; while the breach between them every moment grew wider. This was what Cromwell had long wished, and had well foreseen. § He was fitting in council with his officers, when informed of the subject on which the house was deliberating; upon which he rose up in a seeming fury, and turning to major Vernon, cried out, "That he was compelled to do a thing that made the very hair of his head stand on end." Then hastening to the house with three hundred soldiers, and with the marks of violent indignation on his countenance, he entered, took his place, and attended to the debates for some time. When the question was ready to be put, he started up, and began to load the parliament with the keenest reproaches for their tyranny, ambition, oppression, and robbery of the public. Upon which, stamping with his foot, which was the signal for them to enter, the place was immediately filled with armed men. Then addressing himself to the members: "For shame, said he, get you gone. Give place to honest men; to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament; I tell you, you are no longer a parliament; the Lord has done with you." Sir Harry Vane exclaiming against this conduct: "Sir Harry, cried Cromwell with a loud voice, O Sir Harry Vane, the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane." Taking hold of Martin by the cloak, thou art a whore-master;

to

§ April 20.

to another, thou art an adulterer; to a third, thou art a drunkard; and to a fourth, thou art a glutton. "It is you, continued he to the members, that have forced me upon this. I have fought the Lord night and day that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work." Then pointing to the mace, "Take away, cried he, that bauble." After which, turning out all the members, and clearing the hall, he ordered the doors to be locked, and putting the key in his pocket, returned to Whitehall.

Thus, by one daring exploit, the new republic was abolished, and the whole command, civil and military, centered in Cromwell. The people, that were spectators in silent wonder of all these transactions, expressed no disapprobation at the dissolution of a parliament that had overturned the constitution, and destroyed the king. On the contrary, he received congratulatory addresses from the fleet, the corporations, and the army, for having dismissed a parliament that had subjected them to the most cruel impositions.

But this politic man was too cautious to be seduced by their praise. Unwilling to put forth all his power at once, he resolved still to amuse the people with the form of a commonwealth, and to give them a parliament that would be entirely subservient to his commands. For this purpose, consulting with some of the principle officers, it was decreed, that the sovereign power should be vested in one hundred and forty-four persons, under the

the denomination of a parliament; and he undertook himself to make the choice.

The persons pitched upon were the meanest, and the most ignorant among the citizens, and the very dregs of the fanatics. He was well apprized that during the administration of such, he alone must govern, or that they must soon throw up the reins of government, which they were unqualified to guide. Accordingly, their practice justified his sagacity. Their very names composed of cant phrases borrowed from Scripture, and rendered ridiculous by their misapplication, served to shew their excess of folly. Not only the names of Zerobabel, Habbakuk, and Mesopotamia were given to those ignorant creatures, but sometimes whole sentences from Scripture. One of them particularly, who was called Praise-God Barebones; his brother was, Fear-the-Lord Barebones. And hence this odd assembly was usually called Barebone's parliament.

Their attempts at legislation were entirely correspondent to their stations and characters. As they were chiefly composed of antinomians, and of fifth-monarchy men, who every hour expected Christ's coming on earth, they began by chusing eight of their tribe to seek the Lord in prayer, while the rest calmly sat down to deliberate upon the suppression of the clergy, the universities, and the courts of justice.

To this hopeful assembly was committed the treaty of peace with the Dutch; but the ambassadors from that nation, though themselves

felves presbyterians, were quite carnally minded to these. They were regarded by the new parliament as worldly men, intent on commerce and industry. They insisted that the man of sin should be put away, and a new birth obtained by prayer and meditation. The ambassadors finding themselves unable to converse with them in their own way, gave up the treaty as hopeless.

The very vulgar began now to exclaim against so foolish a legislature; and they themselves seemed not insensible of the ridicule which every day was thrown out against them. Cromwell was pleased to find that his power was likely to receive no diminution from their endeavours; but began to be ashamed of their complicated absurdities. He chose some of them quite devoted to his interests, and these he commanded to dismiss the assembly. * Accordingly, by concert, they met earlier than the rest of their fraternity; and observing to each other that this parliament had sat long enough, they hastened to Cromwell, with Rouse their speaker at their head, and into his hands they resigned the authority with which he had invested them.

This shadow of a parliament being dissolved, the officers, by their own authority, declared Cromwell protector of the commonwealth of England. Nothing now could withstand him; the mayor and aldermen were sent for to give solemnity to his appointment; and he was instituted into his new office at White-hall, in the palace of the king's of
England

* Dec. 12.

England. He was to be addressed by the title of highness ; and his power was proclaimed in London, and other parts of the kingdom. Thus an obscure and vulgar man, at the age of fifty-three, rose to unbounded power, first by following small events in his favour, and at length by directing great ones: a striking proof, that it is God, who according to his own will, casteth down one and setteth up another !

It was, indeed, necessary that some person should take the supreme command ; for affairs were brought into such a situation by the furious animosities of the contending parties, that nothing less could prevent a renewal of bloodshed and confusion. || Cromwell, therefore, might have said with some justice, that he accepted the dignity of protector to preserve the peace of the nation ; and this it must be owned he effected with equal conduct, moderation, and success. The government of the kingdom was adjusted in the following manner. A council was appointed, which was not to exceed twenty-one, nor to be under thirteen persons. These were to enjoy their offices during good behaviour ; and, in case of a vacancy, the remaining members named three, of whom the protector chose one. The protector was appointed the supreme magistrate of the common wealth, with such powers as the king was possessed of. The power of the sword was vested in him jointly with the parliament when sitting, or with the council at intervals. He was obliged to summon a parliament every three years, and to allow them
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to sit five months without adjournment. A standing army was established of twenty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, and funds were assigned for their support. The protector enjoyed his office during life; and on his death the place was immediately to be supplied by the council. Cromwell chose his council among his officers, who had been the companions of his dangers and his victories, to each of whom he assigned a pension of one thousand pounds a year. He took care to have his troops, upon whose fidelity he depended, paid a month in advance; the magazines were also well provided, and the public treasure managed with frugality: while his activity, vigilance, and resolution were such, that he discovered every plot for an insurrection before it took effect.

His management of foreign affairs, corresponded with his character, and was attended with success. The Dutch having been humbled by repeated defeats, § sued for peace, which he gave them. But he insisted upon their paying deference to the British flag. He compelled them to abandon the interests of the king, to pay eighty-five thousand pounds as an indemnification for former expences, and to restore the English East India company a part of those dominions of which they had dispossessed them, during the former reign.

He was not less successful in his negotiations with the court of France. Cardinal Mazarine, by whom the affairs of that kingdom were conducted, desirous rather to prevail by dex-

§ A. D. 1654.

dexterity than violence, submitted to Cromwell's imperious character, and thus procured ends equally beneficial to both.

The court of Spain was not less assiduous in its endeavours to gain his friendship, but was not so successful. This vast monarchy, which but a few years before had threatened the liberties of Europe, was now so low as to be scarce able to defend itself. Cromwell, however, still regarded its power with jealousy, and came into an association with France to depress it still more. He lent that court a body of six thousand men to attack the Spanish dominions in the Netherlands; and upon obtaining a signal victory by his assistance at Dunes, the French put Dunkirk, which they had just taken from the Spaniards, into his hands.

But it was by sea that he humbled the power of Spain still more effectually. Blake, who had long made himself formidable to the Dutch, and whose fame was spread over Europe, now became still more dreadful to the Spanish monarchy. He sailed with a fleet into the Mediterranean, whither, since the time of the crusades, no English fleet had ever ventured. He there conquered all that ventured to oppose him. Casting anchor before Leghorn, he demanded and obtained satisfaction for some injuries which the English commerce had suffered from the duke of Tuscany. † He next sailed to Algiers, and compelled the Dey to make peace, and to restrain his subjects from farther injuring the English. He then went to Tunis, and having made the
same

† A. D. 1655.

same demands, he was desired by the Dey to look at the two castles, Porto Farino, and Goletta, and do his utmost. Blake was not slow in accepting the challenge; he entered the harbour, burned all the shipping, and sailed out triumphantly. At Cadiz, he took two galleons valued at near two million pieces of eight. At the Canaries, he burned a Spanish fleet of sixteen ships, and returning home to England to enjoy the fame of his noble actions, as he came within sight of his native country he expired. This gallant man, though he fought for an usurper, yet was averse to his cause; his aim was to serve his country, not to establish a tyrant. "It is still our duty, he would say to the seamen, to fight for our country, into whatever hands the government may fall."

At the same time that Blake's expeditions were going forward, there was another carried on under the command of admirals Pen and Venables, with about four thousand landforces, to attack the Island of Hispaniola. Failing, however, in this, they steered to Jamaica, which was surrendered to them without a blow. So little was thought of the importance of this conquest, that, upon their return from the expedition, Pen and Venables were sent to the Tower, for their failure in the principal object of their expedition.

* As parliaments were ever dear to the people, it was resolved to give them one; but such as should be entirely of the protector's chusing, and chiefly composed of his

own creatures. Left any of a different complexion should enter the house, guards were placed at the door, and none admitted but such as produced a warrant from his council. The principal design of convening this assembly was, that they should offer him the crown, with the title of king, and the other ensigns of royalty.

|| His creatures, therefore, took care to infuse into this assembly the merits of the protector; the confusion there was in legal proceedings without the name of a king; that no man was acquainted with the limits of the present magistrate's authority, but those of a king had been well ascertained by the experience of ages. At last the motion was made in form in the house, by alderman Pack, one of the city members, for investing the protector with the regal dignity. The majority of the house being Cromwell's creatures, the bill was voted according to his wishes; and nothing now remained but his own consent to have his name enrolled among the kings of England.

Whether it was his original intention by having this bill carried through the house, to shew that he was magnanimous enough to refuse the offer, or whether he found some of those on whom he most depended averse to his taking the title, cannot now be known. The obscurity of his answers, on the occasion, shews plainly a mind at variance with itself. "I confess, said he, for it behoves me to deal plainly with you, I must confess, I would say I hope I may be understood

“ stood in this ; for indeed I must be tender
 “ what I would say to such an audience as
 “ this ; I say I would be understood, that
 “ in this argument I do not make a parallel
 “ between men of a different mind, and a
 “ parliament which shall have their desires.
 “ I know there is no comparison ; nor can
 “ it be urged upon me that my words have
 “ the least colour that way, because the par-
 “ liament seems to me to give liberty to me
 “ to say any thing to you. As that is a
 “ tender of my humble reasons and judg-
 “ ment and opinion to them, and if I think
 “ they are such, and will be such to them,
 “ and are faithful servants, and will be so
 “ to the supreme authority and the legislative
 “ wheresoever it is. If I say I should not
 “ not tell you, knowing their minds to be
 “ so, I should not be faithful if I should not
 “ tell you so, to the end that you may re-
 “ port it to parliament.” In this manner did
 this most unaccountable of all characters an-
 swer their petitions for his assuming the kingly
 name and dignity ; however the conference
 ended in his refusing their offer.

But it must not be supposed that his situ-
 ation, with all these offered honours, was at
 this time enviable. Perhaps no station could
 be more truly distressful than his, at a time
 the nation was loading him with congratula-
 tions. † He had by this, rendered himself
 hateful to every party ; and he owed his safe-
 ty to their mutual hatred and diffidence of
 each other. Yet he had not been reduced
 to the extreme of wretchedness, if he could

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have

† A. D. 1658.

have found domestic consolation. But his eldest daughter married to Fleetwood, had adopted republican principles so vehemently, that she could not behold even her own father intrusted with uncontrollable power. His other daughters were no less sanguine in favour of the royal cause: but above all, Mrs. Claypole, his favourite daughter, who, upon her death-bed, upbraided him with all those crimes that led him to trample on the throne.

Every hour added some new disquietude. Lord Fairfax, Sir William Waller, and many of the heads of the presbyterians, had secretly entered into an engagement to destroy him. His administration had exhausted his revenue, and he was considerably in debt. One conspiracy was no sooner detected, but another rose from its ruins; and to increase his calamity, he was now taught, upon reasoning principles, that his death was not only desirable, but his assassination would be meritorious. A book was published by colonel Titus, a man who had formerly been attached to his cause, entitled *Killing no Murder*. Of all the pamphlets that came forth at that time, this was the most eloquent and masterly. Shall we, said this popular declaimer, who would not suffer the lion to invade us, tamely stand to be devoured by the wolf? Cromwell read this spirited treatise, and was never seen to smile more.

All peace was now banished from his mind. He found that his grandeur was only an inlet to fresh inquietudes. The fear of assassination

tion haunted him in all his walks, and was perpetually present to his imagination. He wore armour under his cloaths, and always kept pistols in his pockets. His aspect was clouded by a settled gloom; and he regarded every stranger with a glance of suspicion. He always travelled with hurry, and was ever attended by a numerous guard. He never returned from any place by the road he went; and seldom slept above three nights together in the same chamber.

A tertian ague came at last to deliver him from this life of horror and anxiety. For the space of a week no dangerous symptoms appeared; and in the intervals of the fits he was able to walk abroad. At length the fever increased, and he himself began to dread his approaching fate; but he was taught to consider his present disorder as no way fatal, by his fanatic chaplains. When Dr. Goodwin told him, that the elect would never be damned, "then said he, I am safe; for I was once in a state of grace." His physicians were sensible of his dangerous case; but he was so encouraged by his preachers, that he considered his recovery as no way doubtful. "I tell you, cried he to the physicians, that I shall not die of this distemper. Favourable answers have been returned from heaven, not only to my own supplications, but likewise to those of the godly. Ye may have skill in your profession; but nature can do more than all the physicians in the world; and God is far above nature." This provoked Dr. Bates, who

attended him all the time, to tell him in plain terms, "Sir, if you live four and twenty hours longer, you will cheat me, and the world, and the devil." Yet upon a fast-day appointed on account of his sickness, his ministers thanked God for the pledges they had of his recovery. Notwithstanding these assurances the fatal symptoms every hour increased; and the physicians were obliged to declare that he could not survive the next fit. The council therefore came to know his last commands concerning the succession; but his senses were gone, and he was just able to answer yes to their demand, whether his son Richard should succeed him. He died on the third day of September, that very day which he had always considered as the most fortunate of his life; † he was then fifty-nine years old, and had usurped the government nine years.

He certainly carried the honour of the nation to the highest pitch; being courted by all the powers of Europe. And he was regular in his private conduct; free from gluttony, drunkenness, luxury and avarice. He promoted virtuous men, and was inflexible in punishing vice and immorality. He never persecuted any man for his religion; but always expressed a great zeal for protestantism. On the other hand, he had a boundless ambition; with the most profound dissimulation. In one word, he was a great, bad man.

It is strange, that the report concerning the great storm on the day of his death should have been readily received to this day: where-

as

† A. D. 1658.

as Dr. Bates, who was in London at the very time avers it to be an absolute falshood, and affirms, it was a fair, mild day, quite from morning to night.



C H A P. VI.

THE influence of his name was still sufficient to get Richard his son proclaimed protector in his room. It was to the numerous parties in the kingdom, and their hatred of each other, that Richard owed his peaceable advancement. He was no way ambitious, being rather mild, easy, and good-natured; and honour seemed rather to pursue, than to attract him. He had nothing active in his disposition; no influence among the soldiery, no importance in council.

It was found necessary, upon his first advancement, to call a parliament, to furnish the supplies to carry on the ordinary operations of government. ¶ The house of commons was formed legally enough; but the house of lords consisted only of those persons who were advanced to that station by the late protector. But it was not on the parliament that the army chose to rely. A great number of the principal malecontents of the army, established a meeting at general Fleetwood's, which

which, as he dwelt in Wallingford-house, was called the Cabal of Wallingford. The result of their deliberations was a remonstrance that the command of the army should be intrusted to some person in whom they might confide; and it was plainly given to understand that the young protector was not that person.

Such a proposal did not fail to alarm Richard; he applied to his council, and they referred it to the parliament. Both agreed to consider it as an audacious attempt, and a vote was passed that there should be no meeting, or general council of officers, without the protector's permission. This brought affairs immediately to a rupture. The palace of the protector was the next day surrounded by a body of officers; * and one Desborow, a man of a clownish brutal nature, penetrating into his apartment with an armed retinue, threatened him if he should refuse. Richard wanted resolution; he dissolved the parliament, and soon after signed his own abdication in form.

Henry Cromwell, his younger brother, who was appointed to the command in Ireland, followed the protector's example. Richard lived several years after his resignation, at first on the continent, and afterwards upon his paternal fortune at home. He was thought by the ignorant to be unworthy of the happiness of his exaltation; but he knew by his tranquility in private, that he had made the wisest choice.

The

* April 22.

The officers being once more left to themselves, determined to replace the remnant of the old parliament which had beheaded the king, and which Cromwell had so disgracefully turned out of the house. This was called the good old cause; and to the members of this, the officers for a while delivered up their authority. The members, who had been secluded by colonel Pride's purge, as it was called, attempted, but in vain, to resume their seats among them.

The Rump parliament, for that was the name it went by, although reinstated by the army, was yet very vigorous in its attempts to lessen the power by which it was replaced. The members began their design of humbling the army by new modelling part of the forces, by cashiering such of the officers as they feared, and appointing others, on whom they could rely, in their room. These attempts, were not unobserved by the officers; and their discontent would have been fatal to the parliament, had it not been checked by apprehensions of the royalists, and presbyterians, who were considered as the common enemy.

In this exigence, the officers held several conferences together. They at length came to a resolution, to dissolve that assembly. Accordingly Lambert, drew up a chosen body of troops; and placing them in the streets which led to Westminster-hall, when the speaker Lenthall proceeded in his carriage to the house, he ordered the horses to be turned and led home. § The other members were like-

likewise intercepted, and the army returned to their quarters to observe a solemn fast!

The officers having thus resumed the power, resolved not to part with it for the future. They elected a committee of twenty-three persons, of whom seven were officers; these they called a committee of safety, and invested them with sovereign authority. Fleetwood, a weak zealot, was made commander in chief; Lambert, an artful ambitious man, major-general; Desborow, lieutenant-general; and Monk, who had been invested by Cromwell with the government of Scotland, was appointed major-general of the foot. A military government was now established, which gave the nation the melancholy prospect of endless servitude.

During these transactions, general Monk was at the head of eight thousand veterans in Scotland. He was at first a soldier of fortune. After some time spent abroad, he was intrusted with a regiment in the service of king Charles, and was usually called by the soldiery, for his good nature, honest George Monk. He was, however, taken prisoner at the siege of Nantwich, by Fairfax, and soon after sent to the Tower. He did not recover his liberty till after the total overthrow of the royal party, when Cromwell took him into favour, and sent him to oppose the Irish rebels, against whom he performed signal services. Upon the reduction of that kingdom he was sent over into Scotland, and there intrusted with the supreme command, in which station he was not less esteemed by
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the Scots than loved and adored by his own army.

This general, upon hearing that the officers had, by their own authority, dissolved the parliament, protested against the measure, and resolved to defend their invaded privileges. But deeper designs were suspected to be the motive of his actions from the beginning. Whatever they were, it was impossible to cover them with greater secrecy than he did. As soon as he put his army into motion, to enquire into the causes of the disturbances in the capital, his countenance was eagerly sought by all the contending parties. His own brother, a clergyman, who was a zealous royalist, came to him with a message from lord Granville, in the name of the king. The general asked him if he had ever communicated the contents of his commission to any other person. His brother replied to none except to Mr. Price, the general's own chaplain. The general altering his countenance, changed the discourse, and would enter into no further conference with him. The same deep reserve was held thro' all his subsequent proceedings.

Hearing that the officers were preparing an army to oppose him; and that general Lambert was actually advancing to meet him, Monk sent three commissioners to London, to treat of an accommodation, by which means he relaxed their preparations. His commissioners even proceeded so far as to sign a treaty; but he refused to ratify it. Still, however, he made proposals for fresh negotiations;

ciations; and the committee of officers again accepted his fallacious offers.

In the mean time, the people perceiving they were not entirely defenceless, began to gather spirit, and to exclaim against the tyranny of the army. Hazlerig and Morley, while Lambert was absent, took possession of Portsmouth, and declared for the parliament.

The city apprentices rose in a tumult, and demanded a free parliament. Admiral Lawson came into the river with his squadron, and declared for the parliament; and even the regiments that had been left in London, being solicited by their old officers, who had been cashiered, revolted to the parliament. * The Rump thus invited on all hands, again ventured to resume their seats, and to thunder their votes against the officers, and that part of the army by which they had been ejected. Without taking any notice of Lambert, they sent orders to the troops he conducted, immediately to repair to the garrisons they appointed for them. The soldiers were not slow in obeying the parliamentary orders; and Lambert found himself deserted by his whole army. He was soon after committed to the Tower; several of his brother-officers cashiered, and the parliament seemed now to stand on a firmer basis than before.

† But they were far from being so secure as they imagined. Monk, though he had heard of their restitution, and therefore might be supposed to have nothing more to do, still continued to march towards the capital; all the world being equally in doubt as to his motives,

* Dec. 26. † A. D. 1660.

motives, and astonished at his reserve. The gentry, on his march, flocked round him with addressees, expressing their desire of a new parliament. * Fairfax brought him a body of troops, with which he offered to assist in the work of restoration; but Monk continued his inflexible taciturnity, and at last came to St. Alban's.

He there sent the parliament a message, desiring them to remove such forces as remained in London to country quarters. With this, some of the regiments refused to comply, but Monk was resolved to be obeyed: he entered London the next day, || turned the soldiers out, and with his army, took up his quarters in Westminster. He then waited upon the house, which was ready enough to vote him thanks for the services he had done his country. But he, in a blunt manner assured them, that his only merit was a desire to restore peace to the community; and therefore, he intreated them that they would permit a free parliament to be called, as the only balm that could heal the wounds of the constitution. He observed also, that many oaths of admission upon this occasion were unnecessary; and the fewer the obligations of this kind, the clearer would their consciences be.

The hope of being insolent with security, inspired the citizens to refuse submission to the present government. They resolved to pay no taxes, until the members, formerly excluded by colonel Pride, should be replaced. But the parliament found their general

Vol. III. Y willing

* Jan. 11. || Feb. 3.

willing to give them the most ready instance, of his obedience; he entered the city with his troops, arrested eleven of the most obnoxious of the common-council, and began to destroy the gates. Then he wrote a letter to the parliament, telling them what he had done; and begging they would moderate the severity of their orders. But being urged by the house to proceed, he, with all possible circumstances of contempt, broke the gates and port-cullises; and having exposed the city to the scorn and derision of all who hated it, he returned in triumph to his quarters in Westminster. But the next day he marched into the city again, and desired the mayor to call a common-council, where he made many apologies for his conduct the day before. He assured them of his perseverance in the cause of freedom; and that his army would, for the future, co-operate only in such schemes as they should approve.

This union of the city and the army caused no small alarm in the house of commons. They knew that a free and general parliament was desired by the whole nation; and in such a case, they were convinced that their own power must have an end. But their fears of punishment were still greater than their uneasiness at dismissal; they had been instrumental in bringing their king to the block, and some of them had grown rich by the common plunder; they resolved, therefore, to try every method to gain off the general from his new alliance; some of them, promised to invest him with the dignity of supreme magistrate,

trate, and to support his usurpation. But Monk was too just, or too wise to hearken to such wild proposals; he resolved to restore the secluded members, and by their means to bring about a new election.

There was no other method to effect this, but by force of arms; wherefore, having previously secured the consent of his officers, and exacted a promise from the excluded members, that they would call a full and free parliament, he accompanied them to Whitehall. From thence, with a numerous guard, he conducted them to the house of commons, the other members of which were then sitting. They were surpris'd to see a large body of men entering the place; but soon recollected them for their ancient brethren, who had been formerly tumultuously expelled, and were now as tumultuously restored. The number of the new comers was so superior to that of the rump, that these in their turn, thought proper to withdraw.

The restored members began by repealing all those orders by which they had been excluded. They renewed and enlarged the general's commission; they fixed a stipend for the fleet and the army; and having passed these votes dissolved themselves, and gave orders for the immediate assembling a new parliament. Mean while Monk new modelled his army. Some officers, by his direction, presented him with an address, in which they promised to obey implicitly the orders of the ensuing parliament. He approved of this engagement, which he ordered to be signed by

all the different regiments; and this furnished him with a pretence for dismissing all the officers by whom it was rejected.

Meantime his endeavours were very near being defeated by an accident as dangerous as unexpected. † Lambert had escaped from the Tower, and began to assemble forces; and as his activity was sufficiently known, Monk took the earliest precautions to oppose his measures, and immediately dispatched colonel Ingoldsby with his own regiment against him, before he could have time to assemble his dependents. Lambert had seized Daventry with four troops of horse; but the greater part of them joined Ingoldsby, to whom he himself surrendered; a tameness that ill agreed with his former reputation.

As yet the new parliament was not assembled, and none had dived into the designs of the general. He still persevered in his reserve; and although the calling a new parliament was but, in other words, to restore the king, yet his expressions never once betrayed the secret of his bosom. Nothing but a security of confidence at last extorted the confession from him. He had been intimate with one Morrice, a gentleman of Devonshire, and with him alone did he deliberate upon the great enterprize of the restoration. Sir John Granville, who had a commission from the king, applied for access to the general; but he was desired to communicate his business to Morrice. Granville refused, though twice urged, to deliver his message to any but the general himself; and Monk now finding he
could

† April 9.

could depend on his secrecy, opened to him his whole intentions; but with his usual caution still scrupled to commit any thing to paper. In consequence of these the king left the Spanish territories, where he very narrowly escaped being detained at Breda by the governor, under pretence of treating him with proper respect and formality. From thence he retired into Holland, where he waited for further advice.

In the mean time the elections in parliament went every where in favour of the king's party. The presbyterians had long been so harrassed by their independent coadjutors, that they longed for the king's restoration. These, therefore, joined to the royalists, formed a decisive majority on every contest, and without noise, determined to call back the king.

At length the long expected day for the sitting of a free parliament arrived; and they chose Sir Harbottle Grimstone for their speaker, a man, though at first attached to the opposing party, yet a royalist in his heart. The affections of all were turned towards the king; yet such were their fears, that no one dared for some days to mention his name. They were terrified with former examples of cruelty; and they only shewed their loyalty in their bitter invectives against the late usurper. All this time Monk, with his usual reserve, tried their tempers, and examined the ardour of their wishes; at length he gave directions to Annesley, president of the council, to inform them that one Sir John Granville, a ser-

vant of the king's, had been sent over by his majesty, and was now at the door with a letter to the commons.

Nothing could exceed the joy with which this message was received. The members forgot the dignity of their situations, and indulged themselves in a loud exclamation of applause. Granville was called in, and the letter eagerly read. A moment's pause was scarce allowed; all at once the house burst out into an universal assent to the king's proposals; and to diffuse the joy more widely, it was voted that the letter and declaration should immediately be published.

The king's declaration was highly relished by every order of the state. It offered a general amnesty to all persons without any exceptions, but such as should be made by parliament. It promised to indulge scrupulous consciences with liberty in matters of religion; to leave to the examination of parliament the claims of all such as possessed lands with contested titles; to confirm all these concessions by act of parliament; to satisfy the army under general Monk with respect to their arrears, and to give the same rank to his officers when they should be received into the king's service.

This declaration was not less pleasing to the lords than to the people. After voting the restitution of the ancient government, it was resolved to send the king fifty thousand pounds, the duke of York his brother ten thousand, and the duke of Gloucester half that sum. Then both houses erased from their records
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all acts that had passed to the prejudice of royalty. The army, the navy, the city of London, were eager in preparing their addresses to his majesty : and he was soon after proclaimed with great solemnity at Whitehall, and at Temple Bar. The people, now freed from all restraint, let loose their transports without bounds. Thousands were seen running about frantic with pleasure ; and such were the numbers of the loyalists on this occasion, that one could not but wonder where these people dwelt who had lately done so much mischief.

Charles took care to confirm the substance of his declarations to the English commissioners, who were dispatched to attend him into his native dominions. Montague, the English admiral, waited upon his majesty to inform him that the fleet expected his orders at Scheveling. The duke of York immediately went on board, and took the command as lord high admiral. The king went on board, and landing at Dover, was received by the general, whom he tenderly embraced. Very different was his present return, from the forlorn state in which he left the English coast at Suffex. He now saw the same people that had fought his life, as warmly expressing their pleasure at his safety. He entered London on the twenty-ninth of May, which was his birth-day. An innumerable concourse of people lined the way wherever he passed, and rent the air with their acclamations. They had been so long distracted by unrelenting factions, and oppressed by a
 succession

succession of tyrannies, that they could no longer suppress these emotions of delight, to behold their constitution restored; or rather, like a phoenix, appearing more beautiful and vigorous from the ruins of its former conflagration.



C H A P. VII.

C H A R L E S II.

* **I**N this reign we see the people tossed into opposite factions, and, as the sea after a storm, still continuing those violent motions by which they were first impelled. We see them at one period with unbounded adulation soliciting the shackles of arbitrary power; at another, with equal animosity banishing all the emissaries of unbounded power from the throne: now courting the monarch, and then threatening those on whom he most depended. There seems a clue that can unravel all these inconsistencies. While the people thought the king a protestant, they were willing to intrust him with their lives and fortunes; but when they supposed that he

* A. D. 1660.

he was more inclining to popery, all their confidence vanished, and they were even willing to punish papists, as the properest method of shewing their resentment against himself.

When Charles came to the throne he was thirty years of age, possessed of a genteel person, an elegant address, and an engaging manner. His whole behaviour was well calculated to support and increase popularity. Accustomed during his exile to live cheerfully among his courtiers, he carried the same in-dearing familiarities to the throne; and from the levity of his temper no injuries were dreaded from his former resentments. But it was soon found that all these advantages were merely superficial. His indolence and love of pleasure made him averse to all kinds of business; his familiarities were prostituted to the worst of his subjects; and he took no care to reward his former friends, as he had taken no steps to be avenged of his former enemies.

It required some time before the several parts of the state, could come into proper form; a council was composed, into which church men and presbyterians were indiscriminately admitted; and the king's choice of his principal ministers was universally pleasing to the people. Sir Edward Hyde, who had attended him in his exile, was now created a peer by the title of lord Clarendon, and appointed lord-chancellor, and first minister of state. This excellent man is better known now by his merits as an historian,

rian, than as a statesman; but his integrity and wisdom were equally excellent in both. The marquis, afterwards created duke of Ormond, was appointed lord-steward of the household, the earl of Southampton, high-treasurer, and Sir Edward Nicholas, secretary of state. These men, combined by private friendship, and pursuing one common aim, laboured only for the public, and supported its interests with their own.

But though the joy of the people was unbounded, yet something was thought to be due to justice. Therefore though an act of indemnity was passed, those who had an immediate hand in the king's death were excepted. Even Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, though dead, were considered as proper objects of resentment; their bodies were dug up, dragged to the place of execution, and, after hanging some time, buried under the gallows. Of the rest, who sat in judgment at the late monarch's trial, some were dead, and some were thought worthy of pardon. Ten only, out of fourscore, were devoted to punishment.

This was all the blood that was shed in so great a restoration. Charles being directed in all things by Clarendon, gave universal satisfaction as well by the lenity as the justice of his conduct. The army was disbanded that had so long governed the nation; prelacy, and all the ceremonies of the church of England, were restored; at the same time that the king uniformly preserved an air of moderation and neutrality.

But

But this toleration, was not able to quell the enthusiasm of a few frantic men. One Venner, a desperate enthusiast, who had often conspired against Cromwell, and had as often been pardoned, had by this time persuaded his followers, that if they would take arms, Jesus would come to put himself at their head. With these expectations, to the number of sixty persons, they issued forth into the streets of London in complete armour, and proclaimed king Jesus wherever they went. They believed themselves invulnerable and invincible, and expected the same fortune which had attended Gideon. Every one at first fled before them; one unhappy man being asked who he was for, answering that he was for God and the king, they slew him upon the spot. In this manner they went from street to street, and made a desperate resistance against a body of the train bands that was sent to attack them. After killing many of the assailants, they made a regular retreat into Cane wood, near Hampstead. Being dislodged from thence, the next morning they returned to London, and took possession of an house, in which they defended themselves against a body of troops, until the majority was killed. At last the troops, who had untiled the house, and were tired of slaughter, rushed in, and seized the few that were left alive. They were tried, condemned, and executed; and to the last they declared, that if they were deceived, the Lord himself was their deceiver.

On

On September the 13th, Henry duke of Gloucester died of the small-pox, in the twentieth year of his age. He was a prince of an amiable character, and tenderly beloved by the king, who seemed more afflicted by his death, than by any incident of his whole life.

From moroseness, the people in general now went over into the opposite extreme of riot and debauchery. The court set them the example; nothing but scenes of gallantry were to be seen; the horrors of the late war were become the subject of ridicule; the formality and ignorance of the sectaries were displayed upon the stage, and even laughed at from the pulpit. But while the king thus rioted, the old faithful friends and followers of his family were left unrewarded. Numbers who had fought for him and his father, and had lost their whole fortunes in his service, still continued to pine in want and oblivion: while, in the mean time, their persecutors, who had acquired fortunes during the civil war, were permitted to enjoy them without molestation. The sufferers petitioned in vain: the amblers, the flatterers, and the concubines of this monarch, enjoyed all his consideration. The wretched royalists murmured without redress; he fled from their expostulations to scenes of mirth, riot, and festivity.

His parliaments, both of England and Scotland seemed willing to make reparation for their former disobedience, by their present concessions. In the English house, monarchy and episcopacy were carried to as great splen-

splendour as ever. The bishops resumed their seats in the house of peers; all military authority was acknowledged to be vested in the king; and he was empowered to appoint commissioners for regulating corporations and expelling such members as had intruded themselves by violence; the parliament was then dissolved. In the next parliament the famous horrid act of uniformity in religion was passed, by which it was required that every clergyman should be re-ordained, if he had not before received episcopal ordination; and that he should declare his assent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer. In consequence of this law, above two thousand of the clergy relinquished their cures in one day, to the great astonishment of the nation; thus sacrificing their interest to their religion.

* But the Scotch parliament went still greater lengths in their prostrations to the king. It was there that his divine, indefeasible, and hereditary right, was asserted in the fullest terms. His right was extended to their lives and possessions, and from his original grant was said to come all that his subjects could enjoy. They voted him an additional revenue of forty thousand pounds; and all their former violences were treated with the utmost detestation.

This was the time for the king to have made himself independent of all parliaments; and it is said that Southampton had thought of procuring him, from the commons, a revenue of two millions a year, which would

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have

* A. D. 1661.

have effectually rendered him absolute. But in this, his views were obstructed by the great Clarendon, who, though attached to the king, was still more the friend of liberty and the laws. Charles was no way interested in these opposite views of his ministers; he only desired money, for his pleasures; and provided he had that, he little regarded the manner in which it was obtained.

It was this careless and expensive disposition that first tended to disgust his subjects, and to dispel that intoxication which had taken place at his restoration. Though the people were pleased with the pleasantries of their monarch, yet they murmured at his indolence, debaucheries, and profusion. They could not help remembering the strict frugality and active diligence that marked the usurper's administration; they called to mind the victories they had gained under him, and the vast projects he had undertaken. But they now saw an opposite picture; a court sunk in debauchery and the taxes only employed in extending vice, and corrupting the morals of the people. And when they saw Dunkirk, which had been acquired during the late vigorous administration, basely sold to the French, for a small sum to supply the king's extravagance, they could put no bounds to their complaints. || From this time, he found the wheels of government clogged with continual obstructions, and his parliaments reluctantly granting supplies.

His continual exigencies drove him constantly to measures no way suited to his inclination.

clination. Among others, was his marriage, with Catherine, the Infanta of Portugal, who, though a virtuous princess, possessed few personal attractions. It was the portion of this princess that the needy monarch was enamoured of, which amounted to three hundred thousand pounds, together with the fortrefs of Tangier in Africa, and of Bombay in the East Indies. The chancellor Clarendon, the dukes of Ormond, and Southampton, urged many reasons against this match, particularly the likelihood of her never having any children; but the king disregarded their advice, and the inauspicious marriage was celebrated on the 21st. of May.

But still his necessities were greater than his supplies. He never much loved the steady virtue of lord Clarendon, and imputed to him some of those necessities to which he was reduced. It is said also that this great minister prevented his repudiating the queen, which he had thoughts of doing, in order to marry one Mrs. Stuart, on whom he had placed his affections, by procuring that lady to be privately married to the duke of Richmond. However this be, he inclined to give him up to the resentment of the parliament, to whom he was become obnoxious, in order to obtain some farther supplies. For this purpose he assembled the commons in the banquetting-house; and, in the close of a flattering speech, replete with professions of the warmest affection, he begged a supply for his present occasions. They granted him four subsidies; and the clergy, in convocation, followed their example.

On June the 14th, Sir Henry Vane, one of the principal authors of the late troubles, was beheaded. The law was strained for his conviction, as he had strained it against the earl of Strafford, against whom he had acted all along with the most rancorous enmity. So was his unmercifulness repaid into his own bosom!

* It was probably with a view of recruiting the supply for his pleasures, that he declared war against the Dutch, as the money appointed for that purpose, would go through his hands. A vote was procured in the house of commons, alledging, that the wrongs and indignities offered by the Dutch in several quarters of the globe, had in a great measure obstructed the trade of the nation. This was enough for his majesty to proceed upon. He foresaw that he should be able to convert a part of the supplies to his private amusements. His brother also, the duke of York, longed for an opportunity of signaling his courage and conduct, as high-admiral, against a people he hated, not only for their republican principles, but also as one of the bulwarks of the protestant religion||.

This war began on each side with mutual depredations. The English, under the command of Sir Robert Holmes, not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corse castle, on the coast of Africa, but likewise seized the Dutch settlements

* A. D. 1664.

|| During this session, the clergy gave up the right of taxing themselves in convocation. Here ended their importance; and from that time they have been very little considered.

settlements of Cape Verde, and the Isle of Goree. Sailing from thence to America, the admiral possessed himself of Nova Belgia, since called New York; a country that has since continued annexed to the English government. On the other hand, de Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, sailed to Guinea, dispossessed the English of all their settlements there, except Cape Corse. § Soon after, the fleets of each nation met, the one under the duke of York, to the number of an hundred and fourteen sail, the other commanded by Opdam, admiral of the Dutch navy, of nearly equal force. The engagement began at four in the morning, and both sides fought with their usual intrepidity. The duke of York was in the hottest part of the engagement, and behaved with great spirit and composure, even when lord Falmouth, lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle were killed at his side by one cannon-ball. In the heat of the action, when engaged in close fight with the duke, the Dutch admiral's ship blew up: this accident much discouraged the Dutch, who fled towards their own coast; they had nineteen ships sunk and taken, the victors lost only one. This disaster threw the Dutch into consternation; and de Wit, their great minister, whose genius and wisdom were admirable, was obliged to come on board, and take the command of the fleet upon himself. This extraordinary man quickly became as much master of naval affairs, as if he had been from his infancy educated in them. He even improved some parts of the naval art, beyond

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what

§ A. D. 1665.

what expert mariners had ever attained.

This year the plague broke out in London, and raged with such fury as to destroy, in the space of a few months, above an hundred thousand persons.

* The success of the English excited the jealousy of the neighbouring states, particularly France and Denmark, who resolved to protect the Dutch against the superior power of their opposers. The Dutch, strengthened by so powerful an alliance, resolved to face their conquerors once more. De Ruyter, their great admiral, was returned from his expedition to Guinea; and was appointed, at the head of seventy-six sail, to join the duke of Beaufort, the French admiral, who it was supposed, was then entering the British channel from Toulon. The duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert commanded the English fleet, of seventy-four sail. Albemarle, who from his successes under Cromwell had learned too much to despise the enemy, proposed to detach prince Rupert with twenty ships to oppose the duke of Beaufort. Sir George Ayscue, well acquainted with the force of his enemies, protested against it; but Albemarle's authority prevailed. The battle on June the 1st, began with incredible fury: the Dutch admiral Evertzen was killed by a cannon-ball, and one vessel of their fleet was blown up, while one of the English ships was taken: darkness parted the combatants for the first day. The second day they renewed the combat with increased animosity; sixteen fresh ships joined the Dutch, and the English

* A. D. 1666.

English were so shattered, that their fighting ships were reduced to twenty-eight. Upon retreating towards their own coast, the Dutch followed them, and another dreadful conflict began, but was stopped by the darkness of the night as before. The morning of the third day, the English continued their retreat, and the Dutch persisted in pursuing. Albemarle, who kept in the rear, made a desperate resolution to blow up his ship rather than submit to the enemy; when he happily found himself reinforced by prince Rupert with sixteen ships of the line. By this time it was night; and the next morning, after a distant cannonading, the fleets came to a close combat, which was continued with great violence, till they were parted by a mist. But Sir George Ayscue, in a ship of one hundred guns, had the misfortune to strike on the Galoper Sands, where he was surrounded and taken. The Dutch certainly obtained the advantage, though not the glory of the combat.

A second engagement, equally bloody, followed soon after, with larger fleets on both sides, commanded by the same admirals; and in this the Dutch were obliged to retreat into their own harbours. But they soon were in a capacity to outnumber the English fleet, by the junction of Beaufort the French admiral. They appeared in the Thames, conducted by their great admiral; and threw the English into the utmost consternation: a chain had been drawn across the river Medway: some fortifications had been added to the forts
along

along the banks, but all these were unequal to the present force: Sheerness was soon taken, the Dutch passed forward, and broke the chain, though fortified by some ships, sunk there by Albemarle's orders. Destroying the shipping in their passage, they advanced still onward, with six men of war, and five fire-ships, as far as Upnore castle, where they burned three men of war. The whole city of London was in consternation; it was expected that the Dutch might sail up next tide to London bridge, and destroy not only the shipping, but even the buildings of the metropolis. But the Dutch were unable to prosecute that project from the failure of the French, spreading, therefore, an alarm along the coast, they returned to their own ports, to boast their insult on the British glory.

This calamity was soon followed by another still more dreadful; * a fire breaking out at a baker's house, in Pudding-lane, near the bridge, spread with such rapidity, that no efforts could extinguish it till it laid in ashes the most considerable part of the city. The conflagration continued three days; and destroyed six hundred streets, and thirteen thousand, two hundred houses, while the wretched inhabitants fled from one street, only to be spectators of equal calamities in another. At length, when all hope vanished, and a total destruction was expected, no natural means of help remaining, God interposed: the flames ceased suddenly and unexpectedly, after having reduced thousands from affluence to misery. As the streets were
narrow,

* Sep. 2.

narrow, and mostly built of wood, the flames spread the faster; and the unusual dryness of the season prevented the proper supplies of water. But the people were not satisfied with these obvious motives; having been long taught to impute their calamities to the machinations of their enemies, they now ascribed the present misfortune to the papists. But no proofs were brought of their guilt. The magistracy, however ascribed it to them, on a monument raised where the fire began; and which still continues as a proof of the blind credulity of the times. This calamity, though at first it affected the fortunes of thousands, in the end proved both beneficial and ornamental to the city. It rose from its ruins in greater beauty; and the streets being widened, and built of brick instead of wood, became more wholesome and more secure.

* Charles now began to be sensible that all the ends for which he had undertaken the Dutch war, were likely to prove ineffectual. A treaty therefore was concluded at Breda, by which the colony of New York was ceded by the Dutch to the English, and has continued a most valuable acquisition to the present time.

Yet this treaty was considered as inglorious to the English, as they failed of gaining any redress on the complaints which gave rise to it. Lord Clarendon, therefore, gained a share of blame, for having advised a disgraceful peace. He had been long declining in the king's favour and was disliked by most of his courtiers. His severe virtue, and his
detestation

* A. D. 1667.

detestation of factious measures, were unlikely to gain him partizans in such a court as that of Charles. There were many accusations brought against him, not one of which could be proved: but the king seized on the pretence, § and ordered the seals to be taken from him, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgeman.

This seemed the signal for Clarendon's enemies to step in, and effect his entire overthrow. The house of commons, in their address to the king, gave him thanks for his dismissal of that nobleman; and immediately a charge was opened against him in the house, by Mr. Seymour, consisting of seventeen articles. These, which were only a catalogue of vulgar rumours, appeared at first sight false or frivolous: and his eldest son told the house, in the name of his father, "that if they would only prove one of those, let them chuse which ever they pleased, he would plead guilty to all the rest. However Clarendon finding the popular torrent, united to the violence of power, running with impetuosity against him, thought proper to withdraw to France. The legislature then passed a bill of banishment and incapacity, while he continued to reside at Paris, where he employed his leisure in reducing his history of the civil war into form, for which he had before collected materials. Such was the unworthy fate of the earl of Clarendon, a nobleman of unblemished virtue, an incorruptible judge, as well as an able minister. But his reward is with the Most High!

A con-

§ Aug. 31.

‡ A confederacy named the Triple Alliance, was formed by Charles, soon after the fall of this great statesman. It was conducted by Sir William Temple, one of the great ornaments of English literature; who united the philosopher and the statesman. This alliance was formed between England, Holland, and Sweden, to prevent the French king from completing his conquests in the Netherlands. That monarch had already subdued the greater part of that country; when he was stopped in his career by this league; in which it was agreed by the contracting powers, that they would constitute themselves arbiters of the differences between France and Spain, and check the inordinate pretensions of either.

To this foreign confederacy succeeded one of a domestic nature, that did not promise such beneficial effects. The king was excited by his brother, to rise above humble solicitations to his parliament; and was beset by some desperate counsellors, who encouraged him to assert his own independence. The principal of those were, Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, Lauderdale, a junto distinguished by the appellation of the Cabal, a word containing the initial letters of their names. Never was there a more dangerous ministry in England, nor one more fitted to destroy all that liberty which had been establishing for ages.

Sir Thomas Clifford was a man of a daring and impetuous spirit, rendered more dangerous by eloquence. Lord Ashley, soon after known by the name of lord Shaftesbury, was
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the most extraordinary man of his age; he had been a member of the long parliament, and had great influence among the presbyterians; he was a favourite of Cromwell, and afterwards had a considerable hand in the restoration; he was ambitious, subtle, and enterprising; well acquainted with the blind attachment of parties; and while he had the character of never betraying his friends, he changed his party as it suited his convenience. The duke of Buckingham was gay, capricious, of great vivacity, well fitted to unite, and harmonize the graver tempers of which this junto was composed. Arlington was a man of very moderate capacity, his intentions were good, but he wanted courage to persevere in them. Lastly, the duke of Lauderdale was not defective in natural, and still less in acquired talents; but he was ambitious, cruel, implacable, obstinate, insolent, and sullen. † These were the men to whom Charles gave up the conduct of his affairs; and who plunged the remaining part of his reign in difficulties, which produced the most dangerous symptoms.

A secret alliance with France, and a rupture with Holland, were the first consequences of their advice. The duke of York had the confidence boldly to declare himself a catholic; and, to alarm the fears of the nation still more, a liberty of conscience was allowed to all sectaries, whether dissenters or papists. These measures were considered by the people as destructive, not only of their liberties, but of their religion. A proclamation was
issued

† A. D. 1670.

issued, containing very rigorous clauses in favour of pressing; another full of menaces against those who ventured to blame his majesty's measures; and even against those who heard such discourses, unless they informed in due time against the offenders.

‡ The English now saw themselves engaged in a league with France against the Dutch; and consequently, whether victorious or vanquished, their efforts were like to be equally unsuccessful. The French had for some years been growing into power; and now, under the conduct of their ambitious monarch, Lewis XIV, threatened the liberties of Europe, and the protestant religion, of which Lewis had shewn himself a determined enemy. It gave the people, therefore, a gloomy prospect, to see an union formed, which, if successful, must totally subvert that balance of power, which the protestants aimed at preserving; nor were they less apprehensive of their own sovereign, who, though he turned all religion to ridicule, yet was suspected to be attached to the catholics. The first events of this war were correspondent to their fears.

* The English and French combined fleets, commanded by the duke of York, and the marshal d'Etrees, met the Dutch fleet to the number of ninety sail, commanded by admiral de Ruyter, and a furious battle ensued. In this engagement the gallant Sandwich, who commanded the English van, drove his ship into the midst of the enemy, beat off the admiral that attacked him, sunk another ship that attempted to board him, and sunk

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‡ A. D. 1671. * A. D. 1672.

three fire-ships that endeavoured to grapple with him. Tho' his vessel was torn with shot, and out of a thousand men there only remained four hundred, he still continued in the midst of the engagement. At last a fire-ship having laid hold of his vessel, her destruction was now inevitable. Sandwich however refused to quit his ship, and perished in the flames. Night parted the combatants; the Dutch retired, and were not followed by the English. The loss sustained by both was nearly equal; but the French suffered little, not having entered into the heat of the engagement. It was supposed, they had orders to spare their own ships, while the Dutch and English should grow weak by their mutual animosities.

The combined powers were much more successful against the Dutch by land. Lewis conquered all before him, took all the frontier towns, and threatened the republic with a final dissolution. Terms were proposed to them by the two conquerors. Lewis offered them such as would have deprived them of all power of resisting an invasion from France by land. Those of Charles exposed them equally to every invasion from sea. At last, the murmurs of the English at seeing this brave people on the brink of destruction, were too loud not to impress the king. He was obliged to call a parliament to take the sense of the nation; and he soon saw how his subjects stood affected.

† The eyes of all men, both abroad and at home, were fixed upon this new parliament, which,

which, after many prorogations, continued sitting for near two years. Before the commons entered upon business, there lay before them an affair, which discovered, beyond a possibility of doubt, the arbitrary projects of the king. It had been a constant practice in the house for many years, in case of any vacancy, to issue out writs for new elections; but, by Shaftesbury's advice, several members had taken their seats upon irregular writs issued by the chancellor; so that the whole house in time might be filled with members clandestinely called up by the court. The house was no sooner therefore assembled, than a motion was made against this method of election: and the members themselves, thus called to parliament, had the modesty to withdraw.

The king's late declaration of indulgence to all sectaries was next taken into consideration, and a remonstrance drawn up against that exercise of the prerogative. Charles found himself obliged, reluctantly to retract his declaration. The commons expressed the utmost satisfaction with this measure. He on his part assured them, that he would willingly pass any law which might tend to give them satisfaction in all their just grievances.

Having abridged the king's stretches of power in these points, they went still farther. A law was passed, entitled the Test act, imposing an oath on all who should enjoy any public office. Besides the taking the oaths of allegiance, and the king's supremacy, they were obliged to receive the sacrament once a

year in the established church, and to abjure all belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation. As the dissenters also had seconded the efforts of the commons against the king's declaration for indulgence of papists, a bill was passed for their ease and relief, which, however, went with some difficulty through the house of peers.

But still the great object of their meeting was to be enquired into; for the war against the Dutch continued. The commons, therefore, weary of this, resolved that the standing-army was a grievance. They next declared, that they would grant no more supplies to carry on the Dutch war, unless it appeared that the enemy refused all reasonable conditions. To cut short these disagreeable alterations, the king resolved to prorogue the parliament; and, with that intention, he went unexpectedly to the house of peers, and sent the usher of the black rod to summon the house of commons to attend. It happened that the speaker and the usher nearly met at the door of the house; but the speaker being within, some of the members suddenly shut the door, and cried, *To the chair!* Upon which the following motions were instantly made in a tumultuous manner. That the alliance with France was a grievance; that the evil counsellors of the king were a grievance; that the duke of Lauderdale was a grievance; and then the house rose in great confusion. The king soon saw that he could expect no supply from the commons for carrying on the war; he resolved, therefore,
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to make a separate peace with the Dutch, on the terms which they had proposed: and it was concluded accordingly.

This turn in the system of the king's politics was very pleasing to the nation in general; but the Cabal quickly saw that it would be the destruction of all their power. Shaftesbury, therefore, was the first to desert them, and go over to the country party, who received him with open arms, and trusted him without any reserve. Clifford was dead. Buckingham was desirous of imitating Shaftesbury. Lauderdale and Arlington were exposed to all the effects of national resentment. Articles of impeachment were drawn up against the former, which, however, were never prosecuted; and as for the other, he every day grew more and more out of favour with the king, and contemptible to the people. This was an end of the power of a junto, that had laid a settled plan for overturning the constitution, and fixing unlimited monarchy upon its ruins.

|| In the mean time the war between the Dutch and the French went on with the greatest vigour; and although the latter were repressed for a while, they still continued making incroachments. The Dutch forces were commanded by the prince of Orange, who was possessed of courage, activity, vigilance, and patience; but he was always inferior in number of men. He was therefore, always unsuccessful; but still found means to repair his losses, and to make head in a little time against his victorious enemies. These strug-

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|| A. D. 1674.

gles for the preservation of his country's freedom interested the English strongly in his favour ; so that from being his opposers, they now wished to lend him assistance. They considered their alliance with France as threatening a subversion of the protestant religion ; and they longed for an union with him, as the only means of security. The commons, therefore addressed the king, representing the danger to which the kingdom was exposed from the growing greatness of France ; and they assured him, in case of a war, that they would not be backward in their supplies. Charles was not displeased with the latter part of their address, as money was necessary for his pleasures. He therefore told them, that unless they granted him six hundred thousand pounds, he could not give them a satisfactory answer. They scrupled this : on which he immediately ordered them to adjourn.

The marriage of the duke of York's eldest daughter, the princess Mary, heir apparent to the crown, with the prince of Orange, was a measure that gave great satisfaction in these general disquietudes about religion. The negotiation was brought about by the king's own desire ; and the protestants now saw an happy prospect before them of a succession, that would be favourable to their much-loved reformation. A negotiation for peace between the French and the Dutch followed soon after, which was favourable to the latter. But the mutual animosities of these states not being as yet sufficiently quelled,
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the war was continued for some time longer. The king, therefore, to satisfy his parliament, who declared loudly against the French, sent over an army of three thousand men to the continent, under the command of the duke of Monmouth, to secure Ostend. A fleet also was fitted out with great diligence; and a quadruple alliance was projected between England, Holland, Spain, and the Emperor. These vigorous measures brought about the famous treaty of Nimeguen, * which in the end gave a general peace to Europe. However, the king was so dissatisfied with the parliament, that he prorogued it to February, 1677.



CHAP. VIII.

THIS reign presents the most amazing contrasts of levity and cruelty, of mirth and gloomy suspicion. Ever since the fatal league with France, the people had entertained violent jealousies against the court. The fears of the nation were vented without restraint; the apprehensions of a popish successor, an abandoned court, and a parliament, which, though sometimes assertors of liberty, yet

* A. D. 1675.

yet continuing for seventeen years without change; these naturally rendered the minds of mankind suspicious, and they only wanted objects on which to wreak their ill humour.

When the spirit of the English is once roused, they either find objects of suspicion or make them. * On the twelfth of August, one Kirby, a chymist, accosted the king as he was walking in the Park. "Sir, said he, keep within the company; your enemies have a design upon your life, and you may be shot in this very walk." Being questioned for this, he offered to produce one doctor Tongue, a weak, credulous clergyman, who had told him that two persons, named Grove and Pickering, were to murder the king; and that Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, had undertaken the same task by poison. Tongue was introduced to the king, and was referred to the lord treasurer Danby. He there declared that several papers were thrust under his door; and he knew the author of them, who desired that his name might be concealed, as he dreaded the resentment of the Jesuits.

This information appeared so vague and unsatisfactory, that the king concluded the whole was a fiction. However Tongue went again to the lord treasurer, and told him, that a packet of letters, written by Jesuits concerned in the plot, was that night to be put into the post-house for Windsor, directed to one Bedingfield, a Jesuit, who was confessor to the duke of York, and who resided there. These letters had actually been received a few hours before by the duke; but he

* A. D. 1678.

he had shewn them to the king as a forgery, of which he neither knew the drift nor the meaning. This incident confirmed the king in his incredulity. He desired, however, that it might be concealed, as it might raise a flame in the nation; but the duke, to prove his innocence, insisted upon a discussion, which turned out very different from his expectations.

Titus Oates, who was the fountain of all this intelligence, was produced soon after. This man affirmed that he had fallen under the suspicion of the Jesuits, and that he had concealed himself, in order to avoid their resentment. This Titus Oates was an abandoned miscreant, obscure, illiterate, vulgar, and indigent. He had been once indicted for perjury, was afterwards chaplain in a man of war, and dismissed for unnatural practices. He then professed himself a Roman catholic, and crossed the sea to St. Omer's, where he was for some time maintained in the English seminary. The fathers of that college sent him with some dispatches to Spain; but after his return, when they became better acquainted with his character, they would not suffer him to continue among them; so that he was obliged to return to London, where he was ready to encounter every danger for his support. At a time that he was supposed to have been entrusted with a secret involving the fate of kings, he was in such necessity, that Kirby was obliged to supply him with daily bread.

He had two methods to proceed upon, either to ingratiate himself by this information with
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the ministry, or to alarm the people. He chose the latter. He went, therefore, with his two companions to Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, a justice of peace, and before him deposed to a narrative fit to make an impression on the vulgar. "The pope, he said, considered himself as entitled to the possession of England and Ireland, and had accordingly assumed the sovereignty of these kingdoms. This, he had delivered up to the Jesuits, and Oliva, the general of that order, was his delegate. Several English catholic lords, whose names he mentioned, were appointed by the pope to the other offices of state; lord Arundel was created chancellor, lord Powis treasurer, Sir William Godolphin privy-seal, Coleman, the duke's secretary, was made secretary of state, Langhorne attorney-general, lord Bellasis general of the forces, lord Peters lieutenant-general, and lord Stafford paymaster. The king, whom the Jesuits called the Black Bastard, was solemnly tried by them, and condemned as an heretic." He asserted that father Le Shee, meaning the French king's confessor La Chaise, had offered ten thousand pounds to any man who should kill the king. Ten thousand pounds had been offered to Sir George Wakeman to poison him; but he demanded fifteen thousand, which demand was complied with. Lest these means should fail, four Irish ruffians had been employed by the Jesuits at the rate of twenty guineas a piece to stab the king at Windsor. Coleman, late secretary to the dutchess of York, was deeply involved in the plot. Grove and Pickering, to make sure work,

work, were employed to shoot the king, and that too with silver bullets. The former was to receive fifteen hundred pounds for his pains, and the latter, being a pious man, thirty thousand maffes. Pickering would have executed his purpose, had not the flint dropped out of his pistol at one time, and at another the priming. The duke of York was to be offered the crown on the success of the scheme, on condition of extirpating the protestant religion.

In consequence of this information, sufficiently marked with absurdity, and contradiction, Titus Oates became the favourite of the people, notwithstanding, during his examination before the council, he so betrayed the grossness of his impostures, that he contradicted himself in every step of his narration. While in Spain he had been carried, he said, to Don John, who promised great assistance. The king asked him, what sort of a man his old acquaintance Don John was. Oates replied that he was a tall lean man, which was directly contrary to the truth, as the king well knew. Though he pretended great intimacies with Coleman, yet he knew him not when placed very near him. He was guilty of the same mistake with regard to Sir George Wakeman.

A great number of the Jesuits mentioned by Oates were immediately taken into custody. Coleman, at first retired; but next day surrendered himself, and his papers, were secured. These papers, which were such as might be naturally expected from a zealous catholic

catholic, were converted into evidence against him. He had, without doubt, maintained a close correspondence with the French king's confessor, with the pope's nuncio at Bruffels, and with many other catholics abroad. But these letters contained nothing that served as proof in the present information. However, when the contents of those letters were publicly known, they diffused the panic which the former narrative had begun.

In this fluctuation of passions, an accident served to confirm the prejudices of the people, and to put it beyond doubt that Oates's narrative was the truth. Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, who had been so active in unravelling the popish machinations, was found dead in a ditch, in the way to Hampstead. His own sword was thrust through his body; but no blood had flowed from the wound; so that it appeared he was dead some time before this method was taken to deceive the public. He had money in his pockets, and there was a broad livid mark quite round his neck. The cause of his death must still continue a secret; but the people, already enraged against the papists, did not hesitate a moment to ascribe it to them; and the populace were exasperated to such a degree, that moderate men began to dread a general massacre of them. The body of Godfrey was carried through the streets in procession, preceded by seventy clergymen; and every one who saw it, made no doubt that his death could be only caused by the papists. Even the better sort of people were infected with this prejudice; and

and such was the general conviction of popish guilt, that no person, with any regard to personal safety, could express the least doubt concerning the information of Oates.

It only remained for the parliament to repress these delusions. But the parliament testified greater credulity than even the vulgar. The cry of plot was echoed from one house to the other; the country party would not let slip such an opportunity of managing the passions of the people; the courtiers were afraid of being thought disloyal, if they should doubt of it. Danby, the prime minister, himself entered into it furiously; and though the king told him he had given the houses a handle to ruin himself, yet he persevered, till he found the king's prognostic but too true.

In order to propagate the alarm, an address was voted for a solemn fast. It was requested that all papers tending to throw light upon so horrible a conspiracy might be laid before the house, that all papists should remove from London, that access should be denied at court to all unknown persons, and that the train-bands in London and Westminster should be in readiness to march. They voted, that there was a damnable and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by the popish recusants, for assassinating the king, and rooting out the protestant religion. Oates was recommended by parliament to the king. He was lodged in Whitehall, and encouraged by a pension of twelve hundred pounds a-year to proceed in forging new informations.

The encouragement given to Oates did not fail to bring in others. William Bedloe, a man, if possible, more infamous than Oates, appeared next upon the stage. He was, like the former, of very low birth, had been noted for several cheats and thefts, had travelled over many parts of Europe under borrowed names, and had frequently passed himself for a man of quality. This man, at his own desire, was arrested at Bristol, and conveyed to London, where he declared before the council that he had seen the body of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey at Somersét-house, where the queen lived. He said that a servant of lord Bellasis offered to give him four thousand pounds if he would carry it off. He was questioned about the plot, but denied all knowledge of it, and asserted that he had no acquaintance with Oates. Next day, however, he thought it would be better to share the emoluments of the plot, and he gave an ample account of it. This narrative he made to tally as well as he could with the information of Oates, but added some circumstances of his own, still more tremendous, and still more absurd. He said that ten thousand men were to be landed from Flanders in Burlington-bay, and were immediately to seize Hull. He affirmed that the lords Powis and Petre had undertaken to raise an army in Radnorshire; that fifty thousand men were ready to rise in London; that he himself had been tampered with to murder a *man*, and was to receive four thousand pounds for that service, besides the pope's blessing; that the king was

was to be assassinated, the protestants butchered, and the kingdom offered to One, if he would consent to hold it of the church; if not, the pope should continue to govern without him. He likewise accused the lords Carrington and Brudenell, who were committed to custody. But the most terrible part of all was, that Spain was to invade England with forty thousand men, who were ready at St. Jago in the character of pilgrims; though at this time Spain was actually unable to raise ten thousand men to supply her own garrisons in Flanders.

These narrations carry their own refutation; the infamy of the witnesses, the contradiction in their testimony, the improbability of it, all serve to raise our horror against these base villains, and our pity at the delusion of the times. In order to give a confident air to the discovery, Bedloe published a pamphlet with this title. "A Narrative and impartial Discovery of the horrid Popish Plot, carried on for the burning the Cities of London and Westminster, with their suburbs, &c. by Captain William Bedloe, lately one of the Popish committees for carrying on such fires." The papists were now become so obnoxious, that vote after vote passed against them in the house of commons, and such as did not concur were expelled the house without ceremony. Even the duke of York was permitted to keep his place in the house by a majority of only two. "I would not, said one of the lords, have so much as a popish man, or a popish
B b 2 woman

“ woman to remain here, not so much as a
 “ popish dog, or a popish bitch, not so much
 “ as a popish cat to mew, or pur about our
 “ king.” This was wretched eloquence;
 but it was admirably suited to the times.

Encouraged by the general voice in their favour, the witnesses, who all along had enlarged their narratives, in proportion as they were greedily received, went a step farther, and ventured to accuse the queen. The king received the news with good humour. “ They think, said he, that I have a mind
 “ to a new wife; but for all that, I will not
 “ suffer an innocent woman to be abused.” He immediately ordered Oates to be strictly confined, seized his papers, and dismissed his servants. But his favour with parliament soon procured his release.

Edward Coleman, secretary to the duke of York, was the first who was brought to trial. His letters were produced against him. They testified a zeal for the catholic cause, and that alone was sufficient to convict him. But Oates and Bedloe came in to make his condemnation sure. The former swore that he had sent fourscore guineas to a ruffian, who undertook to kill the king. Bedloe swore that he had received a commission, appointing him papal secretary of state, and that he had consented to the king's assassination. After this unfortunate man's sentence, many members of both houses offered to interpose in his behalf, if he would make an ample confession; but as he was, in reality, possessed of no treasonable secrets, he would not procure
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cure life by imposture. He suffered with calmness and constancy, and to the last persisted in the strongest protestations of his innocence.

The trial of Coleman was succeeded by those of Ireland, Pickering, and Grove. Ireland, a Jesuit, was accused by Oates and Bedloe, the only witnesses against him, that he was one of the fifty jesuits who had signed the great resolve against the king. Ireland affirmed, and proved, that he was in Staffordshire all the month of August, the time when Oates asserted he was in London. Nevertheless, the jury brought him in guilty. It was in the same manner sworn that Pickering and Grove had bound themselves to assassinate the king; that they had provided themselves with screwed pistols and silver bullets. They both protested their innocence, and yet were found guilty. All these unhappy men went to execution protesting their innocence, a circumstance which made no impression on the spectators; their being Jesuits banished even pity from their sufferings.

The animosities of the people, however, seemed a little appeased by the execution of these four; but a new train of evidence was now discovered, that kindled the flame once more. One Miles Prance, a goldsmith, and a professed Roman catholic, had been accused by Bedloe of being an accomplice in Sir Edmond's murder; and, upon his denial, had been loaded with heavy irons, and thrown into the condemned hole, a place cold, dark, and noisome. There the poor wretch lay

groaning and exclaiming that he was not guilty; but being next day carried before lord Shaftesbury, and threatened with severer punishment, he demanded if a confession would procure his pardon? Being assured of that, he had no longer courage to resist, but confessed himself an accomplice in Godfrey's murder. He soon after, however, retracted his evidence before the king; but the same rigours being employed against him, he was induced once more to confirm his first information. He said, the murder was committed by Lawrence Hill, footman to the queen's treasurer, Robert Green, cushion-keeper to her chapel, and Henry Berry, porter of the palace.

Hill, Green, and Berry, were tried upon this evidence. And though Bedloe's narrative, and Prance's information, were totally irreconcilable, and their testimony was invalidated by contrary evidence, all was in vain, the prisoners were condemned and executed. * They all denied their guilt at execution; and as Berry died a protestant, this circumstance was regarded as very considerable. But instead of stopping the torrent of credulity, it only increased the people's animosity against a protestant, who could at once be guilty of a popish plot, and of denying it in his last moments.

This frightful persecution continued for some time; and the king was obliged to give way to the popular fury. * Whitebread, provincial of the Jesuits, Fenwick, Gavan, Turner, and Harcourt, all of them of the same

* A. D. 1679.

same order, were brought to their trial: Langhorne soon after. Besides Oates and Bedloe, Dugdale, a new witness, appeared against the prisoners. This man spread the alarm still farther, and even asserted, that two hundred thousand papists in England were ready to take up arms. The prisoners proved, by sixteen witnesses, that Oates was in St. Omers, at the time he swore he was in London. But as they were papists, their testimony could gain no credit. All pleas availed them nothing; both the Jesuits and Langhorne were condemned and executed, with their last breath denying the crimes for which they died.

The informers had less success on the trial of Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, who, though they swore as usual, was acquitted. His condemnation would have involved the queen in his guilt; and the judge and jury were afraid of venturing so far.

The earl of Stafford, near two years after, was the last man that fell a sacrifice to these bloody wretches. Oates swore that he saw Fenwick, the Jesuit, deliver Stafford a commission from the general of the Jesuits, constituting him pay-master of the papal army. Dugdale gave testimony that the prisoner had endeavoured to engage him in the design of murdering the king. The clamour and outrage of the populace against the prisoner was very great; he was found guilty and condemned to be hanged and quartered; but the king changed the sentence into that of beheading. He was executed on Tower-hill, where

where even his persecutors could not forbear shedding tears at that serene fortitude which shone in every feature, motion, and accent of this aged nobleman. Some other lords, who were taken up and imprisoned upon the former evidence, were tried and acquitted some time after.

But while these prosecutions were going forward, other designs were carried on. The lord treasurer Danby was impeached in the house of commons, by Seymour his enemy. The principal charge against him was, his having written a letter to Montague, the king's ambassador at Paris, directing him to sell the king's good offices at the treaty of Nimeguen. This was a charge he could not deny; and though the king was more culpable than the minister, yet the prosecution was carried on against him with vigour. But the king resolved to defend him. Charles assured the parliament, that as he had acted in every thing by his orders, he held him as entirely blameless; and though he would deprive him of all his employments, yet he would positively insist on his personal safety. The lords were obliged to submit; however, he was sent to the Tower; but no worse consequence ensued.

These furious proceedings had been all carried on by an house of commons that had now continued for above seventeen years; the king, therefore, was resolved to try a new one, which he knew could not be more unmanageable than the former. However, the new parliament did not in the least abate of
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the activity and obstinacy of their predecessors. The king, indeed, changed his council, and admitted into it several of both parties, by which he hoped to appease his opponents; but the antipathy to popery had taken too fast a possession of men's minds, to be removed by this. This house resolved to strike at the root of the evil, a popish successor; and a bill was brought in for the exclusion of the duke of York from the crown of England and Ireland. This important bill passed the lower house by a majority of seventy-nine.

Nor did they rest here, but voted the king's standing army and guards to be illegal. They proceeded to establish limits to the king's power of imprisoning delinquents at will. It was † now that the celebrated statute, called the Habeas Corpus act, was passed, which confirms the subject in an absolute security from oppressive power. By this act it was prohibited to send any one to prisons beyond the sea: no judge, under severe penalties, was to refuse any prisoner his writ of habeas corpus; by which the gaoler was to produce in court the body of the prisoner, whence the writ had its name, and to certify the cause of his detainer. If the gaol lie within twenty miles of the judge, the writ must be obeyed in three days, and so proportionably for greater distances. Every prisoner must be indicted the first term of his commitment, and brought to trial the subsequent term. And no man after being enlarged by court, can be recommitted for the same offence.

This

† May 27.

This law alone, would have been sufficient to endear the parliament that made it to posterity; and it would have been well if they had rested there. The duke of York had retired to Bruffels; but an indisposition of the king led him back to England, to be ready to assert his right to the throne. After prevailing upon his brother to disgrace the duke of Monmouth, a natural son of the king's, now very popular, he retired to Scotland, † under pretence of quieting the apprehensions of the English; but in reality, to strengthen his interests there. This secession served still more to inflame the country party, who were strongly attached to the duke of Monmouth, and resolved to support him against the duke of York. Mobs, petitions, pope burnings, were artifices employed to keep up the terrors of popery. The parliament had shewn favour to all informers, and that served to increase the number of these miscreants. Plot was set up against plot; and the people kept still suspended in dreadful apprehension.

* The Meal-Tub Plot, as it was called, was brought forward to the public on this occasion. One Dangerfield, who had been set in the pillory, scourged, branded, and transported for felony and coining, hatched a plot in conjunction with a midwife, whose name was Cellier, a Roman catholic, of abandoned character. Dangerfield began by declaring, that there was a design on foot to remove the king and the royal family. He communicated this intelligence to the king and the duke of York, who supplied him with

† Oct. 27.

* Nov. 2.

with money, and countenanced his discovery. He hid some seditious papers in the lodgings of one colonel Mansel; and then brought the custom-house officers to his apartment, to search for smuggled merchandize. The papers were found, and the council having examined the affair, concluded they were forged by Dangerfield. They ordered all the places he frequented to be searched; and in the house of Cellier, the whole scheme of the conspiracy was discovered upon paper, concealed in a meal-tub, from whence the plot had its name. Dangerfield being committed to Newgate, made an ample confession of the forgery, which, though probably his own, he ascribed to the earl of Castlemain, the countess of Powis, and the five lords in the Tower. He said that the design was to suborn witnesses to prove a charge of sodomy and perjury upon Oates, to assassinate the earl of Shaftesbury, to accuse the dukes of Monmouth and Buckingham, the earls of Essex, Hallifax and others, of having been concerned in the conspiracy against the king and his brother. Upon this information, the earl of Castlemain and the countess of Powis were sent to the Tower, and the king himself was suspected of encouraging this imposture.

But it was not by plots alone the adverse parties endeavoured to supplant each other. Tumultuous petitions on the one hand, and flattering addresses on the other, were sent up from all quarters. Wherever the country party prevailed, petitions filled with grievances, were sent to the king with an air of
humble

humble insolence. Wherever the church, or the court party prevailed, addressees were framed, containing expressions of the highest regard to his majesty, and the deepest *abhorrence* of those who endeavoured to disturb the public tranquillity. Thus the nation came to be distinguished into *Petitioners* and *Abhorrrers*. Whig and Tory also were first used as terms of mutual reproach at this time. The Whigs were so denominated from a cant name given to the four Scotch conventiclers, (Whig being milk turned sour.) The Tories were denominated from the Irish banditti so called, whose usual manner of bidding people deliver, was by the Irish word *Toree*, or give me.

As this parliament seemed to surpass the former in jealousy, the king was induced to dissolve it. But his necessities, caused by his want of œconomy, obliged him to call another. || However every change seemed only to inflame the evil; and his new parliament seemed willing to out-do even their predecessors. Every step they took, betrayed that zeal with which they were animated. They voted the legality of petitioning to the king; they fell with extreme violence on the Abhorrrers, who, in their addressees to the crown, had expressed their disapprobation of those petitions. Great numbers of these were seized by their order, from all parts of England, and committed to close custody: the liberty of the subject, was every day violated by their arbitrary and capricious commitments. One Stowel of Exeter was the person that put a stop to their proceedings; he refused to obey
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the serjeant at arms, who was sent to apprehend him; he stood upon his defence, and said he knew no law by which they pretended to commit him. The house, finding it equally dangerous to proceed or to recede, got off by an evasion. They inserted in their votes, that Stowel was indisposed; and a month's time was allowed him for his recovery. It is happy for the nation, that should the commons at any time overleap the bounds of their authority, and order men capriciously to be committed to prison; there is no power, in case of resistance, that can compel the prisoner to submit to their decrees.

But the chief point which the commons laboured to obtain, was the *Exclusion Bill*, which, though the former house had voted it, was never passed into a law. Shaftesbury, and many of the party, had rendered themselves so obnoxious to the duke of York, that they could find safety in no measure but his ruin. Monmouth's friends hoped that the exclusion of James would make room for their own patron. The duke of York's professed bigotry to the catholic superstition influenced numbers; and his cruelties, which were practised without controul, while he continued in Scotland, rendered his name odious to thousands. In a week, therefore, after the commencement of the sessions, a motion was made for bringing in an exclusion bill, and a committee was appointed for that purpose. The debates were carried on with great violence on both sides; the bill was defended by lord Ruffel, who had now

resigned his office of attorney general, by Sir William Jones, Sir Francis Winnington, Sir Harry Capel, Sir William Pultney, colonel Titus, Treby, Hambden and Montague. It passed by a great majority in the house of commons, but was opposed in the house of peers. The king was present during the whole debate; and the bill was thrown out by a very great majority.

The commons were enraged at the rejection of their favourite bill; and to shew how strongly they resented the indulgence which was shewn to popery, they passed a bill for easing the protestant dissenters, and for repealing such acts as tended to their persecution. They proceeded to bring in bills, which, though contributing to secure the liberty of the subject, yet tended also to excite them to insurrection. * They voted, that till the exclusion bill was passed, they could not grant the king any supply; and to prevent his taking other methods, they voted that whoever should hereafter lend, by way of advance, any money upon any branches of the king's revenue, should be responsible to parliament for his conduct. The king, finding that there were no hopes of extorting money from the commons, came to a resolution of once more dissolving the parliament. His usher of the black-rod accordingly came to dissolve them, while they were voting that the dissenters should be encouraged.

It was a doubt, whether the king would ever call another: however, the desire he had of being supplied with money, surmounted his

* A. D. 1681.

his fears. But it was supposed that the neighbourhood of London, was an improper place for assembling a parliament that would be stedfast in the king's interests. He therefore resolved at once to punish the Londoners, and to reward the inhabitants of Oxford. Accordingly a parliament was ordered to assemble at Oxford, and measures taken on both sides to engage the partizans to be strenuous in their resolutions. In this, as in all former parliaments, the country party predominated: the parliamentary leaders came to that city; attended with numerous bands of their retainers. The four London members were followed by great multitudes, wearing ribbons, in which were woven these words, "No Popery! No Slavery!" The king was not behind them in the number and formidable appearance of his guards; so that the parliament rather bore the appearance of a military congress, than of a civil assembly.

This parliament trod exactly in the steps of the former. * The commons having chosen the same speaker, ordered the votes to be printed every day, that the public might be acquainted with the subject of their deliberations. Each party reviled each other in pamphlets and libels; which at last, was attended with an incident, that deserves notice. One Fitzharris a dependent on the dutchess of Portsmouth, the king's mistress, used to supply her with these occasional publications. But he was resolved to add to their number; and employed one Everhard, a Scotchman,

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* March 24.

to write a libel against the king and the duke of York. The Scot was a spy for the opposite party; and supposing this a trick to entrap him, discovered the whole to Sir William Waller, an eminent justice of peace; and posted him, and two other persons, where they heard the whole conference between Fitzharris and himself. Waller carried the intelligence to the king, and obtained a warrant for committing Fitzharris, who happened at that very time to have a copy of the libel in his pocket. Seeing himself in the hands of a party, from which he expected no mercy, he resolved to side with them, and throw the odium of the libel upon the court, who, he said, were willing to draw up a libel, which should be imputed to the excluders. He enhanced his services with the country party, by a new popish plot, more tremendous than any of the foregoing. He brought in the duke of York as a principal accomplice in this plot, and as a contriver of the murder of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey.

The king imprisoned Fitzharris; the commons avowed his cause. They voted that he should be impeached by themselves, to screen him from the ordinary forms of justice; the lords rejected the impeachment; the commons asserted their right; a commotion was likely to ensue; and the king, to break off the contest, went to the house and dissolved the parliament, with a fixed resolution never to call another.

This was a blow that the parliament had never expected. From that moment Charles ruled

ruled with despotic power; and his temper, which before seemed easy and merciful, now became arbitrary, and even cruel; he entertained many spies and informers, and imprisoned all such as he thought designed to oppose him.

He resolved to humble the presbyterians; these were divested of their employments and places; and their offices given to such as held with the court, and approved the doctrine of non-resistance. The clergy began to testify their zeal and their principles by their writings and their sermons; but though among these, the partizans of the king were the most numerous, those of the opposite faction were the most zealous. The king openly espoused the cause of the former; and thus placing himself at the head of a faction, deprived the city of London, which had long headed the popular party of their charter. It was not till after an abject submission that he restored it to them, having previously subjected the election of their magistrates to his immediate authority.

Terrors also were not wanting to confirm this new species of monarchy. Fitzharris was brought to his trial, condemned, and executed. The whole gang of spies, witnesses, informers, suborners, which had long been encouraged by the leading patriots, finding that the king was now entirely master, turned short upon their ancient drivers, and offered their evidence against those who had first put them in motion. The king's ministers, with an horrid satisfaction, gave them countenance

and encouragement; so that soon the same cruelties and the same injustice, were practised against them, that had been employed against catholic treasons.

The first person that fell under their displeasure, was one Stephen College, a London joiner, commonly called the Protestant Joiner. He had attended the city members to Oxford, armed with sword and pistol; he had sometimes been heard to speak irreverently of the king, and was now presented for it by the grand jury of London. The sheriffs of London were opposite to the court; and the grand jury, named by them, rejected the bill. However, the court were not to be foiled so; they sent the prisoner to Oxford, where the treason was said to have been committed; and there tried him before a partial judge, and a packed jury. He was accused by Dugdale, Turberville, and others, who had already given evidence against the catholics; and the nation saw themselves reduced to a ridiculous dilemma upon their testimony. The jury, who were royalists, could not accept their evidence, as they believed them to be abandoned liars, nor yet could they reject it, as they were taught by their opponents to think them sufficient evidence. College defended himself with great presence of mind, and invalidated all their testimonies. But all was in vain. * The jury, after half an hour's deliberation, brought him in guilty, and the spectators testified their inhuman pleasure, with a shout of applause. He bore his fate with unshaken fortitude; and at the place

* Aug. 17.

place of execution denied the crime for which he had been condemned.

§ But higher vengeance was demanded by the king, whose resentment was chiefly levelled against the earl of Shaftesbury. No sums were spared to seek for evidence, and even to suborn witnesses against this formidable man. A bill of indictment being presented to the grand jury, witnesses were examined, who swore to such incredible circumstances, as ought to have invalidated their testimony, even if they had not been branded as perjured villains. Among his papers, indeed, a draught of an association was found, which might have been construed into treason; but it was not in the earl's hand writing, nor could his adversaries prove that he had ever communicated this scheme to any body, or signed his approbation of any such project. * But the sheriffs summoned an honest jury, and that procured his safety.

‡ The power of the crown by this time became irresistible, the city of London having been deprived of their charter, which was restored only upon terms of submission. And the giving up the nomination of their own magistrates, was so mortifying a circumstance, that all the other corporations in England soon began to fear the same treatment, and were successively induced to surrender their charters into the hands of the king. Considerable sums were exacted for restoring these charters; and all the offices of power and profit were left at the disposal of the crown. Resistance now, was not safe: and all prudent men

§ A. D. 1682. * Nov. 24. † A. D. 1683.

men saw no other expedient, but peaceably submitting to the present grievances. But there was a party in England that still cherished the love of freedom, and were resolved to hazard every danger in its defence.

This, was made up of men, some guided by principle, some by interest, and many more by revenge. Some time before, in the year 1681, the king had been seized with a fit of sickness at Windsor, which gave a great alarm to the public. Shaftesbury had even then attempted to exclude the duke of York from the succession, and with the duke of Monmouth, lord Ruffel, and lord Grey, in case of the king's death, conspired to rise in arms, and vindicate their opinions by the sword. Shaftesbury's imprisonment for some time put a stop to these designs; but they revived with his release. Monmouth engaged the earl of Macclesfield, lord Brandon, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, and other gentlemen in Cheshire. Lord Ruffel fixed a correspondence with Sir William Courtney, Sir Francis Rowles, and Sir Francis Drake, who promised to raise the West. Shaftesbury, with one Ferguson, an independent clergyman, managed the city, upon which the confederates chiefly relied. It was now that this turbulent man found his schemes likely to take effect. But this, like all the former, was disappointed. The caution of lord Ruffel, who induced the duke of Monmouth to put off the enterprize, saved the kingdom from the horrors of a civil war; while Shaftesbury was so struck with a sense of his impending danger that



that he left his house, and lurking about the city attempted, but in vain, to drive the Londoners into open insurrection. At last, enraged at the numberless cautions and delays which clogged his projects, he threatened to begin with his friends alone. However, after a long struggle between fear and rage, he fled out of the kingdom to Amsterdam, where he ended his turbulent life soon after, without being pitied by his friends, or feared by his enemies.

The loss of Shaftesbury, though it retarded the views of the conspirators, did not suppress them. A council of six was erected, consisting of Monmouth, Ruffel, Effex, Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hambden, grandson to the great man of that name. These corresponded with the malecontents in Scotland, and resolved to prosecute the scheme of the insurrection, though they widely differed in principles from each other. Monmouth aspired at the crown; Ruffel and Hambden proposed to exclude the duke of York from the succession, and redress the grievances of the nation; Sidney was for restoring the public, and Effex joined in the same wish. Lord Howard having no principles, sought to embroil the nation, to gratify his private interest in the confusion.

Such were the leaders of this conspiracy. But there was also a set of subordinate conspirators, who carried on projects quite unknown to Monmouth and his council. Among these men was colonel Rumfey, an old republican officer, together with lieutenant-colonel Walcot of the same stamp, Goodenough,
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under-sheriff of London, a zealous and noted party-man, Ferguson, the independent minister, and several attornies, merchants, and tradesmen of London. But Rumsley and Ferguson were the only persons that had access to the great leaders of the conspiracy. They proposed to assassinate the king in his way to Newmarket; Rumbald, one of the party, possessed a farm upon that road called the Rye-house, and from hence the conspiracy was denominated the Rye-house Plot. They purposed stopping the king's coach by overturning a cart on the high-way, and shooting him through the hedges. But the house in which the king lived at Newmarket taking fire accidentally, he left Newmarket eight days sooner than was expected.

Among the conspirators was one Keiling, who being in danger of a prosecution for arresting the lord-mayor of London, resolved to earn his pardon by discovering this plot to the ministry. Colonel Rumsley, and West, a lawyer, no sooner understood that this man had informed against them, than they agreed to save their lives by turning king's evidence, and surrendered themselves accordingly. Sheppard, another conspirator, being apprehended, confessed all he knew, and orders were soon issued out for apprehending the rest of the leaders. Monmouth absconded; Russel was sent to the Tower; Grey escaped; Howard was taken concealed in a chimney; Essex, Sidney, and Hambden, were soon after arrested, and found lord Howard an evidence against them.

Walcot

* Walcot was first brought to trial and condemned, together with Hone and Rouse, two associates in the conspiracy, upon the evidence of Rumsley, West, and Sheppard. They died acknowledging the justice of the sentence. A much greater sacrifice was shortly after to follow. This was the lord Ruffel, son of the earl of Bedford, a nobleman of numberless good qualities, and led into this conspiracy from a conviction of the duke of York's intentions to restore popery. He was liberal, popular, humane, and brave. All his virtues were so many crimes in the present disposition of the court. The chief evidence against him was lord Howard. This witness swore that Ruffel was engaged in the design of an insurrection; but he acquitted him, as did also Rumsley and West, of being privy to the assassination. His candour would not allow him to deny the design in which he really was concerned; but his own confession was not sufficient to convict him. To the fact which principally aimed at his life, there was but one witness, and the law required two. This was over-ruled; for justice, during this whole reign, was too weak for the prevailing party. The jury, who were zealous royalists, after a short deliberation brought the prisoner in guilty. After his condemnation the king was strongly solicited in his favour. Even money to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds, was offered to the dutchess of Portsmouth, by the old earl of Bedford, lord Ruffel's father. The king was inexorable. He dreaded the
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* July 12.

the popularity of this nobleman, and repented his activity in promoting the bill of exclusion. Lord Cavendish, the intimate friend of Ruffel, offered to effect his escape by exchanging apparel with him, and remaining a prisoner in his room. The duke of Monmouth sent a message to him, offering to surrender himself, if he thought that step would contribute to his safety. Lord Ruffel generously rejected both these expedients, and resigned himself to his fate with admirable fortitude. His comfort, the daughter and heiress of the earl of Southampton, finding that all supplications were vain, took leave of her husband without shedding a tear; while, as he parted from her, he turned to those about him, "Now, said he, the bitterness of death is past." * A little before the sheriffs conducted him to the scaffold, he wound up his watch. "I have now done with time," said he, and must henceforth think of eternity." The scaffold for his execution was erected in Lincolns-Inn-Fields; he laid his head on the block without the least change of countenance, and at two strokes it was severed from his body.

The celebrated Algernon Sidney, son to the earl of Leicester, was next brought to his trial. He had been formerly engaged in the parliamentary army against the late king, and was even named on the high court of justice, but would not act. He had ever opposed Cromwell's usurpation, and went into voluntary banishment upon the restoration. His affairs, however, requiring his

* July 23.

his return, he applied to the king for a pardon, and obtained it. But all his hopes and all his reasonings were formed upon republican principles. For his adored republic he had written and fought, and went into banishment. It may be easily conceived how obnoxious a man of such principles was to such a court. They went so far as to take illegal methods to procure his condemnation. The only witness that deposed against Sidney was lord Howard, and the law required two. In order, therefore, to make out a second witness, they had recourse to a very extraordinary expedient. In ransacking his closet, some discourses on government were found, containing principles favourable to liberty, but no way subversive of a limited government. By over-straining some of these they were construed into treason. It was in vain he alledged that papers were no evidence; that it could not be proved they were written by him; that, if proved, the papers themselves contained nothing criminal. His defence was over-ruled; the inhuman Jefferies, who was now chief-justice, easily prevailed on a partial jury to bring him in guilty, * and his execution followed soon after. One can scarce contemplate the transactions of this reign without horror. Such a picture of guilt on each side; a court at once immersed in sensuality and blood, a people armed against each other with the most deadly animosity, and no single party to be found with sense enough to stem the general torrent of rancour and suspicion.

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Hamden

* Nov. 21.

* Hambden was tried soon after; and as there was nothing to affect his life, he was fined forty thousand pounds. Holloway, a merchant of Bristol, who had fled to the West-Indies, was brought over, condemned, and executed. Sir Thomas Armstrong also, who had fled to Holland, was brought over, and shared the same fate. Lord Essex, who had been imprisoned in the Tower, was found in an apartment with his throat cut; but whether he was guilty of suicide, or whether some assassin committed the crime, cannot now be known.

This was the last blood that was shed for plots or conspiracies, which continued during the greatest part of this reign. Nevertheless, the cruelty, and the gloomy suspicion of the duke of York, who since the dissolution of the last parliament, daily came into greater power, was dreadful to the nation. Titus Oates was fined an hundred thousand pounds, for calling him a popish traitor, and he was imprisoned till he could pay it, which he was utterly incapable of. A like illegal sentence was passed upon Dutton Colt for the same offence. Sir Samuel Barnardiston was fined ten thousand pounds, for having, in some private letters, reflected on the government. Of all those who were concerned in the late conspiracy, scarce one escaped the severity of the court, except the duke of Monmouth, and he was the most culpable of any.

At this period, the government of Charles was as absolute as that of any monarch in Europe; but to please his subjects by an act of popularity,

popularity, he judged it proper to marry the lady Anne, his niece, to prince George, brother to the king of Denmark. This was the last transaction of this extraordinary reign. The king was seized with a sudden fit, which resembled an apoplexy; and though he was recovered from it by bleeding, yet he languished two days, and then expired, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. Two papers were found in his closet, containing arguments in favour of popery. These were soon after published by James his successor, by which he greatly injured his own popularity, and his brother's memory. Probably he was himself the contriver of those papers as well as of the silly tale concerning father Huddleston's giving him extreme unction. Lady Oglethorpe averred upon her honour to my eldest brother, that she never left him from the moment he drank that cup, on which he lost his speech and pointed to his stomach, till the breath went out of his body; and during that time, neither Huddleston, nor any Romish Priest, ever entered the room.

The most discerning of his physicians, Dr. Short, did not only believe him poisoned, but thought himself so too, not long after, for having declared his opinion a little too boldly.

Just at the time when the king drank that wine after which he pointed to his stomach, but spoke no more, Mr. Peden being engaged in prayer (in the west of Scotland) broke out "Aha! the royal bird has received a shot

under the left wing! He has received a position from a brother's hand." What stress can be laid on this, I cannot tell.

He was in every respect a consummate hypocrite, equally void of piety, mercy, honesty and gratitude. Under a cover of gentleness, he was cruel and revengeful to an high degree. He was abandoned to all vices. A worse man never sat on the English throne, and few worse princes.



C H A P. IX.

J A M E S II.

* **T**HE duke of York, who succeeded his brother, by the title of king James the second, had been bred a papist, and was strongly bigotted to his principles. The intellects of this prince were naturally weak; and his education rendered them still more feeble. He therefore conceived the project of reigning in the arbitrary manner of his predecessor, and of changing the established religion, at a time when his person was hated, and the established religion passionately loved.

The

* A. D. 1685.

The people, though they despised the administration of his predecessor, yet loved the king. They were willing to bear with the faults of one, whose behaviour was affable; but they were by no means willing to grant the same indulgence to James, as they knew him to be gloomy, proud, and cruel.

His reign began with acts of imprudence. All the customs, and the greater part of the excise, that had been voted to the late king for his life only, were levied by James, without a new act for that purpose. He likewise went openly to mass with all the ensigns of his dignity; and even sent one Caryl as his agent to Rome to make submissions to the pope, and to pave the way for the re-admission of England into the bosom of the catholic church. These were but inauspicious symptoms in the very beginning of his reign.

He had, long before the commencement of his reign, had an intrigue with one Mrs. Sedley, whom he afterwards created countess of Dorchester; but being now told that as he was to convert his people, the sanctity of his manners ought to correspond with his professions; Mrs. Sedley was discarded, and he resigned himself up to the advice of the queen, who was as much governed by priests as he. From the suggestions of these men, and particularly the Jesuits, all measures were taken. One day, when the Spanish ambassador ventured to advise his majesty against placing too much confidence in such kind of people, "Is it not the custom in Spain, said James, for the king to consult with his confessor?"

D. d 3.

"Yes,

“ Yes, answered the ambassador, and that is
 “ the reason our affairs succeed so ill.”

But though his actions might serve to demonstrate his aims, yet his first parliament was inclined to comply with all the measures of the crown. They voted unanimously that they would settle on the present king, during life, all the revenue enjoyed by the late king. For this favour James assured them of his resolution to secure them in the full enjoyment of their laws; but no answer could be extorted from him with regard to religion.

To pave the way for the conversion of the kingdom, it was necessary to undeceive them with regard to the late popish plot; and Oates, the contriver, was the first object of royal indignation. He was tried for perjury on two indictments; convicted; and sentenced to pay a thousand marks on each; to be whipped, on two different days, from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn: to be imprisoned during life, and to be pilloried five times every year. Though the whipping was so cruel, that it appeared evidently the intention of the court, to put him to death by that dreadful punishment, yet he survived it all, and lived to king William's reign, when he had a pension settled upon him.

Monmouth, who had been pardoned, but ordered to depart the kingdom, had retired to Holland. Being dismissed from thence by the prince of Orange upon James's accession, he went to Brussels, where finding himself still pursued by the king's severity, he resolved to
 retaliate,

retaliate, and make an attempt upon the kingdom. The duke of Argyle seconded his views in Scotland, and they formed the scheme of a double insurrection; so that while Monmouth should attempt to make a rising in the West, Argyle was to try his endeavours in the North.

* Argyle was the first who landed in Scotland, where he published his manifestoes, and put himself at the head of two thousand five hundred men. But a formidable body of the king's forces coming against him, his army fell away, and he himself, after being wounded in attempting to escape, was taken prisoner by a peasant, standing up to his neck in a pool of water. He was from thence carried to Edinburgh, where, after enduring many indignities with a gallant spirit, he was publicly executed.

The fate of Argyle was but a bad encouragement to the unfortunate Monmouth, who was by this time landed in Dorsetshire, with scarce an hundred followers. However, so great was the hatred of the people both for the person and religion of James, that in four days he had a body of above two thousand men. They were indeed the lowest of the people, and his declarations were suited to their prejudices. He called the king, the duke of York, and denominated him a traitor, a tyrant, a murderer, and a popish usurper.

The parliament was no sooner informed of Monmouth's landing, than they presented an address to the king, assuring him of their loyalty. The duke of Albemarle, raising a
body

* May 20,

body of four thousand militia, advanced, in order to block him up in Lyme; but finding his soldiers disaffected to the king, he soon after retreated with precipitation.

* In the mean time the duke advanced to Taunton, where he was reinforced by considerable numbers. There he assumed the title of king, and was proclaimed with great solemnity. His numbers had now increased to six thousand men; and he was obliged every day for want of arms, to dismiss numbers. He entered Bridgewater, Wells and Frome, and was proclaimed in all those places; but he lost the hour of action, in receiving these empty honours.

The king was not a little alarmed. Six regiments of British troops were called over from Holland, and a body of regulars to the number of three thousand men, were sent, under the command of the earl of Feversham and Churchill, against the rebels. They took post at Sedgemore, in the neighbourhood of Bridgewater, and were joined by the militia of the country in considerable numbers. It was there that Monmouth resolved, by a desperate effort to lose his life or gain the kingdom. The negligent disposition made by Feversham invited him to the attack; and his followers shewed what courage and principle could do against discipline and superior numbers. They drove the royal infantry from their ground, and were upon the point of gaining the victory, when the cowardice of lord Gray, who commanded the horse, brought all to ruin. This nobleman fled at the

the first onset ; and the rebels being charged in flank by the victorious army, gave way after three hours contest. About three hundred were killed in the engagement, and a thousand in the pursuit ; and thus ended an enterprize, rashly begun, and feebly conducted.

Monmouth fled from the field of battle above twenty miles, till his horse sunk under him. He then alighted, and exchanging cloaths with a shepherd, fled on foot, attended by a German count, who had accompanied him from Holland. Being quite exhausted with hunger and fatigue, they both lay down in a field, and covered themselves with fern. The shepherd being found in Monmouth's cloaths by the pursuers, increased the diligence of the search ; and, by the means of blood-hounds, he was detected in his miserable situation, with raw pease in his pocket, which he had gathered in the fields to sustain life. He burst into tears when seized by his enemies. He wrote the most submissive letters to the king ; and that monarch, willing to feast his eyes with the miseries of a fallen enemy, gave him an audience. At this interview the duke fell upon his knees, and begged his life. He even signed a paper, offered him by the king, declaring his own illegitimacy ; and then the stern tyrant assured him, that his crime was of such a nature, as could not be pardoned. The duke perceiving that he had nothing to hope from the clemency of his uncle, recollected his spirits, rose up, and retired with an air of disdain. || He was followed to the scaffold

|| July 15.

scaffold, with great compassion from the populace. He warned the executioner not to fall into the same error which he had committed in beheading Russel, where it had been necessary to redouble the blow. But the man was seized with an universal trepidation; he struck a feeble blow, upon which the duke raised his head from the block, as if to reproach him; he gently laid down his head a second time, and the executioner struck him again and again to no purpose. He at last threw the ax down; but the sheriff compelled him to resume it, and at two blows more the head was severed from the body. Such was the end of James, duke of Monmouth, the darling of the English people. He was brave, sincere, and good natured, but open to flattery, and by that seduced into an enterprise, which ended in his ruin.

The victorious army behaved with the most savage cruelty. Feversham immediately after the victory, hanged up above twenty prisoners; and was proceeding in his executions, when the bishop of Bath and Wells warned him that these unhappy men were now by law entitled to trial, and that their execution would be deemed murder. Nineteen were put to death in the same manner at Bridgewater, by colonel Kirk, a man of a savage and bloody disposition. This vile fellow, practised in the arts of slaughter at Tangier, where he served in garrison, took a pleasure in committing instances of wanton barbarity. He ordered a certain number to be put to death, while he and his company

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were drinking the king's health. Observing their feet to shake in the agonies of death, he cried that they should have music to their dancing, and ordered the trumpets to sound. He ravaged the whole country, without making any distinction between friend or foe. His own regiment, for their peculiar barbarity, went by the name of Kirk's Lambs. A story is told of his offering a young woman the life of her brother, in case she consented to his desires, which, when she had done, he shewed her her brother hanging out of the window.

But the military severities of the commanders were still inferior to the legal slaughters, committed by judge Jefferies, who was sent down to try the delinquents. The natural brutality of this man's temper was inflamed by continual intoxication. He told the prisoners, that if they would save him the trouble of trying them, they might expect some favour, otherwise he would execute the law with the utmost severity. Many poor wretches were thus allured into a confession; but it only hastened their destruction. No less than eighty were executed at Dorchester; and, at Exeter, Taunton, and Wells, two hundred and fifty-one. Women were not exempted from the general severity, but suffered for harbouring their nearest kindred. Lady Lisle, though the widow of a regicide, was herself a loyalist. She was apprehended in extreme old age, for having sheltered in her house two fugitives from the battle of Sedgemoore. She proved that she was ignorant of
their

their crime when she had given them protection, and the jury twice brought in a favourable verdict; but they were as often sent back by Jefferies, with menaces, and at last constrained to give a verdict against the prisoner.

The fate of Mrs. Gaunt was still more terrible. Mrs. Gaunt was noted for her beneficence, which she had extended to persons of all professions and persuasions. One of the rebels knowing her humane character, had recourse to her in his distress, and was concealed by her. The abandoned villain hearing that a reward was offered to such as informed against criminals, came in and betrayed his protectress. He was pardoned for his treachery, and she burned alive for her benevolence.

The work of slaughter went forward. One Mr. Cornish, late sheriff of London, who had been long obnoxious to the court, was accused by Goodenough, now turned a common informer, † and in the space of a week was tried, condemned, and executed. After his death, the perjury of the witnesses appeared so flagrant, that the king himself expressed some regret, granted his estate to the family, and condemned the witnesses to perpetual imprisonment. Jefferies, on his return was created a peer, and soon after vested with the dignity of chancellor. This shewed the people that all the former cruelties were pleasing to the king.

James now began to throw off the mask; and in the house of commons, seemed to think himself

himself exempted from all rules of prudence. || He told the house, that the militia were found by experience to be of no use; that it was necessary to augment the standing army; and that he had employed a great many catholic officers, in whose favour he had thought proper to dispense with the test, required to be taken by all intrusted by the crown: he found them useful, he said, and he was determined to keep them employed. These stretches of power naturally led the lords and commons into some degree of opposition; but they soon acquiesced in the king's measures, and then the parliament was dissolved. This was happy for the nation, for it was impossible to pick out another house of commons, that could be more compliant with the measures of the crown.

* The parliament being dismissed, the next step was to secure a catholic interest in the privy council. Accordingly four catholic lords were admitted; Powis, Arundel, Bellasis, and Dover. The king made no secret of his desires to have his courtiers of his own religion; Sunderland, who saw that the way to preferment was by popery, scrupled not to gain favour at that price. Rochester, the treasurer was turned out of his office, because he refused to conform. In these schemes, James was entirely governed by the queen and his confessor, father Peters, a Jesuit, whom he soon after created a privy-councillor. Even in Ireland, where the duke of Ormond had long supported the royal cause, this nobleman was displaced, as being a protestant; and

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|| Nov. 9.

* A. D. 1686.

the lord Tyrconnel, a furious Roman catholic, was placed in his stead. The king one day, in his attempts to convert his subjects, stooped so low as colonel Kirk; but the ruffian told him that he was pre-engaged, for he had promised the king of Morocco, when at Tangiers, that if ever he changed his religion, he would turn Mahometan.

It could not be expected that the favour shewn by James to the catholics, would be tamely borne by all. The clergy began to take the alarm: the pulpits thundered against popery. It was in vain that James attempted to impose silence on these topics; instead of avoiding the controversy, the protestant preachers pursued it with still greater warmth.

Among those who distinguished themselves on this occasion, was doctor Sharp, rector of St. Giles, London. This gave great offence at court; and positive orders were given to the bishop of London to suspend him. The bishop refused to comply; and the king resolved to punish the bishop himself for disobedience.

To effect his designs, he determined to revive the high commission court. A commission was issued out, by which seven were invested with a full and unlimited authority. This was a blow which alarmed the kingdom; for could the authority of this court take place, the king's intentions of converting the nation would naturally follow.

§ Before this tribunal the bishop was summoned, and not only he, but Sharp were suspended.

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The next step was to allow universal liberty of conscience. He therefore issued a declaration of general indulgence, and asserted that non-conformity to the established religion was no longer penal. In order to procure a favourable reception to this edict, he began by paying court to the dissenters. But they knew the king only meant to establish his own religion, at the expence of theirs; and that both his own temper, and the genius of popery, had nothing of the true spirit of toleration in them.

Yet his measures were caution itself in England, compared with those which were carried on in Scotland and Ireland. In Scotland, || he ordered his parliament to grant a toleration to the catholics only. In Ireland, the protestants were totally expelled from all offices of trust and profit, and the catholics were put in their places. Tyrconnel who was vested with full authority there, carried over as chancellor, one Fitton, a man who had been taken from a jail, and convicted of forgery. This man, a zealous catholic, was heard to say from the bench, that all protestants were rogues; and that there was not one among forty thousand, that was not a traitor, a rebel, and a villain.

These measures had disgusted every part of the British empire; but to complete his work, James publicly sent the earl of Castlemaine, ambassador extraordinary to Rome, to reconcile his kingdoms to the catholic communion. Never was there so much contempt thrown upon an embassy. The court

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of Rome expected little success from measures so blindly conducted. They were sensible that the king was openly striking at those laws and opinions, which it was his business to undermine in silence. The cardinals were even heard facetiously to declare, that the king should be excommunicated, for thus endeavouring to overturn the small remains of popery that yet subsisted in England. The pope, though he granted audiences to the ambassador, was always seized with a fit of coughing, which interrupted the earl's speech, and obliged him to retire. At length he threatened to return. The pope advised him to travel in the cool of the morning, lest the heat should prejudice his health. The only proof of complaisance which the king received from his holiness, was his sending a nuncio into England.

People indeed supposed that he could never be so rash as, contrary to express act of parliament, to admit of a communication with the pope. But what was their surprize, when they saw the nuncio make his public and solemn entry into Windsor; and because the duke of Somerset refused to attend the ceremony, he was dismissed from his employment of one of the lords of the bed-chamber.

But this was but the beginning of his attempts. The Jesuits soon after were permitted to erect colleges in different parts of the kingdom; they exercised their worship in the most public manner; and four catholic bishops, consecrated in the king's chapel, were sent through the kingdom to exercise their
episcopal

episcopal functions, under the title of apostolic vicars. Their pastoral letters were printed by the king's printer, and distributed through all parts of the kingdom. The monks appeared at court in the habits of their orders, and a great number of priests and friars arrived in England. Every great office the crown had to bestow, was gradually transferred from the protestants; Rochester and Clarendon, the king's brothers in law, though ever faithful to his interests, were, because protestants, dismissed from their employments. Nothing now remained, but to open the door of the church and universities to the intrusion of the catholics, and this effort was made soon after.

* Father Francis, a Benedictine monk, was recommended by the king to the university of Cambridge, for the degree of master of arts. But the university presented a petition, beseeching the king to recal his mandate. Their petition was disregarded; the vice-chancellor himself was summoned to appear before the high-commission court, and deprived of his office; yet the university persisted, and father Francis was refused. The king thus foiled, thought proper at that time to drop his pretensions, but he carried on his attempts upon the university of Oxford with greater vigour.

The place of president of Magdalen college being vacant, the king sent a mandate in favour of one Farmer, a new convert, and a man of a bad character. The fellows of the college, made very submissive applications

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to

* Feb. 9.

to the king for recalling his mandate ; but before they received an answer, the day came, on which by their statutes, they were required to proceed to an election. They therefore chose doctor Hough, a man of learning, integrity and resolution. The king was incensed at their presumption ; and, in order to punish them, an ecclesiastical court was sent down, who finding Farmer a man of scandalous character, issued a mandate for a new election. The person now recommended by the king, was doctor Parker, lately created bishop of Oxford, a man of prostitute morals ; but who atoned for all his vices, by his willingness to embrace the catholic religion. The fellows refused to comply ; which so incensed the king, that he repaired in person to Oxford, and ordered the fellows to be brought before him. He reproached them with their insolence and disobedience in the most imperious terms ; and commanded them to chuse Parker without delay : his words were, “ I will be obeyed : otherwise you shall feel the weight of a king’s right hand.” Finding them resolute in the defence of their privileges, he ejected them all, except two, from their fellowships, and Parker was put in possession of the place. Upon this, the college was filled with catholics ; and Charnock, one of the two that remained, was made vice-president.

Every invasion of the ecclesiastical and civil privileges of the nation only seemed to increase the king’s ardour for more. A second declaration for liberty of conscience was published

lished, * almost in the same terms with the former; but with this peculiar injunction, that all divines should read it after service in their churches. He thus armed against himself the whole body of the nation. The clergy were determined to trust God and follow their conscience. The first champions on this service of danger were Loyde, bishop of St. Asaph, Ken of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborow, and Tre-
lawney of Brissol; these, together with Sancroft their primate, concerted an address, in the form of a petition, to the king, which, with the warmest expressions of zeal and submission, remonstrated that they could not read his declaration consistent with their consciences. This modest address still more inflamed the king's resentment, and hurried him on in counsels as precipitate as they were tyrannical. He said, he did not expect such an address from the English church, particularly from some among them. The bishops left his presence under some apprehensions; but secure in the rectitude of their intentions. The king's measures were now become so odious to the people, that, although the bishops of Durham and Rochester, who were members of the ecclesiastical court, ordered the declaration to be read in the churches of their respective districts, the audience could not hear them with any patience. One minister told his congregation, that though he had positive orders to read the declaration, they had none to hear it, and therefore they might leave the church; an hint which the
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* A. D. 1688.

congregation quickly obeyed. It was therefore supposed, that the petitioning bishops had little to dread from the royal relentment. As the petition was delivered in private, the king summoned the bishops before the council, and there questioned them whether they would acknowledge it? They for some time declined giving an answer; but at last owned the petition. On their refusal to give bail, an order was immediately drawn for their commitment to the Tower, and the crown-lawyers received directions to prosecute them for a seditious libel.

* The king gave orders that they should be conveyed to the Tower by water, as the whole city was in commotion in their favour. The people were no sooner informed of it, than the river side was lined with incredible multitudes. As the reverend prisoners passed, the populace fell upon their knees, and great numbers ran into the water, craving their blessing, calling upon Heaven to protect them, and encouraging them to suffer in the cause of religion. The bishops were not wanting, by their modest and humble behaviour, to raise the pity of the spectators; and they still exhorted them to fear God, honour the king, and maintain their loyalty. The very soldiers, by whom they were guarded, knelt down before them, and implored their forgiveness. Upon landing, the bishops immediately went to the Tower-chapel to render thanks for what they suffered in the cause of truth.

The

* June 8,

The twenty-ninth day of June was fixed for their trial; and their return was more splendidly attended than their imprisonment. Twenty-nine peers, a great number of gentlemen, and an immense crowd of people, waited upon them to Westminster-hall. The cause was looked upon as involving the fate of the nation, and freedom or slavery awaited the decision. The dispute was learnedly managed by the lawyers on both sides. Holloway and Powel, two of the judges, declared themselves in favour of the bishops. The jury withdrew into a chamber, where they passed the whole night; but next morning they returned into court, and pronounced the bishops, Not guilty. Westminster-hall instantly rang with loud acclamations, which were communicated to the whole extent of the city. They even reached the camp at Hounslow, where the king was at dinner, in lord Feversham's tent. His majesty demanding the cause of those rejoicings, and being informed that it was nothing but the soldiers shouting at the delivery of the bishops, "Call you that nothing?" cried he, "But so much the worse for them."

If the bishops testified the readiness of martyrs in support of their religion, James shewed no less ardour in the establishment of his own. Grown odious to every class of his subjects, he still resolved to persist; for it was a part of his character, that those measures he once embraced, he always persevered in. He struck out two of the judges, Powel and Holloway, who had appeared to favour the
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the bishops. He issued orders to prosecute all those clergymen who had not read his declaration; and all had refused it, except two hundred. He sent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he had obtruded on Magdalen college, to elect for president, in the room of Parker, lately deceased, one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and titular bishop of Madura.

As he found the clergy every where averse to his proceedings, he was willing to try next what he could do with the army. He thought, if one regiment would promise implicit obedience, their example would induce others to comply. He therefore ordered one of the regiments to be drawn up in his presence, and desired that such as were against his late declaration of liberty of conscience should lay down their arms. He was surprized to see the whole battalion ground their arms, except two officers, and a few roman catholic soldiers.

Opposition only served to inflame this infatuated monarch's zeal. He was continually stimulated by the queen, and the priests about him, to go forward. A fortunate circumstance happened in his family. A few days before the acquittal of the bishops, the queen was brought to bed of a son, who was baptized by the name of James. This would, if any thing could, have served to establish him on the throne; but so great was the animosity against him, that a story was propagated that the child was supposititious, and brought to the queen's apartment in a warming pan. Bishop Burnet, who seems to have been

been at uncommon pains to establish this belief, and to have consulted all the whig-nurles in England upon the subject; first, pretends to demonstrate that the queen was not with child; secondly, that she was with child; but miscarried; thirdly, that a child was brought into the queen's apartment in a warming-pan; fourthly, that there was no child at all in the room; fifthly, that the queen actually bore a child, but it died the same day; sixthly, that the supposititious child had not the fits; seventhly, that it had the fits, of which it died at Richmond; therefore the chevalier De St. George, must be the fruit of four different impostures. Yet so great was this monarch's pride, that he scorned to take any precautions to refute the calumny. Indeed all his measures were marked with the characters of pride, cruelty, bigotry, and weakness. In these he was chiefly supported by Father Peters, his confessor, an ambitious, and ignorant priest, whom some scruple not to call a concealed creature belonging to the prince of Orange. By that prince's secret directions, it is asserted that James was hurried on, under the guidance of Peters, from one precipice to another, until he was obliged to give up the reins of government.

William, prince of Orange, had married Mary, the eldest daughter of king James. This princess had been bred a protestant; and as she was for a long time heir apparent to the throne, the people tamely bore the encroachments of the king, in hopes that his protestant successor would rectify all. But now, when

when a young prince was born, that entirely excluded his hopes of succession, he lent more attention to the complaints of the nation; and began to foment those discontents, which before he had endeavoured to suppress.

William was a prince who had, from his earliest entrance into business, been immersed in dangers, calamities, and politics. The ambition of France, and the jealousies of Holland, had served to sharpen his understanding, which was naturally good. His temper was cold and severe; his genius active and piercing; he was valiant, without ostentation, and politic without address. Through his whole life he was indefatigable; and though frequently an unsuccessful general in the field, yet he was still a formidable negotiator in the cabinet. By his wisdom he saved his own country from ruin; restored the liberties of England, and preserved the independence of Europe.

This politic prince now plainly saw that James had incurred the most violent hatred of his subjects. He was minutely informed of their discontents; and, by seeming to discourage, still increased them. He began by giving one Dykvelt, his envoy, instructions to apply in his name to every denomination in the kingdom. To the church-party he sent assurances of favour and regard; and protested that his education in Holland had no way prejudiced him against episcopacy. To the non-conformists he sent exhortations not to be deceived by the insidious careffes of their known enemy; but to wait for a real and sincere

sincere protector. Dykevelt executed his commission with such dexterity, that all orders of men cast their eyes towards Holland, and expected from thence a deliverance from those dangers with which they were threatened at home.

The prince soon found that every rank was ripe for defection, and received invitations from some of the most considerable persons in the kingdom. Admiral Herbert, and admiral Russel, assured him in person of their own and the national attachment. Henry Sidney, brother to Algernoon, and uncle to the earl of Sunderland, came over to him with assurances of an universal combination against the king. Lord Dumblain, son to the earl of Danby, being master of a frigate, made several voyages to Holland, and carried from many of the nobility tenders of duty and even considerable sums of money to the prince. Soon after, the bishop of London, the earls of Danby, Nottingham, Devonshire, Dorset, with several other lords, gentlemen, and principal citizens, united in their addresses to him, and intreated his speedy descent.

The people of England, though long divided between Whig and Tory, were unanimous in their measures against the king. The Whigs hated, upon principles of liberty, the Tories, upon principles of religion. The former had ever shewn themselves tenacious of their political rights; the latter of their religious tenets. James had invaded both; so that for a time all factions were laid asleep, except that general one of driving out the tyrant. William, therefore, determined

to accept of the invitations of the kingdom, and the more readily, as he saw that the malecontents had conducted their measures with prudence and secrecy.

The time when the prince entered upon his enterprize, was just when the people were in a flame from the insult offered to their bishops. He had before this made considerable augmentations to the Dutch fleet, and the ships were then lying ready in the harbour. Some additional troops were also levied, and sums of money raised for other purposes were converted to the advancement of this expedition. The Dutch had always reposed an entire confidence in him; and many of the neighbouring princes regarded him as their guardian and protector. He was sure of their protection of his native government, while he should be employed in England; and the troops of some of the German powers were actually marched down to Holland for that purpose. Every place was in motion; all Europe saw and expected the descent, except the unfortunate James himself, who thought nothing could injure his schemes calculated to promote the cause of heaven.

The king of France was the first who apprized him of his danger, and offered to assist him in repelling it. He was willing to join a squadron of French ships to the English fleet, and to send over any number of troops which James should judge requisite. James, however, could not be convinced that his son-in-law intended an invasion; fully satisfied himself of the sacredness of his authority, he imagined

imagined, a like belief had possessed his subjects. He therefore rejected the French king's proposal, saying, he had an army sufficient at home. Lewis then offered to march his army to the frontiers of the Dutch provinces, and thus detain their forces at home. This proposal met with no better reception. Still Lewis was unwilling to abandon a friend and ally. He ventured to remonstrate to the Dutch against the preparations they were making to invade England. The Dutch accused his remonstrance as an officious impertinence, and James himself declined his mediation.

James having thus rejected the assistance of his friends, and being left to face the danger alone, was astonished, with an advice from his minister in Holland, that an invasion was not only projected but avowed. When he first read the letter containing this information, he grew pale, and the letter dropt from his hand. He saw the gulph into which he was fallen, and he knew not where to seek for protection. His only resource was in retreating from those precipitate measures into which he had plunged himself. He replaced in all the counties the deputy lieutenants and justices, who had been deprived of their commissions for their adherence to the laws. He restored the charters of such corporations as he had possessed himself of; he annulled the high-commission court; he re-instated the expelled president and fellows of Magdalen-college, and he even caressed those bishops, whom he had so lately persecuted.

But his concessions were regarded as symptoms of fear, not repentance : indeed he soon shewed the insincerity of his reformation ; for, hearing the Dutch fleet was dispersed, he recalled those concessions ; and, to shew his attachment to the Romish church, at the baptism of his new-born son, he appointed the pope one of the sponsors.

In the mean time the declaration of the prince of Orange was industriously dispersed over the kingdom. In this he enumerated all the grievances of which the nation complained ; he promised his assistance in redressing them ; and assured the nation that his only aim was, to procure them the lasting settlement of their liberty and their religion.

So well concerted were his measures, that in three days, above four hundred transports were hired, the army fell down the rivers and canals from Nimeguen, with all necessary stores ; and the prince set sail from Helvoet-fluys, with a fleet of near five hundred vessels, and an army of near fourteen thousand men.

Providence, however, seemed at first unfavourable to his enterprize. He encountered a dreadful storm, * which put him back ; but he soon refitted his fleet, and once more ventured for England. It was given out that this invasion was intended for the coasts of France, and many of the English who saw the fleet pass along their coasts, little expected to see it land on their own shores. The same wind which sent them to their destined port, detained the English fleet in the river,

* Oct. 19.

so that the Dutch passed the streights of Dover without molestation. Thus after a voyage of two days, the prince landed his army at the village of Broxholme in Torbay, on the fifth of November, which was the anniversary of the gun-powder treason.

But though the invitation from the English was very general, the prince for some time was joined by very few. He marched first to Exeter, where the country people had been so lately terrified with the executions which had ensued on Monmouth's rebellion, that they continued to observe a strict neutrality. He continued for ten days in expectation of being joined by the malecontents, and at last began to despair of success. But just when he began to deliberate about reembarking his forces, he was joined by several persons of consequence. The first was major Burrington, and he was quickly followed by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerset. Sir Edward Seymour made proposals for an association, which every one signed. By degrees the earl of Abington, Mr. Ruffel, son to the earl of Bedford, Mr. Wharton, Godfrey, Howe, all came to Exeter. England was in commotion. Lord Delamere took arms in Cheshire; the earl of Danby seized York; the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince; the earl of Devonshire made a like declaration in Derby; the nobility and gentry of Nottingham embraced the same cause; and every day there appeared some effect of that universal combination into which the nation had entered against the measures of the king.

But the most dangerous symptom was the disaffection of the army, which seemed universally tinged with the spirit of the times. Lord Colchester, son to the earl of Rivers, was the first officer who deserted to the prince. Lord Cornbury, son to the earl of Clarendon, carried off the greatest part of three regiments of cavalry. Several officers of distinction informed Feversham the general, that they could not in conscience fight against the prince of Orange.

The defection of the officers was followed by that of the king's own servants and creatures. Lord Churchill had been raised from the rank of a page, and invested with an high command in the army; had been created a peer, and owed his whole fortune to the king's bounty; even he deserted among the rest, and carried with him the duke of Grafton, natural son to the late king, colonel Berkely, and some others.

In this universal defection, the unfortunate James not knowing where to turn, began to think of requesting assistance from France, when it was now too late. He wrote to Leopold, emperor of Germany, but in vain. That monarch only returned for answer, that what he had foreseen had happened. James had some dependence on his fleet; but they were entirely disaffected. In a word, his interests were deserted by all; for he had long deserted them himself.

He was by this time arrived at Salisbury, the head-quarters of his army; and he found that this body amounted to twenty-thousand men.

men. It is possible that had he led these to the combat immediately, they might have fought in his favour. But he was involved in a maze of fears and suspicions; the defection of those he most confided in, took away his confidence in all. It was no small addition to his distress, that the prince of Denmark, and Anne, his favourite daughter, took part with the prevailing side. When he was told that the prince and princess had followed the rest of his favourites, he was stung with the most bitter anguish. "God help me," cried he; "my own children have forsaken me."

During this perplexity, he embraced a sudden resolution of drawing off his army, and retiring towards London; a measure which could only serve to betray his fears, and provoke farther treachery. Thus driven to the precipice of his fortunes, he assembled the few noblemen that still adhered to him. There in his forlorn council, he demanded the advice of those he most confided in. Addressing himself to the earl of Bedford, father to lord Russel, who had been executed in the former reign by the intrigues of James, "My lord," said the king, "you are an honest man, and can do me signal service." "Ah, Sir," replied the earl, "I am old and feeble; I can do you but little service. I had indeed a son!" James was so struck with this reply, that he could not speak for some minutes.

The king's fortune now exposed him to the contempt of his enemies; and his behaviour could not procure him the esteem of his
his

his friends. They persuaded him to fly from a nation he could no longer govern, and to seek for refuge at the court of France.

The prince of Orange was no less desirous of the king's flying over to France. He was determined to use every expedient to intimidate the king and drive him out of the kingdom. He declined a personal conference with the king's commissioners, and sent the earls of Clarendon and Oxford to treat with them. The terms which he proposed implied a present participation of the sovereignty; and to urge his measures, he stopped not a moment in his march to London.

The king alarmed every day more and more, was resolved to quit the kingdom. * To prepare for this, he first sent away the queen, who arrived safely at Calais. He himself soon after disappeared in the night, attended only by Sir Edward Hales, a new convert; and disguising himself went down to Fevertham, where he embarked on board a small vessel for France. But the vessel was detained by the populace, who, not knowing the king, robbed, insulted, and abused him. He was now persuaded by the earl of Winchelsea to return to London; where again the populace, moved by his distresses, and guided by their natural levity, received him, contrary to his expectations, with shouts and acclamations.

Nothing could be more disagreeable to the prince of Orange than to hear that James was brought back, and, in some measure, triumphantly, to his capital. The bishops and
peers

* Dec. 10.

peers, who were now the only authorized magistrates in the state, gave directions for keeping the peace of the city. They issued orders, which were readily obeyed, to the fleet, the garrisons and the army. They made applications to the prince, whose enterprise they highly applauded, and whose success they joyfully congratulated. It was not therefore without extreme mortification that he found the king returned to embarrass his proceedings. He received the news of his return with an haughty air. His aim from the beginning was to push him to relinquish the throne; and his proceedings argued the refined politician. The king having sent lord Feverham on a message to the prince, desiring a conference previous to the settlement of the throne, that nobleman was put under an arrest, on pretence of his wanting a passport. The Dutch guards were ordered to take possession of Whitehall, where the king then lodged, and to displace the English. The king was soon after commanded by a message, which he received in bed at midnight, to leave his palace next morning, and to depart for Ham, a seat of the dutchess of Lauderdale's. He desired permission to retire to Rochester, a town not far from the sea-coast. This was readily granted him. Hence he soon fled to the sea-side, || attended by his natural son the duke of Berwick, where he embarked for the continent. He arrived in safety at Ambleteuse in Picardy, from whence he hastened to the court of France, where he still enjoyed the empty title of a king,

king, and the appellation of a faint, which flattered him more.

After this manner, by a train of providences, the courage and abilities of the prince of Orange, effected the delivery of the kingdom. It now remained that he should reap the rewards of his toil; and obtain that crown for himself, which had fallen from the head of his father-in-law. The house of lords, the only member of the legislature remaining, desired him to summon a parliament by circular letters; but the prince, unwilling to act upon so imperfect an authority, convened all the members, who had sat in the house of commons during any parliament of Charles the second, and to these were added the mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common council. They unanimously voted the same address with the lords; and the prince then wrote circular letters to the counties and corporations of England, to chuse a new parliament. His orders were universally complied with; every thing went on in the most regular, peaceful manner, and the prince became possessed of all authority, as if he had regularly succeeded to the throne.

* When the house met, after thanks were given to the prince of Orange for the deliverance which he had brought, they proceeded to the settlement of the kingdom. In a few days they passed a vote, by a great majority, which was sent up to the house of lords for their concurrence. It was to this effect. "That king James the second, having, by the advice of Jesuits, and other wicked

* Jan. 22. A. D. 1689.

wicked persons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and that the throne was thereby vacant. This vote readily passed the house of commons; but it met with some opposition in the house of lords, and was at length carried by a majority of two voices only.

The next consideration was the appointing a successor. Some declared for a regent; others, that the princess of Orange should be invested with regal power. The debates ran high. A conference was demanded between the lords and commons, while the prince with his usual prudence, kept a total silence. At last, perceiving that his own name was little mentioned in these disputes, he called together the lords Hallifax, Shrewsbury, and Danby, with a few more. He told them that he had been called over to defend the liberties of the English nation, and that he had happily effected his purpose; that he had heard of several schemes proposed for the establishing the government; that if they chose a regent, he thought it incumbent on him to inform them, he would never accept of that office, the execution of which he knew would be attended with insuperable difficulties; that he would not accept of the crown under the princess his wife, though he was convinced of her merits; that therefore if either of these schemes were adopted, he could give them no assistance in the settlement of the nation; but would return home to his own country. This declaration produced

duced the intended effect. After a long debate in both houses, a new sovereign was preferred to a regent, by a majority of two voices. It was agreed that the prince and princess of Orange should reign jointly, as king and queen of England, while the administration of government should be placed in the hands of the prince only. || The marquis of Halifax, as speaker of the house of lords, made a solemn tender of the crown to their highnesses, in the name of the peers and commons of England. The prince accepted the offer; and that very day William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen of England.

King James was for many years, a man of courage, as well as application to business. He was said to be a sincere and a just man, where his religion was not concerned. Yet even where religion was not concerned, he appears to have been proud, haughty, vindictive, cruel, and unrelenting; and though he approved himself an obedient subject; he certainly became one of the most intolerable sovereigns that ever reigned over a free people. But he could have no true religion, at least while in England, as he made no conscience at all of adultery. He is said afterwards to have been a new man. Probably the loss of his crown was the saving of his soul.

|| Feb. 13.



End of the Third Volume.



