

THE
HISTORY

OF THE
REBELLION and CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN, upon the 29th of *May*, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honourable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High Chancellor of *England*, Privy Counsellor in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

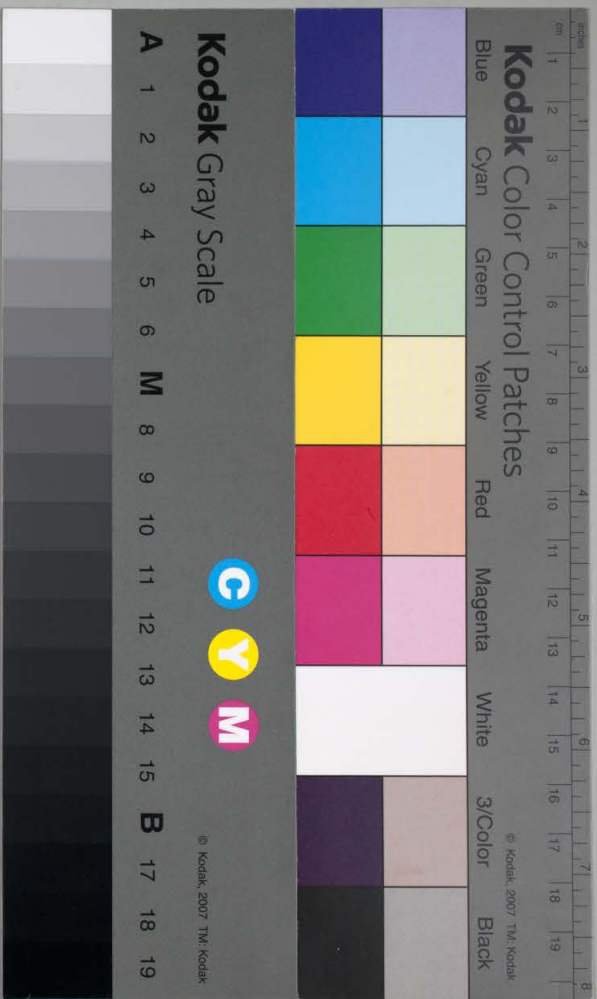
Κτῆμα ἐς αἰεὶ. Thucyd.

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

VOLUME II. PART 2.

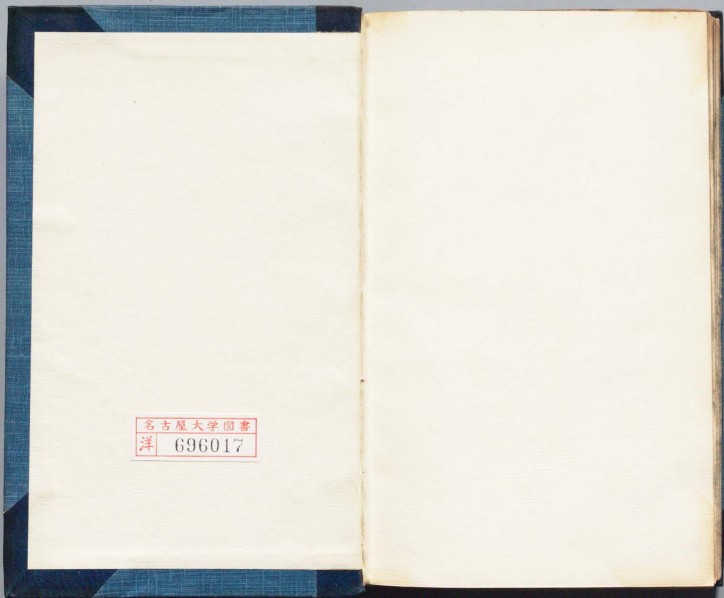
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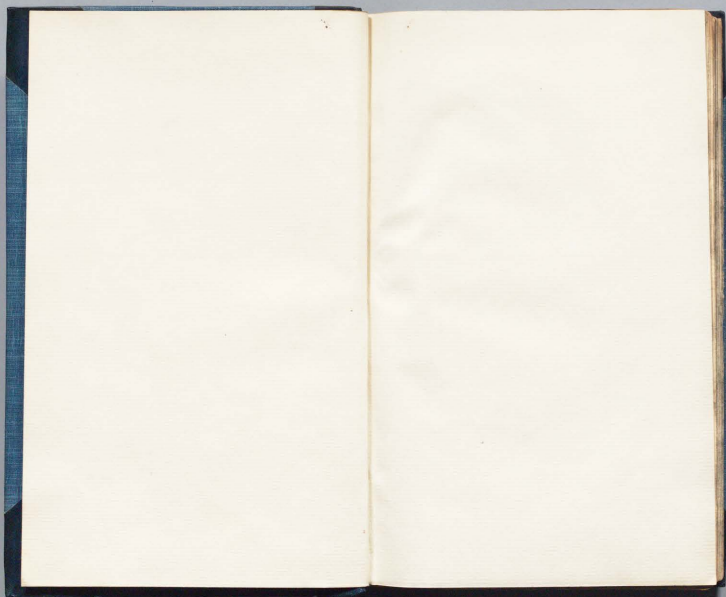


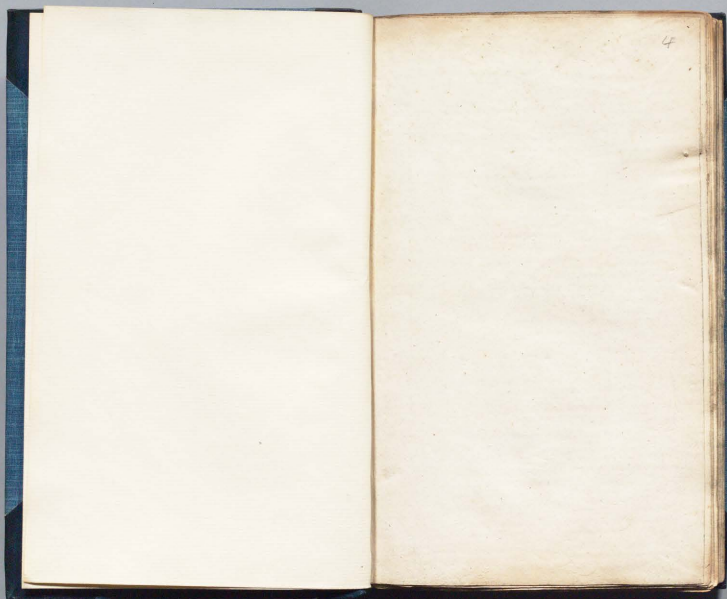
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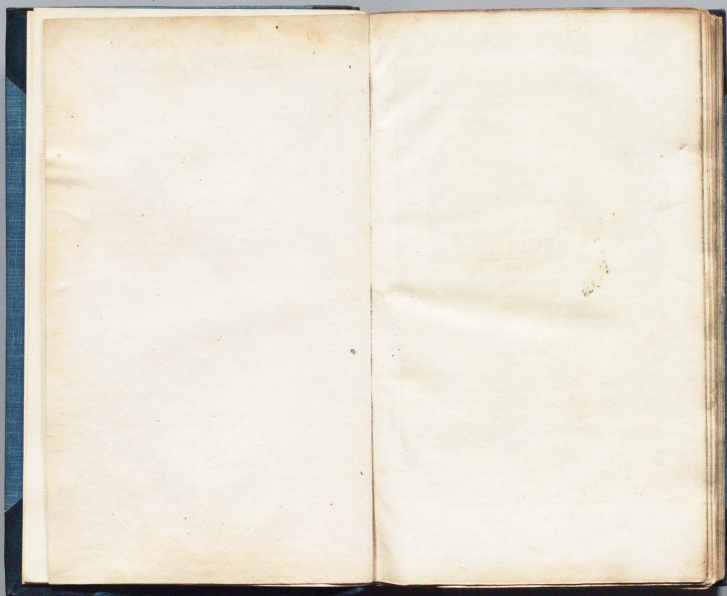


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Edward Earl of CLARENDON Lord High CHANCELLOR of England,
and Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1667.

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VOLUME II. PART 2.

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T H E
History of the Rebellion, &c.
B O O K VIII.

2 Efd. v. 9.

And salt waters shall be found in the sweet, and all friends shall destroy one another; then shall Wit hide it self, and Understanding withdraw it self into his secret Chamber.

H. III. 5.

And the People shall be oppressed every one by another, and every one by his Neighbour; the Child shall behave himself proudly against the Ancient, and the Base against the Honourable.

AS the Winter had been very unprosperous, and unsuccessful to the King, in the diminution and loss of those Forces, upon which he chiefly depended to sustain the power of the Enemy the year ensuing; so the Spring enter'd with no better presage. When both Armies had enter'd into their Winter Quarters, to refresh themselves after so much fatigue, the great preparation that was made at London, and the same of sending *St. William Waller* into the West, put the King upon the resolution of having such a Body in his way, as might give him interruption, without Prince *Maurice's* being disturb'd in his Siege of *Plymouth*; which was not thought to be able to make long resistance. To this purpose the Lord *Hopton* was appointed to Command an Army apart, to be levied out of the Garrison of *Bristol*, and those Western Counties adjacent newly reduced; where his Reputation and Interest was very great; and by it he had in a short time

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raited a pretty Body of Foot and Horſe; to which receiving an Addition of two very good Regiments (though not many in Number) out of *Waller*, under the Command of *St Charles Farnſhaw*, and *St John Becket*, and a good Troop of Horſe under the Command of Captain *Bridges*, all which had been transported, according to former Orders, out of *Ireland* to *Bristol*, ſince the Ceſſation, that *Lord Hopton* advanced to *Salisbury*, and thortly after to *Wincheſter*; whither *St John Becket* brought him two Regiments more of Foot, raiſed by him in *Devonſhire*; ſo that he had in all, at leaſt, three thouſand Foot, and about fifteen hundred Horſe; which, in ſo good a Poſt as *Wincheſter* was, would in ſhort time have grown to a conſiderable Army; and was at preſent ſtrong enough to have hopped, or attended *Waller* in his Weſtern Expedition; nor did he expect to have found ſuch an obſtruction in his way. And therefore, when he was upon his March, and was inform'd of the *Lord Hopton's* being at *Wincheſter* with ſuch a ſtrength, he retir'd to *Parham*, and Quarter'd there, till he gave his Maſters an Account that he wanted other Supplies.

It was a general miſfortune, and miſcomputation of that time, that the Party, in all places, that wou'd well to the King (which conſiſted of moſt of the Gentry in moſt Counties, and for the preſent were a w'd, and kept under by the Militia, and the Committees of Parliament) had ſo good an opinion of their own Reputation and Intereſt, that they believ'd they were able, upon the Aſſiſtance of few Troops, to ſurpreſs their Neighbours who were of the other Party, and who, upon the advantage of the power they were poſſeſ'd of, exerciſed their Authority over them with great rigour, and intolence. And ſo the *Lord Hopton* was no ſooner poſſeſſed of *Wincheſter*, where *St William Ogil* had likewiſe ſeized upon the Caſtle for the King, and put it into a tenable condition, than the Gentlemen of *ſuffex*, and of the adjacent parts of *Hampſhire*, ſent privately to him, "that if he would advance into their Country, they would undertake, in ſhort time, to make great Levies of Men for the recruit of his Army; and likewiſe to poſſeſs themſelves of ſuch places as they ſhould be well able to defend; and thereby keep that part of the Country in the King's Obedience.

St Edward Ford, a Gentleman of a good Family, and fair Fortune in *ſuffex*, had then a Regiment of Horſe in the *Lord Hopton's* Troops, and the King had made him High Sheriff of *ſuffex* that year, to the end that, if there were occaſion, he might the better make impreſſion upon that County. He had with him, in his Regiment, many of the Gentlemen of that County of good Quality. And they all beſought

the *Lord Hopton*, "that he would, ſince *Waller* was not like to advance, at leaſt ſend ſome Troops into thoſe parts, to give a little Countenance to the Levies they ſhould be well able to make; aſſuring him, "that they would, in the firſt place, ſeize upon *Arundel-Caſtle*; which, ſtanding near the Sea, would yield great advantage to the King's Service, and keep that rich Corner of the Country at his Majeſty's Devotion. Theſe, and many other ſpecious undertakings, diſpoſed the *Lord Hopton*, who had an extraordinary appetite to engage *Waller* in a Battle, upon old accounts, to wiſh himſelf at Liberty to comply with thoſe Gentlemen's deſires: of all which, he gave ſuch an Account to the King, as made it appear, that he liked the deſign, and thought it practicable, if he had an addition of a Regiment or two of Foot, under good Officers; for that Quarter of *ſuffex*, which he meant to viſit, was a ſalt and incloſed Country, and *Arundel-Caſtle* had a Garriſon in it, though not numerous, or well provided, as being without apprehenſion of an Enemy.

It was about *Chriſtmas*, and the King had no farther deſign for the Winter, than to keep *Waller* from viſiting and diſturbing the Weſt, and to recruit his Army to ſuch a degree as to be able to take the Field early; which he knew the Rebels reſolv'd to do: yet the good Poſt the *Lord Hopton* was already poſſeſ'd of at *Wincheſter*, and theſe poſitive undertakings from *ſuffex*, wrought upon many to think, that this opportunity ſhould not be loſt. The King had likewiſe great Aſſurance of the general good Affections of the County of *Warr*; inſomuch as the People had with difficulty been reſtrain'd from making ſome attempt, upon the confidence of their own ſtrength; and if there could be now ſuch a foundation laid, that there might be a conjunction between that and *ſuffex*, it might produce an Aſſociation little inferior to that of the Southern Counties under the Earl of *Mancheſter*; and might, by the Spring, be an occaſion of that diſtraction to the Parliament, that they ſhould not well know to what part to diſpoſe their Armies; and the King might apply his own to that part, and purpoſe, as ſhould ſeem moſt reaſonable to him.

Theſe, and other reaſons prevailing, the King gave the *Lord Hopton* order to proſecute his deſign upon *ſuffex*, in ſuch manner as he thought fit; provided, that he was well aſſured, that *Waller* ſhould not make advantage, upon that Enterpriſe, to find the way open to him to march into the Weſt. And that he might be the better able to proſecute the one, and to provide for the other, *St Jacob Ashley* was likewiſe ſent to him from *Reading*, with a thouſand commanded Men of that Garriſon, *Wallingford*, and *Oxford*; which ſupply no ſooner arriv'd

riv'd at *Windsor*, but the Lord *Hopton* resolv'd to visit *Waller's* Quarters, if it were possible to engage him; however he that he might judge by the posture he was in, whether he were like to pursue his purpose for the West. *Waller* was then Quarter'd at *Farnham*, and the Villages adjacent, from whence he drew out his Men, and faced the Enemy, as if he intended to fight, but, after some light Skirmishes for a day or two, in which he always receiv'd loss, he retir'd himself into the Castle of *Farnham*, a place of some strength; and drew his Army into the Town; and within three or four days, went himself to *London*, more effectually to sollicite Recruits, than his Letters had been able to do.

WHEN the Lord *Hopton* saw that he could attempt no farther upon those Troops, and was fully assur'd that *St William Waller* was himself gone to *London*, he concluded, that it was a good time to comply with the importunity of the Gentlemen of *Suffex*; and march'd thither, with such a Body of Horse and Foot, as he thought competent for the Service. The exceeding hard Frost made his march more easy through those deserty ways, than better Weather would have done; and he came to *Arundel* before there was any imagination that he had that place in his prospect. The place in it's Situation was strong, and though the Fortifications were not regular, but of the old fashion, yet the Walls were good, and the Gravel broad, and deep; and though the Garrison was not numerous enough to have defend'd all the large circuit against a powerful Army, yet it was strong enough, in all respects, to have defend'd any sudden Assault; and might, without putting themselves to much trouble, have been very secure against the Attempts of those without. But the Provisions of Victual, or Ammunition, was not sufficient to have endured any long Siege; and the Officer who Commanded, had not been accustomed to the prospect of an Enemy. So upon an easy and short Summons, that threaten'd his obstinacy with a very rigorous chastisement, if he should defer the giving it up; either from the effect of his own fear, and want of Courage, or from the good inclinations of some of the Soldiers, the Castle was surrender'd the third day; and appear'd to be a place worth the keeping, and capable, in a short time, to be made secure against a good Army.

THE Lord *Hopton*, after he had stay'd there five or six days, and caus'd Provisions of all kinds to be brought in, committed the Command and Government thereof to *St Edward Ford*, High Sheriff of the County, with a Garrison of above two hundred Men; besides many good Officers; who desired, or were very willing, to stay there; as a place very favourable for the making Levies of Men, which they all intended.

Arundel Castle surrendered to the Lord Hopton:

tended. And, it may be, the more remain'd there, out of the weariness and fatigue of their late marches, and that they might spend the remainder of the Winter with better Accommodation.

THE News of *St William Waller's* return to *Farnham* with strong recruits of Horse and Foot, made it necessary to the Lord *Hopton*, to leave *Arundel* Castle before he had put it into the good posture he intended. And, without well considering the mixture of the Men he left there, whereof many were of Natures not easy to be govern'd, nor like to conform themselves to such strict Rules as the condition of the place required, or to use that industry, as the exigence, they were like to be in, made necessary, the principal thing he recommended and enjoin'd to them was, "in the first place, setting all other things aside, to draw in store of Provisions of all kinds, both for the Numbers they were already, and for such as would probably in a short time be added to them; all which from the great plenty that Country then abounded in, was very easy to have been done. And if it had been done, that place would have remain'd long such a Thorn in the side of the Parliament, as would have render'd it very uneasy to them, at least have interrupted the current of their propriety.

WALLER'S Journey to *London* answer'd his expectation; and his Presence had an extraordinary operation, to procure any thing desired. He reported the Lord *Hopton's* Forces to be much greater than they were, that his own might be made proportionable to encounter them. And the quick progress that Lord had made in *Suffex*, and his taking *Arundel* Castle, made them thought to be greater than He reported them to be. His so easily possessing himself of a place of that strength, which they suppos'd to have been impregnable, and in a County where the King had before no footing, awaken'd all their Jealousies and Apprehensions of the Afflictions of *Kent*, and all other places; and look'd like a Land-flood, that might roll they knew not how far; so that there needed no importunate sollicitation to provide a remedy against this growing evil. The ordinary method they had us'd for recruiting their Armies by Levies of Volunteers, and persuading the Apprentices of the City to become Soldiers, upon the Privilege they gave them for their Freedom, for the time they Fought for them, as if they had remain'd in their Master's Service, was now too dull and lazy an expedient to resist this Torrent; they therefore resort to their inexhaustible Magazine of Men, their devoted City, to whose Afflictions the Person of *St William Waller* was most acceptable; and perswaded them immediately to cause two of their strongest Regiments

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giments of Auxiliaries, to march out of the Line to *Farnham*; which they consented to. Then they appointed the Earl of *Essex* to give his Orders to *St. William Balfour*, with one thousand of the Horse of his Army, likewise to observe *Waller's* Commands; who, with this great addition of Forces, made halt to his other Troops at *Rowlesham*, where he feared to rebel, but after he had informed himself how the Lord *Hopton's* Troops lay Quarter'd, at too great a distance from each other, he march'd, according to his custom in those occasions (as bearing up of Quarters was his Master-piece) all the Night; and, by the break of day, encompass'd a great Village called *Alton*, where a Troop or two of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot of the King's lay in too much security. However, the Horse took the Alarm quickly, and for the most part, made their escape to *Wincchester*, the head Quarter; whither the Lord *Hopton* was return'd but the Night before from *Arundel*. The Colonel *Bates*, who Commanded his own Regiment of Foot there, consisting of about five hundred Men, which had been drawn out of the Garrison of *Wallingford*, when he found himself encompass'd by the Enemies Army of Horse and Foot, saw he could not defend himself, or make other resistance, than by retreating with his Men into the Church, which he hoped to maintain for so many hours, that relief might be sent to him; but he had not time to barricadoe the doors; so that the Enemy enter'd almost at once; and after a short resistance, in which many were killed, the Soldiers, overpowered, threw down their Arms, and asked Quarter; which was likewise offer'd to the Colonel; who refused it, and valiantly defended himself, till with the death of two or three of the Assailants, he was killed in the place; his Enemies giving him a testimony of great Courage and Resolution.

Waller knew well the impression the loss of this very good Regiment would make upon the Lord *Hopton's* Forces, and that the report which the Troops of Horse which had escap'd, would make, would add nothing of Courage to their fellows; so that there was no probability that they would make halt to advance; and therefore, with great celerity, the hard Frost continuing, he march'd with all his Army to *Arundel* Castle, where he found that Garrison as unprovided as he could wish. For instead of encreasing the Magazine of Victual by Supplies from the Country, they had spent much of that Store which the Lord *Hopton* had provided. The Governour was a Man of Honesty and Courage, but unacquainted with that Affair, having no other experience in Wars, than what he had learn'd since these Troubles. The Officers were many without Command, amongst whom one Colonel *Bamford*, an Irish man, though he called himself *Bamfield*, was
one;

one; who, being a Man of wit and parts, applied all his faculties to improve the Faction, to which they were all naturally inclin'd, with a hope to make himself Governour. In this distraction *Waller* found them, and by some of the Soldiers running out to him, he found means again to send in to them; by which he encreas'd their Faction, and Animosity against one another, that, after he had kept them waking, with continual Alarms, three or four days, near half the Men being sick, and unable to do duty, rather than they would trust each other longer, they gave the Place and Themselves up, as Prisoners of War upon Quarter; the Place being able to *it is reckon'd* have defended it self against all that power, for a much longer *is Sir Will. Waller* time. Here the Learned and Eminent Mr *Chillingworth* was taken Prisoner; who, out of kindness and respect to the Lord *Hopton*, had accompanied him in that march; and, being indisposed by the terrible coldness of the Season, chose to repose himself in that Garrison, till the Weather should mend. As soon as his Perion was known, which would have drawn Reverence from any noble Enemy, the Clergy that attended that Army, prosecuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable; so that, by their Barbarous usage, he died within few days; to the grief of all that knew him, and of many who knew him not; but by his Book, and the Reputation he had with Learned Men.

The Lord *Hopton* sustain'd the loss of that Regiment with extraordinary trouble of mind, and as a wound that would bleed inward; and therefore was the more inflamed with desire of a Battle with *Waller*, to make even all Accounts; and made what haste he could, upon the first Advertisement, to have redeem'd that Misfortune; and hop'd to have come time enough to Relieve *Arundel* Castle, which he never suspected would so tamely have given themselves up. But that hope quickly vanish'd, upon the undoubted Intelligence of that Surrender, and the News that *Waller* was return'd with a full Resolution to prosecute his design upon the West; to which, besides the encouragement of his two late Successes, with which he was marvellously clad, he was in some degree necessitated, out of apprehension that the Horse which belonged to the Earl of *Essex's* Army, might be freely recalled; and the time would be quickly expir'd, that he had promised the Auxiliary Regiments of *London* to dismiss them.

Upon the News the King receiv'd of the great supply the Parliament had so suddenly sent to *Waller*, both from the Earl of *Essex's* Army, and from the City, he thought it necessary to send such an addition of Foot as he could draw out of *Oxford*, and the Neighbour Garrisons. And the Earl
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of *Brenford*, General of the Army, who had a fast Friendship with the Lord *Hopton*, expressing a good inclination to make him a visit, rather than to fit fill in his Winter Quarters, his Majesty was very willing he should, and cherisht that disposition, being desirous that so great an Officer might be present in an Army, upon which so much of his hopes depended; and which did not abound with Officers of great Experience. So the General, with such Volunteers as were ready to accompany him, went to *Winchester*; where he found the Lord *Hopton* in trouble for the loss of the Regiment of Foot at *Alton*, and with the unexpected assistance of the giving up of *Strandell* Castle. He was exceedingly reviv'd with the presence of the General, and desired to receive his Orders, and that he would take upon him the absolute Command of the Troops; which he as positively refused to do; only offer'd to keep him Company in all Expeditions, and to give him the best Assistance he was able; which the Lord *Hopton* was compell'd to be contented with; nor could there be a greater union and consent between two Friends: The General being ready to give his Advice upon all particulars; and the other doing nothing without communication with him, and then conforming to his opinion, and giving Orders accordingly.

AS SOON as they were inform'd that *Waller* had drawn all his Troops together about *Barnham*, and meant to march towards them; they cheerfully embraced the occasion, and went to meet him; and about *Alresford*, near the midway between *Winchester* and *Barnham*, they came to know how near they were to each other; and, being in View, chose the ground upon which they meant the Battle should be fought; of which *Waller*, being first there, got the advantage for the drawing up his Horse. The King's Army consisted of about five thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse; and *Waller* with *St William Balfour*, excelled in Horse; but they were upon the matter equal in Foot; with this only advantage, that both his Horse and Foot were, as they were always, much better Arm'd; no Man wanting any Weapon Offensive, or Defensive, that was proper for him; and *St Arthur Hasting's* Regiment of Cavaliers, call'd the *Lobbers*, were so formidable, that the King's naked and unarm'd Troops, among which few were better arm'd than with Swords, could not bear their impression.

The Battle at Alresford, was on the 29th day of May 1644. Waller had one fierce Charge, wheel'd about to an unreasonable distance; and left their principal Officers to fight for themselves. The King's Horse behaved themselves very gallantly, and had not only the better

better of the other Foot, but bore two or three Charges from the Horse with notable Courage, and without being broken; whilst those Horse which stood upon the Field, and should have assist'd them, could be persuaded but to stand. When the Evening drew near, for the approach whereof neither Party was sorry, the Lord *Hopton* thought it necessary to leave the Field; and drawing off his Men, and carrying with him many of the wounded, he retired with all his Cannon and Ammunition, whereas he lost none, that Night to *Reading*; the Enemy being looser'd, that they had no mind to pursue; only *Waller* himself made halt to *Winchester*, where he thought, upon this Success, to have been immediately admitted into that Castle; which was his own Inheritance. But he found that too well defended; and so return'd with taking revenge upon the City, by plundering it with all the Intolerance and Rapine imaginable.

THERE could not then be any other estimate made of the loss *Waller* sustain'd, than by the loss pursuing the visible advantage he had, and by the utter refusal of the Auxiliary Regiments of *London* and *Kent*, to march farther; who, within three or four days, left him; and return'd to their Habitations; with great Lamentation of their Friends who were missing. On the King's side, besides Common Men, and many good Officers, there fell that day the Lord *John Stuart*, Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*, and General of the Horse of that Army, and *St John Smith*, Brother to the Lord *Carrington*, and Commissary General of the Horse. They were both brought off the Field by the few Horse that stay'd with them, and did their duty; carried to *Reading*; and the next day to *Ashington*, that they might be near to the Assistance of the best remedies by Physicians and Surgeons. But they liv'd only to the second dressing of their wounds; which were very many upon both of them.

THE former was a young Man of extraordinary hope, little more than one and twenty years of Age; who being of a more choleric and rough Nature, than the other Branches of that illustrious and Princely Family, was not delighted with the formalities of the Court, but had dedicated himself to the profession of Arms, when he did not think the Scene should have been in his own Country. His Courage was so signal that day, that too much could not be expected from it, if he had out-liv'd it; and he was so generally beloved, that he could not but be very generally lamented. The other, *St John Smith*, had been train'd up from his Youth in the War of *Flanders*; being of an ancient Roman Catholic Family; and had long the Reputation of one of the best Officers of Horse. *Alison* as the first Troubles appear'd in *Scotland*, he betook himself

himself to the Service of his own Prince; and from the beginning of the War to his own end, perform'd many signal Actions of Courage. The death of these two eminent Officers, made the Names of many who perish'd that day, less inquired into and mention'd.

THIS Battle was Fought the 25th day of *March*: which was a very doleful entering into the beginning of the year 1644, and broke all the measures, and alter'd the whole scheme of the King's Counsell: For whereas before, he hoped to have enter'd the Field early, and to have acted an Offensive part; he now discern'd, he was wholly to be upon the Defensive; and that was like to be a very hard part too. For he found, within very few days after, that he was not only depriv'd of the Men he had lost at *Stratford*, but that he was not to expect any recruit of his Army by a conjunction with *Prince Rupert*; who, he believ'd, would have return'd in time, after his great Success at *Newark*, with a strong Body both of Horse and Foot, from *Stratford*, *Chester*, and *North Wales*: all which hopes were soon blasted; for the Prince had scarce put the Garrison of *Newark* in order, and provided it to endure another Attack, which they might have reasonably expected upon his Highness's departure (though indeed the blame of the defeat he had given that Party, and the rage among the Officers, and Soldiers, when they saw by what a handful of Men they had been terrified, and subdued, broke and dissolv'd that whole Body within few days) when he was earnestly press'd from the Earl of *Derby*, to come into *Leicestershire* to relieve him, who was already besieged in his own strong House at *Latham*, by a great Body, with whom he was not able to contend. And to dispose the Prince the more willingly to undertake his relief, the Earl made ample promises, "that within so many days after the Siege should be raised, with any defect to the Enemy, he would advance his Highness's Levies with two thousand Men, and supply him "with a considerable Sum of Money. And the Earl had likewise, by an Express, made the same instance to the King at *Oxford*; from whence his Majesty sent his Permission, and Approbation to the Prince, before his departure from *Newark*; hoping still that his Highness would be able to dispatch that Service in *Leicestershire*, and with the more notable recruits of Men in those parts, be able to return to *Oxford* by the time that it would be necessary for his Majesty to take the Field. But within a short time, he was disappointed of that expectation; for before the Prince could finish his Expedition into *Leicestershire* (which he did with wonderful Gallantry; raised the Siege at *Latham* with a great execution upon the Enemy; and took two or three of their Garrisons obstinately defended;

and therefore with the greater Slaughter) the Marquis of *Newcastle* was compell'd to retire, with his whole Army, within the Walls of *York*. He had been well able to have defended himself against the numerous Army of the *Scots*; and would have been glad to have been engaged with them, but he found he had a worse Enemy to deal with, as will appear.

FROM the time that the Ruling Party of the Parliament discern'd that their General, the Earl of *Effingham*, would never give time of respite to their turn, or comply with all their desires, they resolv'd to have another Army apart, that should be more at their disposal; in the forming whereof, they would be faine to choose such Officers, as would probably not only observe their Orders, but have the same inclinations with them. Their pretence was, "that there were so many dissatisfied Persons of the Nobility, and Principal Gentry, in the Counties of *Newfolk* and *Suffolk*, that, if great care was not taken to prevent it, there might a Body start up there for the King; which, upon the success of the Marquis of *New-Castle*, whose Armes "then reached into *Lincolnshire*, might grow very formidable. For prevention whereof, they had formed an Association between *Effingham* (a County, upon the influence of the Earl of *Warwick*, and the power of his Clergy, they most confided in) *Cambridgehire*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Bedford*, and *Huntington*; in all which they had many Persons of whole entire Affections they were well assur'd; and, in most of them, there were few considerable Persons who wiled them ill. Of this Association they had made the Earl of *Manchester* General, to be subject only to their own Commands, and independent upon the Earl of *Effingham*. Under Him, they chose *Oliver Cromwell* to Command their Horse; and many other Officers, who never intended to be subject again to the King, and avow'd other Principles in Conscience and Religion, than had been before publicly declared.

To this General they gave Order, "to reside within that Association; and to make Levies of Men, sufficient to keep those Counties in Obedience: for at first they pretended no more. But, in the secret Treaty made by *St. Harry Vane* with the *Scots*, they were bound, as soon as the *Scots* should enter into *Yorkshire* with their Army, that a Body of *English* Horse, Foot, and Cannon, should be ready to assist them. Commanded by their own Officers, as a Body apart: The *Scots* not then trusting their own great Numbers, as equal to Fight with the *English*. And from that time they were much more careful to raise, and liberally supply, and provide for that Army under the Earl of *Manchester*, than for the other under the Earl of *Effingham*. And now, according to their agreement, upon the *Scots* first entrance into *Yorkshire*, the Earl

The Earl of Manchester had likewise Order to march with his whole
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 North to join
 the Scots.

the Earl of Manchester had likewise Order to march with his whole
 Body thither; having, for the most part, a Committee of the
 Parliament, wherof Sir Henry Vane was one, with him; as
 there was another Committee of the Scottish Parliament always
 in that Army; there being also now a Committee of both
 Kingdoms residing at London, for the carrying on the War.

The Marquis of Newcastle being thus professed on both
 sides, was necessitated to draw all his Army of Foot and Cannon
 into York, with some Troops of Horse; and sent the
 Body of his Horse, under the Command of General Goring,
 to remain in those places he should find most convenient, and
 from whence he might best assist the Enemy. Then he sent
 an Express to the King, to inform him of the Condition he
 was in; and to let him know, "that he doubted not to de-
 fend himself in that Post, for the term of six Weeks, or two
 Months; in which time, he hoped, his Majesty would
 find some way to Relieve him. Upon receipt of this Letter,
 the King sent Orders to Prince Rupert, that "as soon as
 he had Reliev'd the Lord Derby, and recruited, and refresh'd
 his Men, he should march, with what Expedition he could,
 to Relieve York; where being join'd with the Marquis of
 Newcastle's Army, there was hope they might Fight the
 Enemy; and his Majesty would put himself into as good a
 posture as he could to take the Field, without expecting the
 Prince.

The Queen
 returns from
 Oxford to
 Exeter.

At L. these ill Accidents falling out successively in the
 Winter, the King's Condition appear'd very sad; and the
 Queen being now with Child, it wrought upon her Majesty's
 mind very much; and dispos'd her to so many Fears and Ap-
 prehensions of her Safety, that she was very uneasy to her
 self. She heard every day "of the great Forces rais'd, and
 "in a readiness, by the Parliament, much greater than they
 "yet ever had been, which was very true; and "that they
 "resolv'd, as soon as the Season was ripe, to march all to Oxford.
 She could not endure to think of being Belieged; and, in
 conclusion, resolv'd not to stay there, but to go into the
 West; from whence, in any distress, she might be able to
 Embark for France. Though there seem'd reasons enough to
 dissuade her from that inclination, and his Majesty heartily
 wish'd that she could be diverted, yet the perplexity of her
 mind was so great, and her fears so vehement, both improv'd
 by her indisposition of Health, that all Civility and Reason
 oblig'd every Body to submit. So, about the beginning of
 April, she began her Journey from Oxford to the West; and,
 by moderate Journeys, came well to Exeter; where she in-
 tended to stay, till she was deliver'd, for she was within lie-
 tle more than one Month of her time; and, being in a place
 out

out of the reach of any Alarm, she recover'd her Spirits to a
 reasonable convalescence.

It was now about the middle of April, when it concern'd
 the King with all possible fatigacy, to foresee what probably
 the Parliament meant to attempt with those vast Numbers of
 Men which they every day levied; and thereupon to con-
 clude, what it would be possible for his Majesty to do, in
 those Exigencies to which he was like to be reduced. The
 Intelligence, that Waller was still design'd for the Western
 Expedition, made the King appoint his whole Army to be
 drawn together to a Rendezvous at Marlborough; where
 himself was present, and, to his great satisfaction, found the
 Body to consist, after all the losses and misadventures, of no
 less than six thousand Foot, and above four thousand Horse.
 There that Body remain'd for some weeks, to watch, and in-
 tend Waller's Motion, and to Fight with him as soon as was
 possible. Many things were there consulted for the future; and
 the quitting Reading, and some other Garrisons, propos'd,
 for the increasing the Field Forces: yet nothing was posi-
 tively resolv'd, but to expect clearer evidence what the Par-
 liament Army would dispose themselves to do.

So the King return'd to Oxford, where, upon the desire of the
 Members of Parliament who had been call'd thither, and most of
 those who had done all the Service they could for the King, they were for
 the present dismiss'd, that they might, in their several Coun-
 ties, satisfy the People of the King's importunate desire of
 Peace; but how innocently it had been rejected by the Parlia-
 ment; and thereupon induce them to conclude all they could
 to his Majesty's Assistance. They were to meet there again
 in the Month of October following.

Then, that his Majesty might draw most of the Soldiers
 of that Garrison with him out of Oxford, when he should
 take the Field, that City was perswaded to compleat the Re-
 giment they had begun to form, under the Command of a
 Colonel whom the King had recommended to them; which
 they did raise to the Number of a thousand Men. There
 were likewise two other Regiments rais'd of Gentlemen and
 their Servants, and of the Scholars of the several Colleges and
 Halls of the University; all which Regiments did Duty there
 punctually, from the time that the King went into the Field,
 till he return'd again to Oxford; and all the Lords declared,
 "that upon any emergent occasion, they would mount their
 "Servants upon their Horses, to make a good Troop for a
 "sudden Service; which they made good; and thereby, that
 Summer, perform'd two or three very considerable and im-
 portant Actions.

By this time there was reason to believe, by all the Intel-
 ligence

licence that could be procur'd, and by the change of his Quarters, that *Waller* had laid aside his Western March; at least that it was suspended; and that, on the contrary, all endeavours were used to recruit both His, and the Earl of *Essex's* Army, with all possible expedition; and that neither of them should move upon any *Ashenill* they should be both compleat in greater Numbers, than either of them had yet march'd with. Hereupon, the King's Army remov'd from *Marborough* to *Nunbury*; where they remain'd near a Month, that they might be in a readines to attend the motion of the Enemy, and to assist the Garrisons of *Reading*, or *Wallingford*; or to draw out either, as there should be occasion.

THERE had been several deliberations in the Council of War, and always very different opinions, what should be done with the Garrisons when the King should take the Field; and the King himself was irresolute upon those Debates, what to do. He communicated the several reasons to Prince *Rupert* by Letters, requiring His advice; who, after he had receiv'd Answers, and receiv'd Replies, made a hasty journey to *Oxford* from *Chelster*, to wait upon his Majesty. And it was then positively resolv'd, "that the Garrisons of *Oxford*, " *Wallingford*, *Abingdon*, *Reading*, and *Banbury*, should be " reinforced, and strengthen'd with all the Foot; that a good " Body of Horse should remain about *Oxford*, and the rest " should be sent in the West to Prince *Amoros*. If this Council had been persued freely and resolutely, it might probably have been attended with good Success: Both Armies of the Enemy would have been puzzled what to have done, and either of them would have been unwilling to have engaged in a Siege against any place so well provided, and resolv'd; and it would have been equally unconfessible to have march'd to any distance, and have left such an Enemy at their backs, that could so easily and quickly have united, and incommoded any March they could have made.

BUT as it was even impossible to have administr'd such advice to the King, in the freight he was in, which being persued might not have prov'd inconvenient, so it was the unhappy temper of those who were call'd to those Councils, that resolutions, taken upon full Debate, were seldom persued with equal resolution and steadiness; but changed upon new, shorter Debates, and upon objections which had been answer'd before: Some Men being in their Natures irresolute, and inconstant, and full of objections, even after all was determin'd according to their own proposals; others being positive, and not to be alter'd from what they had once declar'd, nor unreasonably soever, or what alterations soever there were in the Affairs. And the King himself frequently

consider'd

consider'd more the Person who spoke, as he was in his grace, or his prejudice, than the Council it self that was given; and always suspected, at least trusted less to his own judgment than he ought to have done; which rarely deceiv'd him so much as that of other Men.

THE Persons with whom he only consulted in his Martial Affairs, and how to carry on the War, were (besides Prince *Rupert*, who was at this time absent) the General, who was made Earl of *Brentford*, the Lord *Wilmot*, who was General of the Horse; the Lord *Hopton*, who usually Commanded an Army apart, and was not often with the King's Army, but now present; Sir *Jacob Ashley*, who was Major General of the Army; the Lord *Digby*, who was Secretary of State; and Sir *John Colepepper* Master of the Rolls; for none of the Privy Council, those two only excepted, were call'd to those Consultations; though some of them were still advis'd with, for the better Execution, or Prosecution, of what was then and there resolv'd.

THE General, though he had been, without doubt, a very good Officer, and had great Experience, and was still a Man of unquestionable Courage and Integrity; yet he was now much decayed in his parts, and, with the long continued custom of immoderate drinking, doz'd in his Understanding, which had been never quick and vigorous; he having been always illiterate to the greatest degree that can be imagin'd. He was now become very deaf, yet often pretended not to have heard what he did not then contradict, and thought fit afterwards to disclaim. He was a Man of few Words, and of great Compliance, and usually deliver'd that as his opinion, which he foresaw would be grateful to the King.

WILMOT was a Man of a haughty and ambitious Nature, of a pleasant Wit, and an ill Understanding, as never considering above one thing at once; but he consider'd that one thing so impatiently, that he would not admit any thing else to be worth any Consideration. He had, from the beginning of the War, been very averse to any advice of the Privy Council, and thought fit that the King's Affairs (which depended upon the Success of the War) should entirely be govern'd and conducted by the Soldiers, and Men of War; and that no other Councilors should have any Credit with his Majesty. Whilst Prince *Rupert* was present, his exceeding great prejudice, or rather Personal Animosity against him, made any thing that *Wilmot* laid out or propos'd, enough slighted and contradicted; and the King himself, upon some former account and observation, was far from any indulgence to his Person, or esteem of his Parts. But now, by the Prince's absence,

The Person
with whom
the King
consulted
in his
Martial
Affairs
as
the case.

and his being the second Man in the Army, and the Contempt he had of the old General, who was there the only Officer above him, he grew marvellously elated, and look'd upon himself as one whose advice ought to be follow'd, and submitted in all things. He had, by his exorbitant good Fellowship (in every part whereof he excelled, and was grateful to all the Company) made himself popular with all the Officers of the Army, especially of the Houſe; that he had, in truth, a very great Intereſt; which he deſired might appear to the King, that he might have the more Intereſt in Him. He was poſitive in all his Advices in Council, and bore Contradiction very impatiently; and becauſe he was moſt Contradicted by the two Privy Counſellors, the Secretary, and the Maſter of the Rolls, who, he ſaw, had the greateſt Influence upon the King, he uſed all the Artifices he could to render them unacceptable and ſuſpected to the Officers of the Army, by ſelling them, what they had ſaid in Council; which he thought would render them the more ungrateful; and, in the Times of Jollity, perſwaded the old General to believe that he invaded his Prerogative, and meddled more in the Buſineſs of the War, than they ought to do; and thereby made him the leſs diſpoſed to concur with them in Advice, how rational and reaſonable ſoever it was; which often put the King to the trouble of converting him.

The Lord Hoſton was a Man ſubject to any Temptation, and abhor'd enough the licence, and the levities, with which he ſaw too many corrupted. He had a good Underſtanding, a clear Courage, an Induſtry not to be tired, and Generoſity that was not to be exhauſted; a Virtue that none of the reſt had; but in the Debates concerning the War, was longer in reſolving, and more apt to change his mind after he had reſolv'd, than is agreeable to the Office of a Commander in Chief, which render'd him rather fit for the Second, than for the Supreme Command in an Army.

St Jacob Aſiley was an honeſt, brave, plain Man, and ſit for the Office he exerciſed, of Major General of the Foſt as Chathamſden yielded; and was generally eſteem'd; very diſcreet and prompt in giving Orders, as the occaſions required, and moſt chearful, and preſent in any Action. In Council he uſed few, but very pertinent words; and was not at all pleaſed with the long Speeches uſually made there; and which rather contounded, than inform'd his Underſtanding; ſo that he rather collected the ends of the Debates, and what he was himſelf to Do, than enlarg'd them by his own Diſcourſes; though he forbore not to deliver his own mind.

The two Privy Counſellors, though they were of the moſt different Natures and Conſtitutions that can be imagin'd; always

always agreed in their Opinions; and being, in their parts, much Superior to the other, uſually prevail'd upon the King's Judgement to like what they approv'd; yet one of them, who had in thoſe Caſes the Advantage over the other, had that Exceſs of Fancy, that he too often, upon his own recollecting and revolving the grounds of the Reſolutions which had been taken, or upon the Suggeliions of other Men, chang'd his own mind; and thereupon cauſed Orders to be alter'd, which produc'd, or were thought to produce, many Inconveniencies.

This unſteadineſs in Counſels, and in matters reſolv'd upon, made the former Determination concerning the Garrisons, to be little conſider'd. The King's Army had lain above three Weeks at, and about *Newbury*; in which time their Numbers were nothing improv'd, beyond what they had been upon their Muſter near *Marlborough*, when the King was preſent. When it was known that both the Parliament Armies were march'd out of *London*; That under *Effex* to *Windsor*; and That of *Wallis*, to the parts between *Windsor*-*Bridge*, and *Baſing*, without any purpoſe of going farther West; the King's Army march'd to *Reading*; and in three *Reading* days, his Majesty being preſent, they ſignall'd and demolish'd ^{the garrisons} all the works of that Garrison; And then, which was about ^{the King's} the middle of *May*, with the Addition of thoſe Soldiers, which increas'd the Army five and twenty hundred old Soldiers more, very well Officer'd, the Army retir'd to the Quarters about *Oxford*, with an opinion, that it would be in their power to fight with one of the Enemy's Armies; which they long'd exceedingly to do.

The King return'd to *Oxford*, and reſolv'd to ſtay there till he could have better Information what the Enemy intended; which was not now ſo eaſy as it had formerly been. For, ſince the Conjunction with the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners in one Council, for the carrying on the War, little buſineſs was brought to be Conſider'd in either of the Houſes; and there was much greater Secrecy than before; few or none being admitted into any kind of Truſt; but they whole Affections were known to concur to the moſt deſperate Counſels. So that the Deſigns were ſtill entirely form'd, before any part of them were communicated to the Earl of *Effex*; nor was more communicated at a Time than was neceſſary for the preſent Execution; of which he was ſenſible enough; but could not help it. The Intention was, that the two Armies, which march'd out together, ſhould ſtand as he ſaid; and ſhould only keep together, till it appear'd what Courſe the King meant to take; and if he ſtayed in *Oxford*, it would be fit for both to be in the Siege; the Circumvallation being

“very great, and to be divided in many places by the River; which would keep both Armies full at once under their several Officers. But, if the King march’d out, which they might reasonably presume he would, then the purpose was, that the Earl of *Essex* should follow the King, wherever he went; which, they imagined, would be Nor’ward;” and that *Waller* should march into the West, and fall down That. So that, having so satisfactorily provided for the North, by the *Scott*, and the Earl of *Manchester*; and having an Army under the Earl of *Essex*, much Superior in Number to any the King could be attended with; and the third, under *Waller*, at Liberty for the West; they promised themselves, and too reasonably, that they should make an End of the War that Summer.

It was about the tenth of *May*, that the Earl of *Essex* and *St William Waller* march’d out of *London*, with both their Armies; and the very next day after the King’s Army had quieted *Reading*, the Earl of *Essex*, from *Windsor*, sent Forces to possess it; and recommended it to the City of *London*, to provide both Men, and all other things necessary for the keeping it; which the Memory of what they had suffer’d for the two past years, by being without it, easily dispos’d them to do. By this means, the Earl had the Opportunity to join with *Waller*’s Army when he should think fit; which before they could not do with Convenience, or Security. Nor did they ever after join in one Body, but kept at a fit Distance, to be able, if there were Occasion, to help each other.

It was the Earl of *Essex*’s Army consist’d of all his old Troops, which had Winter’d about *St Albans*, and in *Bedfordshire*; and being now encreas’d with four Regiments of the Train-bands, and Auxiliaries within the City of *London*, did not amount to less than ten thousand Horse and Foot. *Waller* had likewise receiv’d a large Recruit from *London*, *Kent*, and *Suffex*; and was little inferior in Numbers to *Essex*, and in Reputation above him. When the King’s Army retir’d from *Reading*, the Horse Quarter’d about *Wantage*, and *Farrington*; and all the Foot were put into *Abingdon*, with a Resolution to quit, or defend that Town, according to the manner of the Enemies Advance towards it; that is, if they came upon the East side, where, besides some indifferent Fortifications, they had the advantage of the River, they would maintain and defend it; if they came on the West side from *Wantage*, and *Farrington*, they would draw out and Fight, if the Enemy were not by much Superior in Number; and, in that Case, they would retire with the whole Army to *Oxford*.

Being fetalish with this Resolution, they lay in that quiet Posture, without making the least Impression upon the Enemy,

by beating up his Quarters; which might easily have been done; or restraining them from making Incurfions where they had a mind; all which was impur’d to the ill Humour, and Negligence of *Wilmot*. The Earl of *Essex* advanced with his Army towards *Abingdon*; and upon the East part of the Town; which was that which they had hoped for, in order to their Defending it. But they were no sooner advertis’d of it, but the General, early the next Morning, march’d with all the Foot out of *Abingdon*, the Horse being come thither in the Night to made good the Retreat: and all this was done before his Majesty had the least notice, or suspicion of it. As soon as his Majesty was inform’d of it by *St Charles Blount*, the Scout Master General, whom the General had sent to acquaint the King with the resolution, he sent *St Charles Blount* back to the General, to let him know the great dislike he had of their purpose to quit the Town, and to command him to stay, and not to advance till his Majesty came to him; which he made all possible haste to do. But before the Messenger could return, the Army was within sight of *Oxford*; and so the Foot was drawn through the City, and the Horse Quarter’d in the Villages about the Town.

Abingdon was in this manner, and to the King’s infinite Trouble, quieted; whither a Party of *Essex*’s Army came the same Night; and the next day, himself with all his Foot enter’d the Town; his Horse being Quarter’d about it. He then call’d *Waller* to bring up his Army near him, that they might resolve in what manner to proceed; and he had his head Quarter at *Wantage*; and so, without the striking one Blow, they got the Possession of *Reading*, *Abingdon*; and were Masters of all *Berkshire*; and forced the King to draw his whole Army of Horse and Foot on the North side of *Oxford*; where they were to feed on his own Quarters, and to consider, how to keep *Oxford* itself from being Besieged, and the King from being inclos’d in it.

This was the deplorable Condition to which the King was reduced before the end of the Month of *May*; inasmuch that it was generally reported at *London*, that *Oxford* was taken, and the King a Prisoner; and others more confidently gave it out, that his Majesty resolv’d to come to *London*; of which the Parliament was not without some Apprehension, though not so much, as of the King’s putting himself into the hands of the Earl of *Essex*, and into his Protection; which They could not endure to think of; and this troubled them so much, that the Committee of both Kingdoms, who Conducted the War, writ this Letter to the General.

My Lord.

"W^ho are credibly informed, that his Majesty intends to come for *London*. We desire you, that you will do your Endeavour to inform your self of the same; and if you think that his Majesty intends at all to come to the Army, that you acquaint us with the same; and do nothing therein, until the Houses shall give Direction.

So much Jealousy they had of the Earl, and the more, because they saw not else what the King could do; who could not entertain any reasonable Expectation of Increase, or Addition of Force from the North, or from the West; Prince *Rupert* being then in his march into *Lancashire*, for the Relief of the Earl of *Derby* (besieged in his Castle of *Latham*) and Prince *Maurice* being still engaged in the unfortunate Siege of *Lyme* in *Dorsetshire*, a little Fishery Town; which, after he had lain before it a Month, was much more like to hold out, than it was the fifth day he came before it. In this Perplexity, the King sent the Lord *Hopton* to *Bristol*, to provide better for the Security of that important City; where he yet knew *Waller* had many Friends; and himself retir'd to stay at *Oxford*, till he saw how the two Armies would dispose themselves; that, when they were so divided that they could not presently join, he might Fight with one of them; which was the greatest hope he had now left.

It was very happy that the two Armies lay so long quiet near each other, without pressing the Advantages they had, or improving the Confusion, and Distraction, which the King's Forces were, at that time, too much inclined to. Orders were given for to Quarter the King's Army, that it might keep the Rebels from passing over either of the Rivers, *Cherwell*, or *Ipsi*, which run on the East and West sides of the City; the Foot being, for the most part, Quarter'd towards the *Cherwell*, and the Horse, with some Dragoons, near the *Ipsi*.

It is this posture all the Armies lay quiet, and without Action, for the space of a day; which somewhat compos'd the minds of those within *Oxford*, and of the Troops without; which had not yet recover'd their dislike of their having quitted *Abingdon*, and thereby of being so frighten'd in their Quarters. Some of *Waller's* Forces attempted to pass the *Ipsi* at *Newbridge*, but were repulsed by the King's Dragoons. But the next day *Essex*, with his whole Army, got over the *Thames* at *Sanford Ferry*, and march'd to *Ipsi*, where he made his Quarters; and, in his way, made a halt upon *Baldington-Green*, that the City might take a full view of his Army, and be of it. In order to which, himself, with a small Party

Party of Horse, came within Cannon shot; and little Parties of Horse came very near the Ports, and had light Skirmishes with some of the King's Horse, without any great hurt on either side.

THE NEXT Morning, a strong Party of the Earl's Army endeavour'd to pass over the *Cherwell*, at *Geffworths Bridge*; but were repulsed by the Musketeers with very considerable loss; and so retir'd to their Body. And now the Earl, being engaged, with his whole Army, on the East side of the River *Cherwell*, whereby he was disabled to give, or receive any speedy Assistance to, or from *Waller*; the King retir'd to attempt the repossessing himself of *Abingdon*, and to take the opportunity to Fight with *Waller* singly, before he could be reliev'd from the other Army. In order to this, all the Foot were in the Evening drawn off from the Guard of the Palace; and march'd through *Oxford* in the Night towards *Abingdon*; and the Earl of *Cleveland*, a Man of signal Courage, and an excellent Officer upon any bold Enterprize, advanced, with a Party of one hundred and fifty Horse, to the Town itself; where there were a thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse of *Waller's* Army; and enter'd the same, and killed many, and took some Prisoners: but upon the Alarm, he was so overpowered, that his Prisoners escap'd, though he killed the Chief Commander, and made his Retreat good, with the loss only of two Officers, and as many Common Soldiers; and so, both the attempt upon *Abingdon* was given over, and the design of Fighting *Waller* laid aside; and the Army return'd again to their old Post, on the North side of *Oxford*.

St. Ives's Army undertook the Command himself at *Geffworths Bridge*, where he perceiv'd the Earl intended to force his Passage; and presently call'd up Breast-works, and made a Redoubt for the defence of his Men, and Repulsed the Enemy, the second time, very much to their damage and loss; who renew'd their Assault two or three days together, and planned they still lost many Men in the Attempt. On the other side, *Waller's* Forces from *Abingdon* did not find the new Bridge so well defended; but overpowering those Guards, and having got Boats, in which they put over their Men, both above and below, they got that Passage over the River *Ipsi*; by which they might have brought over all their Army, and fallen upon the King's Rear, whilst he was defending the other side.

It was now high time for the King to provide for his own security, and to elude the danger he was in, of being that up in *Oxford*. *Waller* lost no time, but the next day pulled over five thousand Horse and Foot, by *Newbridge*; the Van whereof Quarter'd at *Essex*, and the King's Foot being drawn

off from *Gosworb* Bridge, *Essex* immediately brought his Men over the *Choward*; and *Quarter'd* that Night at *Blackingsdon*; many of his Horſe advancing to *Woadſtock*; ſo that the King ſeem'd to them to be perfectly ſhut in between them; and to his own People, his Condition ſeem'd ſo deſperate, that one of thoſe with whom he ſued to adviſe in his moſt Secret Affairs, and whoſe Name was never ſuſpected, propoſed to him to render himſelf, upon Conditions, to the Earl of *Essex*; which his Majeſty rejected with great indignation; yet had the goodneſs to conceal the Name of the Propoſer; and ſaid, that poſſibly he might be found in the hands of the Earl of *Essex*, but he would be dead firſt. Word was given, "for all the Horſe to be together, at ſuch an hour, to expect Orders; and a good Body of Foot with Cannon, march'd through the Town towards *Aldington*; by which, it was concluded, that both Armies would be ſmell'd, and *Waller* induc'd to draw back over *Newbridge*; and, aſſoon as it was Evening, the Foot, and Cannon, return'd to their old Poſt on the North ſide.

The King reſolv'd, for the encouragement of the Lords of the Council, and the Perſons of Quality who were in *Oxford*, to leave his Son the Duke of *Tork* there; and promiſed, if they ſhould be Beſieged, "to do all he could to Relieve them, before they ſhould be reduced to Extremity. He appointed them, "that two thouſand five hundred choiſe Muſqueteers ſhould be drawn out of the whole Foot, under the Command of *St Jacob's* *Major*, and four experienced Colonels; all which ſhould, without Colours, repair to the place where the Horſe attend'd to receive Orders, and that "the reſt of the Foot ſhould remain together on the North ſide, and ſo be appointed to the defence of *Oxford*, if it ſhould be Beſieged.

All things being in this order, on *Monday* the third of *June*, about nine of the Clock at Night, the King, with the Prince, and thoſe Lords, and others who were appointed to point, and only thought themſelves leſs ſecure if they ſhould ſay behind, march'd out of the North Port, attended by his own Troop, to the place where the Horſe, and Commanded Foot, wait'd to receive them; and from thence, without any halt, march'd between the two Armies, and by Day-break were at *Hamborough*, ſome Miles beyond all their Quarters. But the King ſlept not till the Afternoon, when he found himſelf at *Barford*; and then concluded that he was in no danger to be overtaken by any Army that was to follow with Baggage, and a Train of Artillery; ſo that he was content to reſt his Men there; and ſupp'd himſelf; yet was not with-

out Apprehenſion that he might be follow'd by a Body of the Enemies Horſe; and therefore, about nine of the Clock, he continu'd his March from *Barford* over the *Cotſwold*, and by Mid-night reach'd *Barrow* upon the Water; where he gave himſelf, and his wearied Troops, more reſt and refreshment.

The Morning after the King left *Oxford*, the Foot march'd ſtraight through *Oxford*, as if they meant to go to *Aldington*, to continue that Amuſement which the day before had prevail'd with *Waller*, to ſend many of his Men back, and to delay his own Advance; and likewiſe, that Quarters might be provided for them againſt their return; which they did by Noon. The Earl of *Essex* had that Morning, from *Blackingsdon*, ſent ſome Horſe to take a view of *Oxford*; and to learn what was doing there. And they ſeeing the Colours ſtanding, as they had done two days before, made him conclude, that the King was ſtill there, and as much in his power as ever. *Waller* had earlier Intelligence of his Majeſty's Motion, and ſent a good Body of Horſe to follow him, and to retard his March, till he could come up; and his Horſe made ſuch halt, that they found in *Barford* ſome of the ſtraggling Soldiers, who out of wearineſs, or for love of Drink, had ſlay'd behind their Fellows. The Earl of *Essex* follow'd likewiſe with his Army, and *Quarter'd* at *Chippen-Norton*; and *Waller's* Horſe were as far as *Broadway*, when the King had reach'd *Exeſham*; where he intended to reſt, as in a ſecure place; though his Garrison at *Tinkethway* had been, the Night before, ſurpriz'd by a ſtrong Party from *Glaſteſter*; the Chief Officers being killed, and the reſt taken Priſoners; moſt of the Common Soldiers making their eſcape, and coming to *Exeſham*. But, upon Intelligence that both Armies follow'd by ſtrong marches, and it being poſſible that they might get over the River *Avon* about *Stratford*, or ſome other place, and ſo get between the King and *Worceſter*, his Majeſty chang'd his purpoſe of ſtaying at *Exeſham*, and preſently march'd to *Worceſter*; having given order for the breaking of the Bridge at *Payſter*; which was, unawarily, ſo near done before all the Troops were paſt, that, by the ſuddain falling of an Arch, Major *Bridges*, of the Prince's Regiment, a Man of good Courage and Conduct, with two or three other Officers of Horſe, and about twenty Common Men, fell unfortunately into the *Avon*, and were drown'd.

The Earl of *Essex*, when he ſaw the King was got full two days March before him, and that it was impoſſible for ^{The Earl} *Waller* to overtake him, as to bring him into their Power, reſolv'd ^{to ſeek the} to purſue him no farther, but to Conſult what was elſe to be ^{well} done; and to that purpoſe call'd a Council of all the prin-

cipal Officers of both Armies, to attend him at *Burford*; where it was resolv'd, "that *Waller*, who had the lighter Ordnance, and the less Carriages, should have such an Addition of Forces, as *Moffey*, the Governour of *Gloucester*, should be able to furnish him with; and so should pursue "and follow the King, wheresoever he should go; and that the "Earl of *Essex*, who had the greater Ordnance, and the heavier Carriages, should prosecute the other Design of *Retrieving Lyme*, and reducing the West to the Obedience of the Parliament.

Waller oppos'd this resolution all he could; and urg'd some Order, and Determination of the Committee of both Kingdoms in the point; and, "that the West was assign'd to him, as his Province, when the Armies should "think fit to sever from each other. However, *Essex* gave him positive Orders, as his General, "to march according to "the Advice of the Council of War, which he durst not disobey, but sent grievous Complaints to the Parliament, of the usage he was forced to submit to. And they at *Westminster*, were so incens'd against the Earl of *Essex*, that they writ a very angry, and imperious Letter to him, in which they reproach'd him, "for not submitting to the Directions "which they had given; and required him "to follow their former Directions, and to suffer *Waller* to attend the Service of the West. Which Letter was brought to him before he had march'd above two days Westward. But the Earl chose rather to Answer their Letter, than to Obey their Order; and writ to them, "that their Directions had been contrary to "the Discipline of War, and to Reason; and that, if he "should now return, it would be a great encouragement to "the Enemy in all places; and Subscribed his Letter, "Your Innocent, though suspected Servant, *Essex*; and then prosecuted his Resolution, and continued his march for the West.

When *Waller* found there was no remedy, he Obeyed his Orders with much Diligence and Vigour; and prosecuted his march towards *Worcester*, where his Majesty then was; and, in his way, perswaded, rather than forced, the Garrison of *Stately Castle*, the strong House of the Lord *Chandos*, to deliver up that place to him. The Lord of that Castle was a young Man of Spirit and Courage; and had, for two years serv'd the King very bravely in the Head of a Regiment of Horse, which himself had rais'd at his own Charge; but had lately, out of pure weariness of the Faigues, and having spent most of his Money, and without any Diminution of his Affection, left the King, under pretence of Travel; but making *London* his way, he gave himself up to the pleasures of that place;

Waller re-
wrote *Waller*,
either, after
the King.

place; which he enjoy'd, without considering the Issue of the War, or shewing any Inclination to the Parliament; nor did he, in any degree contribute to the delivery of his House; which was at first imagin'd, because it was so ill, or not at all, defended. It was under the Government of *St. William Morice*, a Gentleman of the long Robe; who, in the beginning of the War, call'd off his Gown, as many other Gallant Men of that Profession of the Law did, and serv'd as Lieutenant Colonel in the Regiment of Horse under the Lord *Chandos*; and had given so frequent Testimony of signal Courage in several Actions, in which he had receiv'd many wounds, both by the Pistol and the Sword, that his Mettle was never suspected; and his Fidelity as little question'd: And after many years of Implication, sustain'd with great Firmness and Constancy, he liv'd to receive the Reward of his Merit, after the Return of the King; who made him first a Sergeant at Law, and afterwards a Judge of the King's Bench; where he sat many years, and discharged the Office with much Gravity and Learning; and was very terrible to those who chose to live by Robbing on the High-way. He was unfortunate, though without Fault, in the giving up that Castle in unreasonable a Conjunction; which was done by the Faction and Artifice of an Officer within, who had found means to go out to *Waller*, and to acquaint him with the great wants of the Garrison; which indeed had not plenty of any thing; and so, by the Mutiny of the Soldiers, it was given up; and the Governour made Prisoner, and sent to the Tower; where he remained some years after the end of the War. From hence *Waller*, with great Expedition march'd to *Evreham*; where the evil Inhabitants receiv'd him willingly; and had, as soon as the King left them, repair'd their Bridge over the *Avon*, to facilitate his coming to them; which he could not else so soon have done.

The King retir'd some days at *Worcester*, whereby he very much retrench'd his Troops, which were there spent from doing duty; and likewise, by the Loyalty of that good Town, and the Affection of the Gentry of that Country, who retir'd thither for their Security, he procur'd both Shoes and Sockings, and Money for his Soldiers; and when, upon good Information, *Waller* was march'd out of *Evreham* with his whole Army towards *Worcester*, which he would probably Besiege, the King resolv'd not to be found there; and therefore, having left that City well provided, and in good heart, his Majesty removed with his little Army to *Bewdley*, that he might keep the River *Severn* between Him and the Enemy; the Foot being Quarter'd together at *Bewdley*, and the Horse by the side of the River towards *Bridgenorth*. The posture

posure in which the King was, made *Waller* conclude that his Majesty intended his Course to *Stromsbury*, and to the more Northern Parts. And it is true, that, without any such Resolution, Orders were sent to *Stromsbury*, *Bridgenorth*, *Easton*, and other Garrisons, ⁴⁴ that they should make all good ⁴⁵ safe Provisions of Corn, and other Victuals; which they should furnish, in great quantities, to be brought thither; which confirm'd *Waller* in his former Conjecture, and made him advance with his Army beyond the King, that he might be nearer *Stromsbury* than He. But, God knows, the King was without any other Design, than to avoid the Enemy; with whom he could not, with such a handful of Foot, and without Cannon, propose reasonably to Fight a Battle: and he had too many good Reasons against going to either of those places, or to those parts, which *Waller* conceiv'd him inclin'd to; and his Majesty might well assure the Complaint, and Expression of King *David*, ⁴⁶ that he was hunted as ⁴⁷ a Partridge upon the Mountains; and knew not whither to resort, or to what place to repair for rest.

In this Perplexity, it looked like the Bounce of Providence, that *Waller* was advanced so far: upon which, the King took a sudden Resolution, to return with all Expedition to *Worcester*, and to make him to *Evesham*; where, having broke the Bridge, and so left the River of *Avon* at his back, he might be able, by quick Marches, to join with that part of his Army, which he had left at *Oxford*; and might thereby be in a Condition to Fight with *Waller*, and to prosecute any other Design. Upon this good Resolution, care was taken for all the Boats to come both from *Bridgenorth* and *Worcester*, that the Foot might, with the more speed and ease, be carried thither; all which succeeded to wish. In-fomuch, that the next day, being Embarked early in the Morning, the Foot arriv'd so soon at *Worcester*, that they might very well have march'd that Night to *Evesham*, but that many of the Horse, which were Quarter'd beyond *Bredley* towards *Bridgenorth*, could not possibly march at that rate, nor come up soon enough; so that it was necessary that both Horse and Foot should remain that Night together at *Worcester*; which they did accordingly.

This next Morning, the King found no cause to alter any thing in his former Resolution; and receiv'd good Intelligence, that *Waller*, without knowing any thing of his motion, remain'd still in his old Quarters; whereupon he march'd very fast to *Evesham*; nor would he stay there; but gave Order for the Horse and Foot, without delay, to march through it, after he had provided for the breaking down the Bridge, and made the Inhabitants of the Town pay two hundred

hundred pounds, for their alacrity in the reception of *Waller*; and likewise compelled them to deliver a thousand pair of Shoes for the use of the Soldiers; which, without any long pause, was submitted to, and perform'd. Then the Army march'd that Night to *Bredwasley*, where they Quarter'd; and very early the next Morning, they mounted the Hills near *Centon*; and there they had time to breathe, and to look with pleasure on the places where they had pass'd through; having now left *Waller*, and the ill ways he pull'd fast, far enough behind; for even in that Season of the year, the ways in that Vale were very deep.

Now the King sent Colonel *Fielding*, and left he might miscary (for both from *Gloucester*, *Trerkerbury*, and *Salesly* Castle, the Enemy had many Scouts abroad) two or three other Messengers, to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, to let them know ⁴⁸ of his happy Return; and that he meant to Quarter that Night at *Burford*; and the next, at *Whitney*; where he did expect, that all his Foot, with their Colours and Cannon, would meet him; which, with unspcakable joy, they did. So that, on *Thursday* the twentieth of *June*, which was within sixteen days after he had left *Oxford* in that disconsolate Condition, the King found himself in the head of his Army, from which he had been so sever'd, after so many Accidents and melancholick Perplexities, to which Majesty had been seldom expos'd. Nor can all the circumstances of this Peregrination be too particularly, and particularly set down. For as they administer'd much delight after they were pass'd, and gave them great Argument of acknowledging God's good Providence in the preservation of the King, and, in a manner, snatching him as a Brand out of the Fire, and redeeming him even out of the hands of the Rebels; so it cannot be ungrateful, or without some pleasure to Posterity, to see the most exact Relation of an Action so full of danger in all respects, and of an escape so remarkable. And now the King thought himself in a posture not only to follow *Waller*, if he approach'd towards him, but to follow and find him out, if he had a mind, or did endeavour to decline Fighting with his Majesty.

In the short time the King had been absent, the Garrison at *Oxford* was not idle. When the King in the Spring had prepared for the Field, and in order thereunto had drawn out the Garrison at *Reading*, it was thought to no purpose to keep lesser Garrisons, at a less distance from *Oxford*; and therupon the Garrison at *Bosnal Houle*, repair'd a strong Place, upon the Edge of *Oxfordshire* and *Buckinghamshire*, was appointed to demolish the Works and Fortifications, and to retire, and join with the Army: which was no sooner done,

done, but the Garrison at *Aylesbury*, that had felt the Effects of the others ill Neighbourhood, palli'd the place, and put a Garrison into it; which, after the King had left *Oxford*, and both the Armies of *Essex* and *Waller*, were gone from before it, gave little less trouble to that City, and obstructed the Provisions which should come thither, almost as much as one of the Armies had done. This brought great Complaints and Clamour from the Country, and from the Town, to the Lords of the Council; and was ever made an Excuse for their not complying with the Commands they sent out, for Labourers to work upon the Fortifications; which was the principal work in hand; or for any other service of the Town. When both Armies were drawn off to such a distance in following the King, that they fram'd for the present no reasonable apprehension of being Besieged, the Lords consider'd of a Remedy to apply to this Evil from *Bosfal Houfe*; and receiving encouragement from Colonel *Gage* (of whom they had a great esteem, and of whom we shall speak shortly more at large) who offer'd to undertake the reducing it, they appointed a Party of Commanded Men of the Foot, which the King had left there, with three pieces of Cannon, and a Troop of Horse of the Town, to obey his Orders, who, by the break of day, appear'd before the place; and in a short time, with little resistance, got possession of the Church, and the Out-Houses, and then batter'd the House it self with his Cannon; which they within, would not long endure; but deserv'd a Parley. Upon which the House was tender'd, with the Ammunition, one piece of Ordnance, which was all they had; and much good provision of Victual, whereof they had plenty for Horse and Man; and had Liberty given them to go away with their Armes, and Horses, very easy Condition for to strong a Post; which was obtain'd with the loss of one inferior Officer, and two or three Common Men. Here the Colonel left a Garrison, that did not only defend *Oxford* from those mischievous Incurfions, but did very near support it self, by the Contribution it drew from *Buckingham shire*, besides the Prey it frequently took from the very Neighbourhood of *Aylesbury*.

THE Earl of *Essex*, by slow and easy Marches, and without any Opposition or Trouble, enter'd into *Dorsetshire*; and by his great Civility, and Affability towards all Men, and the very good Discipline in his Army, wrought very much upon the People. Inomuch that his Forces rather encreas'd, than diminish'd; which had, during his being before *Oxford*, been much lessen'd, not only by the Numbers which were kill'd and hurt, but by the running away of many, whilst the short Encounters continued at *Gosworbeth Bridge*. It can hardly

be imagin'd, how great a Difference there was in the humour, disposition, and manner of the Army under *Essex*, and the other under *Waller*, in their behaviour and humanity towards the People; and, consequently, in the Reception they found among them; the civility, and carriage of those under *Waller* being much more ungentlemanly, and barbarous, than that of the other: besides that the People, in all places, were not without some Affection, and even reverence towards the Earl, who, as well upon his own account, as the memory of his Father, had been always universally popular.

WHEN he came to *Blunsford*, he had a great mind to make himself Master of *Weymouth*, if he could compass it without engaging his Army before it; which he resolv'd Not to do; however it was little out of his way to pass near it. Colonel *Aylmerham*, then Governour of *Weymouth*, was made choice of for that Command, upon the Opinion of his Courage, and Dexterity; and, to make way for him, *Sr Anthony Ashley Cooper* had been, the Year before, removed from that Charge; and was thereby so much disoblige'd, that he quitted the King's Party, and gave himself up, Body and Soul, to the Service of the Parliament, with an implacable Animosity against the Royal Interest. The Colonel had been intent upon other things, and not enough sollicitous to finish the Fortifications, which were not strong enough to defy an Army, yet too strong to be deliver'd upon the Approach of one. I shall say the less of this matter, because the Governour afterwards prestid to have the whole examin'd before a Council of War, where he produced a Warrant, under the hand of Prince *Maurice*, that, if the Town being unmanageable, he should, upon the advance of the Earl of *Essex*, put a sufficient strength into *Portland Castle*, and retire thither; which he had done; and was, by the Council of War, absolv'd from any Crime. Yet, the truth is, however absolv'd, he lost Reputation by it, and was thought to have left the Town too soon, though he meant to have return'd again, after he had visited *Portland*. But in the mean time the Town of *Weymouth* was mutiny'd, and sent to the Earl of *Essex* when he was arriv'd so near the Town, whereupon he came thither, which he would not otherwise have done, and gave the Garrison leave to march with their Armes to Prince *Maurice*; and so became Master of *Weymouth*; and leaving Men enough out of the Country to defend it, without any delay, he prosecuted his march to *Lyme*; from whence Prince *Maurice*, upon the news of the loss of *Weymouth*, had retired with half enough towards *Exeter*, with a Body of full five and twenty hundred Foot, and eighteen hundred Horse; after he had put a Garrison of five hundred Men into *Wareham*, and with some loss of Reputation,

putation, for having lain so long with such a strength before to vile and untenable a place, without reducing it.

AS SOON as the King had join'd his Army at *Winton*, which now consist'd of full five thousand five hundred Foot, and very near four thousand Horse, with a convenient Train of Artillery, he resolv'd no longer to live upon his own Quarters, which had been too much waisted by Friends and Enemies; but to visit the Enemy's Country; and so, the next day, he march'd towards *Buckingham*; where he would stay, and expect *Waller* (of whose motion he yet heard nothing) and from whence, if he appear'd not, his Majesty might enter into the Affiliated Countries, and so proceed Northward, if upon Intelligence from thence, he found it reasonable. While the King staid at *Buckingham*, and thought himself now in a good Condition to fight with the Enemy (his Troops, every day bringing in store of Provisions, and, being now in a Country where they were not expected, met with many Carloads of Wine, Grocery, and Tobacco, which were passing, as in secure roads, from *London* to *Oxentry*, and *Warwick*; all which were very welcome to *Buckingham*) a new, and unexpected Trouble fell upon him by the ill humour, and Faction in his own Army. *Wilmot* continued still fullen and perverse, and every day grew more insolent; and had contracted such an Animosity against the Lord *Digby*, and the Master of the Rolls, that he persuaded many Officers of the Army, especially of the Horse, where he was most entirely obey'd, to join in a Petition to the King, "that those two Councilors might be excluded, and be no more present in Councils of War; which they promised to do.

WALLER remain'd still in *Worcester-shire*; upon which it was again Consulted, what the King was to do. Some propos'd "the marching presently into the Affiliated Countries; others, "to loosen time in endeavouring to join with Prince *Rupert*. *Wilmot*, without ever communicating it with the King, privately advis'd, "that they might presently march towards *London*, and now both their Generals, and Armies "were far from them, make tryal what the true affection of the City was; and that, when the Army was march'd as far as *St Albans*, the King should send such a gracious Message both to the Parliament, and City, as was most like to prevail upon them; and concluded, as if he knew "that this way of proceeding would be very much approv'd of by the Army. This extravagant motion, with all the Circumstances of it, troubled the King very much; yet he thought it absolutely to reject it, lest it might promote that Petition, which he knew was framing among the Officers; but willed them, "that such a Message should be prepared, and

"thenthat he would Communicate both that, and what concern'd his march towards *London*, to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*; that in so weighty an Affair he might receive Their Counsel. To that purpose the Lord *Digby*, and the Master of the Rolls, were sent to *Oxford*; who, after two days, return'd without any Approbation of the march, or the Message by the Lords. But all that Intrigue fell off it self, upon the sure Intelligence, "that *Waller* had left *Worcester-shire*, and march'd, with what speed he could, to find his Majesty; which gave new Argument of Debate.

WHEN the King had so dextrously deceiv'd, and eluded him by his quick march to and from *Worcester*, *Waller*, who had not timely Information of it, and leis suspect'd it, thought it not to the purpose to tire his Army with long marches in hope to overtake him; but first they'd sit at the Walls of *Worcester*, to terrify that City, which had commend'd his power a year before, when it was not so well able to resist it. But he quickly discern'd he could do no good there; then he march'd towards *Gloucester*, having sent to Colonel *Majty* to send him some Men out of *Gloucester* which he, being a Creature of *Effex's*, refus'd to do. Upon this Denial, he march'd into *Warwick-shire*; and appointed his Rendezvous in *Kenston* Field, the place where the first Battle was fought. There he receiv'd an addition of seven Troops of Horse, and about six hundred Foot, from *Warwick* and from *Oxentry*, with eleven pieces of Ordnance. With this Recruit he march'd confidently towards the King; of which his Majesty being inform'd, that he might the sooner meet him, he march'd with his Army to *Bradley*, when *Waller* was near *Bansbury*; and the Armies coming shortly in view of each other, upon a fair Sun-shine in the Afternoon, after a very wet Morning, both endeavour'd to possess a piece of Ground they well knew to be of Advantage; which being nearer to *Waller*, and the King passing his whole Army through the Town of *Bansbury*, before it could come to it, *Waller* had first his Men upon it in good Order of Battle, before the King could reach thither: so that the King lay that Night in the Field, half a mile East of *Bansbury*, the River of *Cheerwell* being between the two Armies.

THE King resolv'd to make *Waller* draw off from that Advantage ground, where he had stood two days; and in order *Cropley*, the Huntsman, march'd away, as if he would enter further into *Northampton-shire*; and he no sooner mov'd, but *Waller* likewise drew off from his ground, and coasted on the outer side of the River, but at such a distance, that it was thought he had no mind to be engag'd. The Van of the King's Army was led by the General, and *Wilmot*: in the Body was the King,

King, and the Prince, and the Rear consisted of one thousand commanded Foot, under Colonel *Theobald*, with the Earl of *Northampton's* and the Earl of *Cleveland's* Brigades of Horse And, that the Enemy might not be able to take any advantage, a Party of Dragoons was sent to keep *Croopedy-Bridge*, until the Army was pass'd beyond it. The Army marching in this order, Intelligence was brought to the King, "that there was a Body of three hundred Horse, within less than two miles of the Van of the Army, that march'd to join with *Waller*; and that they might be easily cut off, if the Army minded their pace. Whereupon, Orders were sent to the foremost Horse, "that they should move faster, the Van and the Middle having the same Directions, without any notice given to the Rear. *Waller* quickly discern'd the great distance that was suddenly grown between the King's Body and his Rear, and presently advanced with fifteen hundred Horse, one thousand Foot, and eleven pieces of Cannon to *Croopedy-Bridge*, which were quickly too strong for the Dragoons that were left to keep it, and which made a very faint Resistance: so that this Party advanced above half a mile pursuing their Design of cutting off the King's Rear, before they should be able to get up to the Body of the Army. To facilitate this Execution, he had sent one thousand Horse more, to pass over at a Ford a mile below *Croopedy-Bridge*, and to fall upon the Rear of all. Timely notice being given to this to the Earl of *Cleveland*, who was in the Van of that Division, and "of the Enemy's having pass'd at *Croopedy* (which was confirm'd by the running of the Horse, and Scatter'd Foot "and that there stood two Bodies of Horse without moving "and faced the Army: Thereupon the Earl presently drew up his Brigade to a rising ground that faced that pass, where he discern'd a great Body of the Rebels Horse drawn up, and ready to have fallen upon his Rear. It was no time to expect Orders; but the Earl, led by his own great Spirit Charged presently that Body with great fury, which sustain'd it not equal Courage; losing a Cornet, and many Prisoners.

This Alarm had quickly reach'd the King, who sent to the Van to return, and himself drew up above about him, to a little Hill beyond the Bridge; where he saw the Enemy preparing for a second Charge upon the Earl of *Cleveland*. The King Commanded the Lord *Bernard Stuart*, a Valiant young Gentleman, who Commanded his own Guards, "to make "halt to the Assistance of the Rear; and, in his way, "to Charge the two Bodies of Horse which faced his Majesty. He, with above a hundred of Gallant and Stout Gentlemen, return'd instantly over the Bridge, and made halt towards

those two Bodies of Horse; who, seeing their fellows Routed by the Earl of *Cleveland*, were then advancing to Charge him in the Flank, as he was following the Execution. But the presence of this Troop made them change their mind; and, after a very little stay, accompany their fellows in this Flight; which very much facilitated the Defeat, that quickly ensu'd.

The Earl of *Cleveland*, after his short Encounter, made a stand under a great Ash (where the King had but half an hour before stay'd and din'd) not undesigning what the Enemy could mean by advancing so fast, and then flying so soon; when he perceiv'd a Body of their Horse of sixteen Cornets, and as many Colours of Foot, placed within the Hedges, and all within Musquet-shot of him, and advancing upon him; which He likewise did upon. Them with notable Vigour; and having flood the *Musquet* and *Carabine*-shot, he Charged them so furiously, being resolutely seconded by all the Officers of his Brigade, that he Routed both Horse and Foot, and Chas'd them with good Execution beyond their Cannon: all which, being eleven pieces, were taken; with two Barricades of Wood, which were drawn upon *Whees*, and in each seven small Brass and Leather Guns, charg'd with Calc shot; most of their Cannoners were kill'd, and the General of their Ordnance taken Prisoner. This Man, one *Werner*, a *Sott* man, had been as much oblig'd by the King, as a Man of His Condition could be, and in a manner very unpopular; for he was made Master Gunner of *England*, with a Pension of three hundred pounds per annum for his Life (which was look'd upon as some disadvantage to the English Nation) and having never done the King the least Service, he took the first opportunity to Desert him; and having been engag'd against him, from the beginning of the Rebellion, he was now prefer'd by them, for his eminent Diligence, to be General of the Ordnance in the Army of *St. William Waller*, who was very much advic'd by him in all matters of Importance. Besides *Werner*, there was taken Prisoner *Baker*, Lieutenant Colonel to *St. William Waller's* own Regiment, and five or six Lieutenant Colonels and Captains, of as good Names as were amongst them; with many Lieutenants, Esquires, and Cornets, Quartermasters; and above one hundred Common Soldiers; many more being slain in the Charge. The Earl pass'd them as far as the Bridge; over which he forced them to retire, in spite of their Dragoons, which were plac'd there to make good their Retreat: all which he did with them, or before. And to the Earl having clear'd that side of the River, and not knowing how far he was from the Army, retir'd, as he had good reason to do; having lost, in this notable Action, Vol. II. Part 2. K k two

two Colonels, *St. William Estler*, and *St. William Clarke*, both Gentlemen of *Kent*, of fair Fortunes, who had raised, and arm'd their Regiments at their own Charge, who were both kill'd dead upon the place, with one Captain more of another Regiment, and not above fourteen Common Soldiers.

At the same time, the Earl of *Northampton* discover'd that Party of the Enemies Horse, which had found a passage over the River a Mile below, to follow him in the Rear; and presently faced about with those Regiments of his Brigade. Upon which, without enduring the Charge, the whole Body brook themselves to Flight, and got over the Pats they had so newly been acquainted with, with little loss, because they prevented the Danger; though many of them, when they were got over, continu'd their Fight so far, as if they were still pursued, that they never return'd again to their Army. The Lord *Bernard*, with the King's Troop, seeing there was no Enemy left on that side, drew up in a large Field opposite to the Bridge; where he stood, whilst the Cannon, on the other side, play'd upon him, until his Majesty and the rest of the Army pass'd by him, and drew into a Body upon the Fields near *Wiffet*. *Walker* instantly quitted *Cropley*, and drew up his whole Army upon the high grounds, which are between *Cropley* and *Harwell*, opposite to the King's Quarters about a Mile; of the River of *Chersell*, and some low grounds, being between both Armies; which had a full view of each other.

It was now about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, the Weather very fair, and very warm (it being the 29th day of *June*) and the King's Army being now together, his Majesty resolv'd to prosecute his good Fortune, and to go to the Enemy, since they would not come to Him; and to that purpose, sent two good Parties, to make way for him so pass both at *Cropley* Bridge, and the other pass a Mile below; over which the Enemy had so newly pass'd; to such which places were strongly guarded by them. To *Cropley* they sent six strong Bodies of Foot, to relieve each other as they should be press'd, that those sent by the King thither could make no Impression upon them; but were repuls'd, till the Night came, and sever'd them; all Parties being tired with the duty of the Day. But they who were sent to the other pass, a Mile below, after a short Resistance, gain'd it, and a Mill adjoining; where, after they had kill'd some, they took the rest Prisoners; and from thence, did not only detain themselves, that, and the next Day, but did the Enemy much hurt; expecting still that their Fellows should matter the other pass, that so they might advance together.

HERE the King was prevail'd with to make trial of another

other Expedient. Some Men, from the Conference they had with the Prisoners, others from other Intelligence, made no doubt, but that if a Message were now sent of *Grace* and Pardon to all the Officers and Soldiers of that Army, they would forthwith lay down their Arms: and it was very notorious, that *Multitudes* ran every day from thence. How the Message should be sent, so that it might be effectually deliver'd, was the only Question that remain'd; and it was agreed, "that *St. Edward Walker* (who was both Garter King at Armes, and Secretary to the Council of War) "should use sent to publish that his Majesty's *Grace*. But he wisely desired, "that a Trumpet might be first sent for a Pass; and barbarity of that People being notorious, that they regarded not the Laws of Armes, or of Nations. Whereupon a Trumpet was sent to *St. William Walker*, to desire "a safe Conduct "for a Gentleman, who should deliver a gracious Message "to his Majesty. After two hours Consideration, he return'd Answer, "that he had no power to receive any Message of *Grace*, or Favour from his Majesty, without the Consent of the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, "to whom his Majesty, if he pleas'd, might make his address. And as soon as the Trumpet was gone, as an Evidence of his Resolution, he caus'd above twenty shot of his greatest Calibre to be made at the King's Army, and as near the place as they could, where his Majesty used to be.

When both Armies had stood upon the same ground, and in the same posture, for the space of two Days, they both drew off to a greater Distance from each other; and from that time, never saw each other. It then quickly appear'd, by *Walker's* Bill keeping more aloof from the King, and his marching up and down from *Buckingham*, sometimes towards *Northampton*, and sometimes towards *Worcester*, that he was without other Design, than of recruiting his Army; and that the Defeat of that day at *Cropley* was much greater, than it then appear'd to be; and that it even broke the heart of his Army. And it is very probable, that if the King, after he had reflect and refresh'd his Men three or four days, which was very necessary, in regard they were exceedingly tired with continual Duty, besides that the Provisions would not hold longer in the same Quarters, had follow'd *Walker*, when it was evident He would not follow the King, he might have destroy'd that Army without Fighting; for it appear'd afterwards, without it's being pursued, that within fourteen days after that Action at *Cropley*, *Walker's* Army, that before consist'd of eight thousand, was so much wadded, that there remain'd not with him half that Number.

BUT the truth is, from the time that the King discover'd that

that malicious Spirit in the Officers, govern'd by *Wilmot*, at *Buckingham*, he was unassist'd with the Temper of his own Army, and did not desire a thorough Engagement, till he had a little time to reform some, whom he resolv'd never more heartily to trust; and to undeceive others, who, he knew, were misled without any malice, or evil Intention. But when he now found himself to march at Liberty from two great Armies, which had so fleetly encompass'd him, within little more than a Month; and that he had, upon the matter, defeated one of them, and reduced it to a State, in which it could, for the present, do him little harm; his heart was at no ease, with apprehension of the terrible fright the Queen would be in (who was newly deliver'd of a Daughter, that was afterwards Married to the Duke of *Orleans*) when she saw the Earl of *Essex* before the Walls of *Exeter*, and should be at the same time inform'd, that *Wallor* was with another Army in pursuit of himself. His Majesty resolv'd therefore, with all possible Expedition, to follow the Earl of *Essex*, in hopes that he should be able to fight a Battle with him, before *Wallor* should be in a Condition to follow him: and his own strength would be much improv'd, by a Conjunction with Prince *Maurice*; who, though he retir'd before *Essex*, would be well able, by the North of *Devonshire*, to meet the King, when he should know that he march'd that way.

His Majesty had no sooner taken this Resolution, than he receiv'd notice of it, by the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*; and gave an Express into the West, to inform the Queen of it; who, by the way, carried Orders to the Lord *Hopton*, "to draw what Men he could out of *Manmouthshire*, and South *Wales*, into *Bristol*; that himself might meet his Majesty with an Army as he could possibly draw out of that Garrison. So, without any delay, the whole Army, with what Expedition was possible, march'd towards the West over the *Cotswold* to *Chrensester*; and so to *Bath*; where he arriv'd on the 15th day of *July*, and staid there one whole day, to refresh his Army, which stood enough in need of it.

This King had scarce march'd two days Westward, when he was surpris'd with ill news from the North; for, after he had, by an Express from *Oxford*, receiv'd intelligence, "that Prince *Rupert* had not only recover'd *Tork*, but had also defeated the *Scots*, with many particulars to confirm it (all which was so much believ'd there, that they had made publick Fires of Joy for the Victory) he now receiv'd quite contrary Information, and was too surely convinc'd, that his whole Army was defeated. It was very true, that, oft & many great and noble Actions perform'd by Prince *Rupert* in the Relief of *Larburn*, and the Reduction of *Boston*, and all other places

in that large County (*Manchester* only excepted) in which the Rebels lost very many, much Blood having been shed, in taking places by Assault, which were too obstinately defended; the Prince had march'd out of *Lancashire* with so good Reputation, and had given his Orders so effectually to *Goringes* who lay in *Lincolnshire* with that Body of Horse that belonged to the Marquis of *New-Castle's* Army, that they happily join'd him; and march'd together towards *Tork*, with such Expedition, that the Enemy was so surpris'd, that they found it necessary to raise the Siege in Confusion enough; and leaving one whole file of the Town free, drew to the other side, in great Disorder and Confusion; there being irreconcilable differences, and jealousies, between the Officers, and, indeed, between the Nations: the *English* relying to join no more with the *Scots*, and they, on the other side, as weary of their Company, and Discipline; so that the Prince had done his Work; and if he had fate fill, the Enemies great Army would have mov'd to nothing, and been exp'd to any advantage his Highness would take of them.

But the dismal Fate of the Kingdom would not permit so much Sobriety of Counsel: One file of the Town was no of the Benefit of *Manchester* more. By which there was an entire Communication with those in the Town, and all Provision brought in abundantly out of the Country, but the Prince, without consulting with the Marquis of *New-Castle*, or any of the Officers within the Town, sent for all the Soldiers to draw out, and put the whole Army in Battalia, on that side where the Enemy was drawn up; who had no other hope to preserve them but a present Battle, to prevent the reproaches and mutinies which distract'd them. And though that Party of the King's Horse which Charged the *Scots*, so totally Routed and Defeated their whole Army, that they fled all ways for many Miles together, and were knock'd on the head, and taken Prisoner by the Country, and *Lesly* their General Red ten Miles, and was taken Prisoner by a Considerable Army, whence the News of the Victory was speedily brought to *Newark*, and thence sent by an Express to *Oxford*; and so recover'd and press'd as aforesaid) yet the *English* Horse, Commanded by *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, Charged so well, and in such excellent Orders, being no longer broken than they rallied again, and Charged as briskly, that, though both *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* were hurt, and both above the Shoulders, and many good Officers kill'd, they prevailed over that Body of Horse which oppos'd them, and totally routed, and beat them off the Field; and almost the whole Body of the Marquis of *New-Castle's* Foot were cut off.

THE Marquis himself, and his brave Brother, *St Charles Cavendish*

Carwellis (who was a Man of the noblest, and largest mind, though the least, and most inconspicuous Body that liv'd) Charged in the head of a Troop of Gentlemen, who came out of the Town with him, with as much Gallantry and Courage, as Men could do. But it was so late in the Evening before the Battle began, that the Night quickly fell upon them; and the Generals return'd into the Town, not enough knowing their own loss, and perform'd very few Compliments to each other. They who most exactly describe that unfortunate Battle, and more unfortunate abandoning that whole Country (when there might have been means found to have drawn a good Army together) by Prince *Rupert's* hasty departure with all his Troops, and the Marquis of *New-Castle's* as hasty departure to the Sea side, and taking Ship, and Transporting himself out of the Kingdom, and all the ill Consequences thereupon, give us till an Account of any Conduct, or Dilection, in the management of that Affair, that, as I can take no pleasure in writing of it, so Posterity would receive little pleasure, or benefit, in the most particular Relation of it.

This may be said of it, that the like was never done, or heard, or read of before; that two great Generals, whose one had still a good Army left, his Horse, by their not having perform'd their Duty, remaining upon the matter entire, and much the greater part of his Foot having retired into the Town, the great execution having fallen upon the Northern Foot; and the other, having the absolute Commission over the Northern Counties, and very many Considerable places in them still remaining under his Obedience, should both agree in nothing else, but in leaving that good City, and the whole Country, as a prey to the Enemy, who had not yet the Courage to believe that they had the Victory; the *Scott* having been so totally routed (as hath been said before) their General made Prisoner by a Constable, and detained in Castle; the most part of the next day was pass'd; and most of the Officers, and Army, having march'd, or run above ten Miles Northward, before they had News that they might securely remain: And though the Horse under *Essex* and *Carwellis* had won the day, yet they were both much wounded, and many others of the best Officers kill'd, or so maim'd that they could not, in any short time, have done more hurt: so that if there had been any Agreement to have concealed their loss, which might have been done to a good Degree (for the Enemy was not possibl'd of the Field, but was drawn off at a distance, not knowing what the Horse which had done so little, might do the next day) there might probably many Advantages have appear'd, which were not

at the instant in view; however, they might both have done that as securely afterwards, as they did then unconsilably.

BUT neither of them were Friends to such Deliberation; but, as soon as they were refresh'd with a little sleep, they both sent a Messenger to each other, almost at the same time; the one, "that he was resolv'd, that Morning, to march away with his Horse, and as many Foot as he had left; and the other, "that he would, in that Instant, repair to the Sea-side, and Transport himself beyond the Seas; both which they immediately perform'd; the Marquis making halt to *Scarborough*, there Embarked in a poor Vessel, and arriv'd at *Hamborough*: the Prince, with his Army, began his March the same Morning towards *Chester*. And so *Tork* was left to the discretion of *St Thomas Glouhamer*, the Governour thereto, to do with it as He thought fit; being in a Condition only to deliver it up with more Decency, not to defend it against an Enemy that would require it.

WHEREAS, if Prince *Rupert* had stay'd with the Army he march'd away with, at any reasonable Distance, it would have been long before the *Jealousies*, and *Bres-hes*, which were between the *English* and *Scott* Armies, would have been enough computed to have agreed upon the renewing the Siege; such great quantities of Provision being already brought into the Town; and the *Scotts* talk'd of nothing but returning into their own Country, where the Marquis of *Archiebald* had kindled already a Fire, which the Parliament of *Edenborough* could not quench. But the certain intelligence, "that the Prince was march'd away without thought of returning, and that the Marquis had Embarked himself, reconcil'd them so far (and nothing else could) that, after two days, they return'd to the Polls they had before had in the Siege; and so threaten'd the Town, that the Governour, when he had no hope of Relief, within a Fortnight was compell'd to deliver it up, upon as good Articles for the Town, York deliv and the Gentry that were in it, and for himself, and the few see it in the Soldiers he had left, as he could propose: And so he march'd with all his Troops to *Carlisle*; which he afterwards defend'd from with very remarkable Circumstances of Courage, Industry, and Patience.

THE Times afterwards grew so bad, and the King's Affairs succeeded so ill, that there was no Opportunity to call either of those two great Persons to Account for what they had done, or what they had left undone. Nor did either of them ever think fit to make any particular Relation of the grounds of their Proceeding, or the causes of their misadventures, by way of Excuse to the King, or for their own Vindication. Prince *Rupert*, only to his Friends, and after the

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Murder of the King, produced a Letter in the King's own hand, which he receiv'd when it was upon his March from *Lancashire* towards *Tork*; in which his Majesty said, "that his Affairs were in to very ill a State, that it would not be enough, though his Highness rais'd the Siege from *Tork*, as if he had not likewise beaten the *Scottish* Army; which he understood to amount to no less than a peremptory Order to Fight, upon what disadvantage soever: and added, "that the disadvantage was so great, the Enemy being so much Superior in number, it was no wonder he lost the day. But as the King's Letter would not bear that sense, so the great Cause of this Misfortune was the precipitate entering upon the Battle, as soon as the Enemy drew off, and without Consulting at all with the Marquis of *New Castle*, and his Officers; who must needs know more of the Enemy, and consequently how they were best to be dealt with, than his Highness could do. For he saw not the Marquis, till, upon his Summons, he came into the Field, in the head of a Troop of Gentlemen, as a private Captain, when the Battle was ranged; and which after a very short salutation, immediately began; those of the Marquis's Army, who came out of the Town, being placed upon the ground left by the Prince, and assign'd to them; which much indisposed both Officers and Soldiers to the work in hand, and towards those with whom they were to join battle.

THEN it was too late in the day to begin the Fight, if all the other circumstances had been as they; for it was past three in the Afternoon; whereas, if it had been deferred till next Morning, in which time a full Consultation might have been had, and the Officers and Soldiers grown a little acquainted with each other, better success might have been reasonably expected; nor would the Confusion and Consternation the other Armies were then in, which was the only excuse for the present Engagement, have been the less; but, on the contrary, very much improv'd by the delay; for the Bitterness and Animosity between the Chief Commanders was such, that a great part of the Army was march'd six Miles, when it appear'd, by the Prince's manner of drawing his Army together to that ground, that his resolution was to Fight; the Jews's Inauguration whereof prevail'd, and nothing else could, with those who were gone so far, to return; and with the rest, to unite and concur in an Action, that, in human reason, could only preserve them; and if that opportunity had not then been to unhappily offer'd, it was generally believ'd that the next Morning, have continued their March Northward; and the Earl of *Manchester* would have been necessitated to have made his retreat, as well as he could,

into his Affiliated Counties; and it would have been in the Prince's power to have chosen which of them he would have destroyed.

BUT then of all the rest, his going away the next Morning with all his Troops, in that manner, was most unexcusable; because most prejudicial, and most ruinous to the King's Affairs in those parts. Nor did those Troops ever after bring any considerable advantage to the King's Service, but mould'rd away by degrees, and the Officers, wherof many were Gentlemen of Quality and great Merit, were kill'd upon bearing up of Quarters, and little Actions not worth their preference. The truth is, the Prince had some secret Intimation of the Marquis's purpose of immediately leaving the Town, and Embarking himself for the parts beyond the Seas, before the Marquis himself sent him word of it; upon which, in great passion and rage, he sent him notice of his resolution presently to be gone, that he who had the Command of all those parts, and thereby an obligation not to desert his Charge, might be without any imagination that the Prince would take such a distracted Government upon him, and leave him any excuse for his departure: and in this joint displeasure, with which they were both transported, any Perions of discretion and honour, had interpos'd, they might, in all probability, have prevail'd with both, for a good understanding between them, or at least for the suspension of their present Resolutions, and considering what might best be done. But they both resolv'd to soon, and so soon executed what they resolv'd, that very few had the least suspicion of their Intentions, till they were both out of distance to have their Conversation attempted.

ALL that can be said for the Marquis is, that he was so utterly tired with a Condition and Employment so contrary to his Humour, Nature, and Education, that he did not at all consider the means, or the way, that would let him out of it, and free him for ever from having more to do with it. And it was a greater wonder, that he sustain'd the vexation and fatigue of it so long, than that he brook'd it with so little circumspection. He was a very fine Gentleman, active, and full of Courage, and most accomplish'd in those Qualities of Horsemanship, Dancing, and Fencing, which accompany a good breeding; in which his delight was. Besides that he was amorous in Poetry, and Musick, to which he indulg'd the greatest part of his time; and nothing could have tempted him out of those paths of pleasures, which he enjoy'd in a full and ample Fortune, but Honour and Ambition to serve the King when he saw him in distress, and abandon'd by most of those who were in the highest degree oblig'd to him, and by

him. He lov'd Monarchy, as it was the foundation and support of his own greatness, and the Church, as it was well constituted for the splendour and security of the Crown; and Religion, as it cherish'd, and maintain'd that Order and Obedience that was necessary to Both; without any other passion for the particular Opinions which were grown up in us, and distinguished it into Parties, than as he desir'd whatsoever was like to disturb the Publick Peace.

He had a particular Reverence for the Person of the King, and the more extraordinary Devotion for that of the Prince, as he had had the Honour to be trull'd with his Education as his Governour; for which Office, as he excelled in fame, so he wanted other Qualifications. Though he had retired from his great Trust, and from the Court, to decline the insupportable Envy which the powerful Faction had contracted against him, yet the King was no sooner necessitated to possid himself of some place of strength, and to raise some Force for his Defence, but the Earl of *New Castle* (he was made Marquis afterwards) obey'd his first call; and, with great expedition and dexterity, rais'd upon that Town; when till then there was not one Fort Town in *England*, that show'd their Obedience to the King; and he then presently rais'd such Regiments of Horse and Foot, as were necessary for the present state of Affairs; all which was done purely by his own Interest, and the Concurrence of his numerous Allies in those Northern Parts; who with all alacrity obeyed his Commands, without any charge to the King; which he was not able to supply.

And after the Battle of *Edge-hill*, when the Rebels grew so strong in *York-shire*, by the assistance their Garrison of *Hull* had upon both the East and West Riding there, that it behov'd the King presently to make a General, who might unite all those Northern Counties in his Service, he could not choose any Man to fit for it, as the Earl of *New-Castle*, who was not only possid of a present Force, and of this important Town, but had a greater Reputation and Interest in *York-shire* itself, than, at that present, any other Man had: the Earl of *Cumberland* being at that time, though of entire Affection to the King, much decay'd in the vigour of his Body, and his Mind, and unfit for that Activity which the Season required. And it cannot be denied, that the Earl of *New Castle*, by his quick march with his Troops, soon as he had receiv'd his Commission to be General, and in the depth of Winter, receiv'd, or refus'd the City of *York* from the Rebels, when they look'd upon it as their own, and had it even within their grasp; and soon as he was Master of it, he rais'd Men apace, and drew an Army together, with which

he fought many Battles, in which he had always (this list only excepted) Success and Victory.

He lik'd the Pomp, and absolute Authority of a General well, and preserv'd the Dignity of it to the fall; and for the discharge of the outward State, and Circumstances of it, in acts of Courtesy, Affability, Bounty, and Generosity, he was bound; which, in the infancy of a War, became him, and made him, for some time, very acceptable to Men of all Conditions. But the substantial part, and fatigue of a General, he did not in any degree understand (being utterly unacquainted with War) nor could submit to; but refer'd all matters of that Nature to the discretion of his Lieutenant General *Kemp*; who, no doubt, was an Officer of great Experience and Ability, yet, being a *Scotts-man*, was in that conjuncture, upon more disadvantage than he would have been, if the General himself had been more intent upon his Command. In all Actions of the Field he was still present, and never absent in any Battle; in all which he gave instances of an invincible Courage and Fidelity in dangers; in which the exposing himself notoriously did sometimes change the fortune of the Day, when his Troops began to give ground. Such Articles of Action were no sooner over, than he retired to his delightful Company, Musick, or his softer pleasures, to all which he was so indulgent, and to his ease, that he would not be interrupted upon what occasion soever; inasmuch as he sometimes denied admission to the Chiefest Officers of the Army, even to General *Kemp* himself, for two days together; from whence many inconveniences fell out.

From the beginning, he was without any reverence or regard for the Privy Council, with few of whom he had any acquaintance; but was of the other Soldiers mind, that all the business ought to be done by Councils of War, and was always angry when there were any Overtures of a Treaty; and therefore, especially after the Queen had Land'd in *York-shire*, and staid so long there, he consider'd any Order he receiv'd from *Oxford*, though from the King himself, more negligently than he ought to have done; and when he thought himself safe of *Hull*, and was sure that he should be there Master entirely of all the North, he had no mind to march nearer the King (as he had then Orders to march into the Affiliated Counties, when, upon the taking of *Bristol*, his Majesty had a purpose to have march'd towards *London* on the other side) out of apprehension that he should be eclips'd by the Court, and his Authority overthrow'd by the Superiority of Prince *Rupert*; from whence he desired to be at distance. Yet when he found himself in distress, and necessitated to draw his Army within the Walls of *York*, and saw

no way to be reliev'd but by Prince *Rupert*, who had then done great feats of Arms in the relief of *Brenarâ*, and afterwards in his Expedition into *Lancashire*, where he was at that time, he writ to the King to *Oxford*, either upon the knowledge that the absolute, and unlimited, and his Commission was generally much spoken of, or out of the Confidence of some discourse of his own to that purpose; which might have been reported; "that he hoped his Majesty did believe, "that he would never make the least scruple to obey the "Grandchild of King *James*: And assuredly, if the Prince had cultivated the good inclinations the Marquis had towards him, with any civil and gracious Condescensions, he would have found him full of duty and regard to his Service, and Interest.

BUT the strange manner of the Prince's coming, and undeliberated throwing himself, and all the King's hopes, into that sedition and unnecessary Engagement, by which all the force the Marquis had raised, and with so many difficulties preserv'd, was in a moment cast away and destroy'd, to transport him with passion and despair, that he could not compose himself to think of beginning the work again, and involving himself in the same undelightful condition of Life, from which he might now be free. He hoped his past meritorious Actions, might outweigh his present abandoning the thought of future Action; and so, without farther consideration, as hath been said, he transported himself out of the Kingdom, and took with him General *King*; upon whom they who were content to spare the Marquis, poured out all the Reproaches of "Inferity, Treason, and Conjunction "with his Country men; which, without doubt, was the effect of the universal Discontent, and the miserable Condition to which the People of those Northern Parts were on the side reduced, without the least foundation, or ground for any such reproach: and as he had, throughout the whole Course of his Life, been generally reputed a Man of Honour, and did with extraordinary ability, and success, so he had been prosecuted by some of his Country Men with the highest malice, from his very coming into the King's Service; and the same malice pursued him after he had left the Kingdom, even to his death.

THE loss of *England* came so soon to be lamented, that the loss of *York*, or the too soon deserting the Northern Parts, were comparatively no more spoken of, and the constant and noble behaviour of the Marquis in the change of his Fortune, and his cheerful submission to all the straits, necessities, and discomforts, which are inseparable from Banishment, without

without the least application to the Officers, who were possessed of his whole Estate, and upon which they committed all imaginable and irreparable Warts, in destroying all his Woods of very great Value, and who were foolishly abused, and despised by him; with his readiness and alacrity again to have embarked himself in the King's Quarrel, upon the first reasonable occasion, so perfectly reconciled all good Men to him, that they rather desired, what he had done, and suffer'd for the King and for his Country, without farther inquiring what he had Omitted to do, or been overseen in doing.

THIS is a fatal blow, which so much changed the King's condition, that till then was very hopeful, made not such an impression upon his Majesty, but that it made him pursue his former Resolution, to follow the Earl of *Essex*, with the more impatience; having now in truth nothing else to do. But being inform'd that the Earl had not made any long marches, and that the Queen, upon the first News of the Earl's drawing near, though she had been little more than a fortnight deliver'd, had left *Exeter*, and was removed into *Corwall*; from whence, in a short time, she embark'd for *France* (the *Two Dutch* Prince of *Orange* having sent some Dutch Ships of War, to attend her Commands in the Harbour of *Balmouth*; and from thence her Majesty transported her self) his Majesty march'd more slowly, that he might increase his Army from *Driford*, and other places; making no doubt, but that he should engage the Army of the Earl of *Essex*, who was already near *Exeter*, before he should be able to return to *London*.

THE Earl of *Essex's* good Fortune now began to decline: he had not proceeded with his usual dexterity, and skill, but run into Labyrinths, from whence he could not disentangle himself. When he had march'd to the length of *Exeter*, which he had some thought of besieging, without any imagination that he could find an Enemy to contend with him, having left the King in so ill a condition, and *St William Waller* with so good an Army waiting upon him, he had the News of the "disappointment *St William Waller* had receiv'd; and that the King was come with his whole Army into the "West in pursuit of him, without being follow'd by *Waller*, "or any Troops to disquiet or retard his March; which exceedingly surpris'd him, and made him suspect that the Parliament in self had betrayed him, and conspired his ruin.

THE Jealousies were now indeed grown very great between them; the Parliament looking upon his march into the West, and leaving *Waller*, to whom they intended the other Province, to follow the King, but as a Declaration that he would no more fight against the Person of the King; and the Earl

Earl, on the other side, had well observ'd the difference between the care and affection the Parliament express'd for, and towards His Army, and the other under the Command of the Earl of *Mansfield*; which they set for great a price upon, that he thought they would not so much care what became of His. Otherwise, it could not be possible, that upon so little a bulwark as *Waller* had furnish'd, he could not be able to follow, and disturb the King, in a Country so enclosed, as he must pass through. In this unexpected freight, upon the first reception of the News, he resolv'd to return back, and meet and fight with the King, either before he enter'd *Devonshire*, or else in *Somerfetshire*; in either of which places he could not be frighten'd in room, or provisions, or be compell'd to fight in a place disadvantageous, or when he had no mind to it; and if he had pursu'd this Resolution, he had done prudently. But the Lord *Roberts*, who was a General Officer in his Army, of an insatiable Nature, and impetuous Disposition, full of contradiction in his Temper, and of Parts so much superior to any in the Company, that he could too well maintain and justify all those contradictions, positively oppos'd the return of the Army; but press'd, with His confidence, that the Army should continue it's March to *Cambridge*, where he undertook to have fo great Interest, that he made no question, that the presence of the Earl of *Essex*, with his Army, would fo unite that Country to the Parliament's Service, that it would be easy to defend the pass's into the whole Country which are not many; in such a manner, that the King's Army should never be able to cross into *Cambridge*, nor to retire out of *Devonshire* without great loss, nor before the Parliament would send more Forces up on their backs.

THE Lord *Roberts*, though inferior in the Army, had much greater credit in the Parliament than the Earl of *Essex*; and the Earl did not think him very kind to him, he being then in great conjunction with *St. Harry Vane*, whom of all Men the Earl hated, and look'd up on as an Enemy. He had never been in *Cambridge*; so he knew not the Situation of the Country; some of the Officers, and some others of that Country (as there were with him four or five Gentlemen of that Country of Interest) concurr'd fully with the Lord *Roberts*, and promised great success, if the Army march'd thither: whereupon the Earl departed from his own understanding, and comply'd with their advice; and so march'd the direct way with all his Army, Horse, Foot, and Cannon, into that narrow Country; and pursued Prince *Maurice* and those Forces, which easily retir'd, Westward; until he found himself in freight; where we shall leave him for the present.

The Earl of Essex marches into Cornwall.

AFTER the King had made a small stay at *Exeter*, where he found his young Daughter, of whom the Queen had been lately deliver'd, under the Care and Government of the Lady *Dalkeith* (shortly after Count's of *Albion* by the death of her Husband's Father) who had been long before design'd by both their Majesty's to that Charge; and having a little resolv'd, and accommodated his Troops, he march'd directly to *Camel*; where he found the Earl of *Essex* in such a part of the Country on the Sea side, that he quickly, by the general ^{of the} ~~of the~~ Conflux and Concourse of the whole People, upon which the Earl had been perswaded to much to depend, found means, with very little Fighting, to so frighten his Quarters, that there seem'd little appearance that he could possibly march away with his Army, or compel the King to Fight. He was, upon the matter, inclin'd in, and about *Foy*; whilst the King lay encamp'd about *Lisnard*; and no day pass'd without some Skirmishes; in which the Earl was more distressed, and many of his principal Officers taken Prisoners. Here there happen'd an Accident that might very well have turn'd the King's Fortune, and depriv'd him of all the Advantages which were then in view. The King being always in the Army himself, those Counsellors who were about him, in the presence of better understandings and better expressions than the Officers, commonly disput'd his Majesty to Their opinions, at least kept him from concurring in every thing which was propos'd by the Officers. The Counsellors, as hath been said before, were the Lord *Digby*, Secretary of State, and *St. John* Esq; *Pepper*, Master of the Rolls, of whose judgement the King had more esteem, even with reference to the War, than of most of the Officers of the Army; which rais'd an implacable animosity in the whole Army against them.

GENERAL *Rathen*, who by this time was Created Earl of *Bowland*, was General of the Army; but, as hath been said, both by reason of his Age, and his extreme deafness, was not a Man of Council or Words; hardly conceiv'd what was propos'd, and as confusedly and obscurely deliver'd his opinion; and could indeed better judge by his Eye than his Ear; and in the Field well knew what was to be done. *Wilmot* was Lieutenant General of the Horse, and at this time the second in it, than any Man; which he had not employ'd to the King's advantage, as his Majesty believ'd. He was a Man proud, and Ambitious, and incapable of being contented; an ordinary Officer in Marches, and governing his Troops. He drank hard, and had a great power over all who did so, which was a great People. He had a more companionable Wit

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even than his Rival *Coring*, and sway'd more among the good Fellows, and could by no means endure that the Lord *Digby*, and *St John Colpepper*, should have so much credit with the King in Councils of War.

THE King had no kindness for him upon an old account, as remembering the part he had acted against the Earl of *Stratford*; however, he had been induced, upon the Accidents which happen'd afterwards, to repose trust in him. This *Wilmot* knew well enough; and toswear, that he should be quickly overwhelm'd in the War; and therefore desired to get out of it, by a reasonable Peace; and so, in all his discourses, urged the necessity of it, as he had begun in *Buckingham House*; and, "that the King ought to send Propositions to the Parliament, in order to obtaining it; and in this March had prosecuted his former design by several Cabals among the Officers; and dispos'd them to Petition the King, "to send "to the Parliament again an offer of Peace; and that the Lord *Digby*, and *St John Colpepper*, might not be permitted to be present in Councils of War; implying, "that if this "might not be granted, they would think of some other way. Which Petition, though, by the Wisdom of some Officers, it was kept from being deliver'd, yet it provoked the King, that he resolv'd to take the first opportunity to free himself from his impetuous humour; in which good disposition the Lord *Digby* could not to confirm his Majesty's and as soon as the News came of the Northern Defeat, and that the Marquis of *New-Castle* had left the Kingdom, he prevail'd that *Coring* might be sent for to attend his Majesty; who then proposed to himself to make his Nephew Prince *Rupert* General of the Army, and *Goring* General of the Fleet; which *Wilmot* could not avowingly have excepted against, the other having been always Superior to him in Command; and yet would be laudable Mortification to him, as he would never have been able to digest.

WHETHER his apprehensions of this, as his jealous nature had much of sagacity in it, or his restless and inquisitive humour, transported him, but he gave not the King time to prosecute that gracious method; but even forced him to a quicker and rougher remedy: for during the whole March, he discourag'd, in all places, "that the King must send to the Earl of *Essex* to invite him to a Conjunction with him, so that the Parliament might be oblig'd to consent to a Peace; and pretended, that he had good Intelligence in that Army, "as to know that such an invitation would prove effectual; and be acceptable to the Earl; who, he knew, was unresistible with the Parliament's behaviour towards him; and it was to miscreant, as to desire a Gentleman, with whom he had no intimacy, and who had a Pais to go beyond the Seas,

and must go through the Earl's Quarters; "that he would remember his Service to the Earl of *Essex*; and assure him, "that the Army so much desired Peace, that it should not be in the Power of any of those Persons about the King to hinder it, if his Lordship would treat upon any reasonable Propositions. All which kind of carriage and discourses were quickly reprehended, in their full magnitude, to the King by the Lord *Digby*; and his Majesty's own aversion kindled any spark into a form'd distrust. So that after the King came into *Cambray*, and had his whole Army drawn up on the top of the Hill, in view of the Earl of *Essex*, who was in the Bottom, and a Battle expected every day, upon some new discourse *Wilmot* made out of Pride and Vanity (for there was not, in all the former, the least form'd Act of Sedition in his heart) the Knight *Marsball*, with the assistance of *Tom Eliot*, arrested him in the King's Name of High Treason; and dismounted him from his Horse in the head of all the Troops; putting a Guard upon him. He was presently sent Prisoner to *Exeter*, without any other ill effects, which might very reasonably have been apprehended in such a conjuncture, when he was indeed generally well beloved, and none of them for whole fakes he was thought to be sacrificed, were at all esteem'd; yet, I say, there were no other ill effects of it than a little murmur, which vanish'd away.

THE same day that *Wilmot* was arrested, the King remov'd another General Officer of his Army, the Lord *Piercy*, who had been made General of the Ordnance upon very partial, and not enough deliberated Considerations; and put into that Office the Lord *Hopton*; whose promotion was universally approv'd; the one having no friend, and the other being universally belov'd. Besides, the Lord *Piercy* (who was the first that had been created a Baron at *Oxford* upon the Queen's Intestession; which obliged the King to bestow the same honour on more Men) had been as much inclin'd to mutiny, as the Lord *Wilmot*; and was much a bolder Speaker, and had none of those familiarities, which the other had, of reconciling Men to him. Yet even His removal added to the ill humour of the Army, too much dispos'd to discontent, and confounding all that was done: for though he was generally unlov'd, as a proud and supercilious Person, yet he had always been a good credit and reputation, to the King, as being either of four Persons of good credit and reputation, who were esteem'd by him, with whom he liv'd very well; and though he did not draw the good fellows to him by drinking, yet he was well; which, in the General scarcity of that time, drew many Veterans to him; who bore very ill the want of his Table, and so were not without some inclination to murmur even on His behalf.

THE very next day after their Removals, Colonel *Goring* appear'd; who had waited upon the King the night before, at his Quarters, with Letters from Prince *Rupert*: and then the Army being drawn up, by his Majesty, attended by the principal Officers of the Army, rode to every Division of the Horle, and there declar'd, "that, at the request of his Noble Prince *Rupert*, and upon his resignation, he made Mr *Goring* General of the Horle; and commanded them all to obey him; and for the Lord *Wilmet*, although he had, for very good reasons, justly restrain'd him for the present, yet he had not taken away from him his Command in the Army; which Declaration visibly rais'd the countenance of the Body of Horle, more than the King was pleas'd with observing; and the very next day the greatest part of the Officers deliver'd a Petition, "that his Majesty would give them so much light of the Lord *Wilmet's* Comers, that they might see that themselves were not suspected, who had so long obeyed and executed his Orders; which is manifestation enough of the ill disposition the Army was in, when they were even in view of the Enemy, and of which the King had so much apprehension, in respect of the present posture he was of the Articles, by which he was charg'd: which though they contain'd many Indiscretions, Vanities, and Insolencies, that wise and dispassionate Men thought he had been proceed'd to with very justly, yet generally they seem'd not to make him so very black, as he had been represented to be; and when the Articles were sent to him, he return'd so specious an Answer to them, that made many Men think he had been perswaded with severity enough. Yet *Wilmet* himself, when he saw his old mortal Enemy *Goring* put in the Command over him, thought himself incapable of reparation, or a full vindication; and therefore desired leave to retire into *France*; and had precisely a Pass sent him to that purpose; of which he made use as soon as he receiv'd it; and so transported himself out of the Kingdom; which opened the Mouths of many, and made it believ'd, that he had been sacrificed to some Faction and Intrigue of the Court, without any such misdemeanour as deserv'd it.

THE King had, some days before this, found an opportunity to make a trial whether the Earl of *Essex*, from the notorious Indignities which he receiv'd from the Parliament, and which were visible to all the world, or from the present ill condition which He, and his Army were reduced to, might be inclin'd to make a conjunction with his Majesty. The Lord *Beauchamp*, eldest Son to the Marquis of *Hertford*, desir'd for the recovery of his health, not then good, to transport himself

himself into *France*; and to that purpose had a Pass from his Uncle, the Earl of *Essex*, for himself; Monsieur *Richemont* a French-man, who had been his Governour; and two Servants, to embark at *Plymouth*; and being now with the Kings it was necessary to pass through the Earl's Quarters. By him the King vouchsafed to write a Letter with his own hand to the Earl, in which he told him,

"How much it was in his power to restore that Peace to the Kingdom, which he had profess'd always to desire; and upon such conditions, as did fully comply with all those ends for which the Parliament had first taken up Arms: "for his Majesty was still ready to satisfy all those ends; but that since the Invasion of the Kingdom by the *Scotts*, all his Overtures of Peace had been rejected; which must prove the destruction of the Kingdom, if he did not, with his Authority and Power, dispose those at *Westminster* to accept of a Peace that might preserve it; with all those Arguments, that might most reasonably persuade to a conjunction with his Majesty, and such gracious expressions of the sense he would always retain of the Service and Merit, as were most likely to invite him to it. The King desired, that a Pass might be procur'd for Mr *Harding*, one of the Grooms of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince, a Gentleman, who had been before of much conversation with the Earl, and much lov'd by him; and the procuring this Pass was recommended to Monsieur *Richemont*.

THE Earl receiv'd his Nephew very kindly; who deliver'd the King's Letter to him, which he receiv'd, and read; and being then told by the Lord *Beauchamp*, that Monsieur *Richemont*, who was very well known to him, had somewhat to say to him from the presence only of the Lord *Beauchamp*, and the Earl called him into his Chamber, in the presence only of the Lord *Beauchamp*, and asked him, "if he had any thing to say to him? *Richemont* told him, "that his principal business was to desire his Permission "and Pass, that Mr *Harding* might come to him, who had many things to offer, which he promis'd, would not be unacceptable to him. The Earl Answer'd in short, "that he would not permit Mr *Harding* to come to him, nor would he have any Treaty with the King, having receiv'd no Warrant for it from the Parliament: upon which, *Richemont* enlarg'd himself upon some particulars, which Mr *Harding* was to have urg'd, "of the King's desire of Peace, of the concurrence of all the Lords, as well those at *Oxford*, as in the Army, in the same desire of preserving the Kingdom from a Conquest by the *Scotts*; and other discourse to that purpose; "and of the King's readines to give him any security for the performance of all he had promis'd. To all which the

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Earl Answer'd fully, "that according to the Commission "he had receiv'd, he would defend the King's Person, and "Posterity; and that the best Council he could give him was, "to go to his Parliament.

As soon as the King receiv'd this Account of his Letter, and saw there was nothing to be expected by those Addresses, he resolv'd to pull in on the other way, and to Fight with the Enemy as soon as was possible; and 'so, the next day, drew up all his Army in front of the Enemy; and had many Skirmishes between the Horse of both Armies, till the Enemy quitted that part of a large Heath upon which they stood, and retired to a Hill near the Park of the Lord *Meburn*, at *Blenheim*; they having the possession of his House, where they Quarter'd conveniency. That Night both Armies, after they had well view'd each other, lay in the Field; and many are of opinion, that if the King had that day vigorously advanced upon the Enemy, to which his Army was well inclin'd, though upon some disadvantage of ground, they would have been easily defeated: for the King's Army was in good heart, and willing to engage; on the contrary, the Earl's seem'd much surpris'd, and in confusion, to see the other Army in near them. But such centuries always attend such Conjectures, and find fault for what is Not done, as well as with that which is done.

The next Morning the King called a Council, to consider whether they should that day compel the Enemy to Fight; which was concluded not to be reasonable; and that it was better to expect the arrival of Sir *Richard Grenville*, who was yet in the West of *Worcester*, and had a Body of eight thousand Horse and Foot, as was reported, though they were not near that number. It was hereupon order'd, that all the Foot should be presently drawn into the Inclosures between *Blenheim* and the Heath; all the Fences to the Grounds of that Country being very good Breach-works against the Enemy. The King's head Quarter was made at the Lord *Meburn*'s House, which the Earl of *Essex* had kindly quitted, when the King's Army advanced the day before. The Horse was Quarter'd, for the most part, between *Litford* and the Sea; and, every day, compell'd the Earl's Forces to retire, and to lodge close together; and in this posture both Armies lay within view of each other for three or four days. In this time, that inconvenient Spirit that had possessed so many of the Horse Officers, appear'd again; and some of them, who had conferr'd with the Prisoners, who were every day taken, and some of them Officers of as good Quality as any they had, were perswaded by them, "that all the obstinacy in *Essex*, in refusing to treat with the King, proceeded only from

"his jealousy that when the King had got him into his hands, "he would take revenge upon him, for all the mischief he "had sustain'd by him; and that, if he had any assurance that "what was promis'd would be complisht with, he would be "quickly induc'd to treat.

Upon this excellent Evidence, these Politick Contrivers presum'd to prepare a Letter, that should be subscribed by the General, and all the Superior Officers of the Army; the beginning of which Letter was, "that they had obtain'd leave "of the King to send that Letter to him. There they propos'd, "that He wish six Officers, whom he should chuse, "would the next Morning meet with their General, and fix "other Officers, as should be appointed to attend him; and "if he would not himself be present, that then six Officers of "the King's Army should meet with six such as He should "appoint, at any place that should be thought fit; and that "they, and every of them, who subscribed the Letter, would, "upon the honour and reputation of Gentlemen and Soldiers, "with their Lives maintain that whatsoever his Majesty should "promise, should be perform'd; and that it should not be in "the power of any Private Person whatsoever, to interrupt "or hinder the execution thereof. When they had framed the Letter between themselves, and shew'd it to many others, whose approbation they receiv'd, they resolv'd to present it to the King, and humbly to desire his permission that it might be sent to the Earl of *Essex*.

How unpardonable forever the presumption and insolence in contriving and framing this Letter was, and how painful forever it might justly have been to them, yet, when it was presented to his Majesty, many who liked not the manner of it, were perswaded by what they were told, that it might do good; and in the end they prevailed with the King to consent that the Officers should sign it; and that the General should send a Trumpet with it; his Majesty at the same time concluding, that it would find no better reception than his own Letter had done; and likewise believing, that the signing of it would purge that unruly Spirit out of his Army, and that he should never more be troubled with those vexatious Addresses, and that it might add some Spirit and Ardor to the Officers and Soldiers, when they should see, with how much neglect and contempt the Earl receiv'd his application: And so Prince *Maurice*, General *Goring*, and all the Superior Officers of the Army, sign'd the Letter; which a Trumpet deliver'd to the Earl of *Essex*; who, the next day, return'd his Answer to them in these words: "My Lords, "the beginning of your Letter you express by what Authority you send it; I having no Authority from the Parliament,

“ who have employ'd me, to treat, cannot give way to it without breach of trust. My Lords, I am your humble Servant, *Effex*, *Lijthial Aug. 10. 1644.* This short furly Answer, produced the Effect the King wou'd expect; they who had been to over-active in contriving the Address, were most assur'd of their folly; and the whole Army seem'd well compos'd to obtain that by their Swords, which they could not by their Pen.

STR *Richard Grenvill* was now come up to the Post where he should be; and, at *Bodmin*, in his March, had fallen upon a Party of the Earl's Horse, and kill'd many, and taken others Prisoners, and presented himself to the King at *Bocannock*; giving his Majesty an account of his proceedings, and a particular of his Forces; which, after all the high discourses, amounted really but to eight hundred Foot, and six hundred Horse; above one hundred of which were of the Queen's Troop (left behind when her Majesty Embarked for *France*) under the Command of Captain *Edward Bree*; who had done very good Service in the Western Parts of that Country, from the time of the Queen's departure, and much confirm'd the Train'd-bands of those parts. This Troop was presently add'd to the King's Guards under the Lord *Bernard Stuart*, and Captain *Bree* was made Major of that Regiment.

THROUGHT the Earl of *Effex* had but a straggle and narrow room for his Quarters for to great an Army of Horse and Foot, yet he had the good Town of *Foy* and the Sea to friend; by which he might reasonably assure himself of store of Provisions, the Parliament Ships having all the justification there; and so, if he prefer'd his Post, which was so fixated that he could not be compelled to Fight without giving him great advantage, he might well conclude, that *Waller*, or some other force sent from the Parliament, would be shortly upon the King's back, as his Majesty was upon His: and no question, this rational Confidence was a great motive to him to neglect all Overtures made to him by the King; besides the punctuality and stubbornness of his own Nature; which whatsoever was well acquainted with, might easily have foreseen, what effect all these applications would have produced. It was therefore now resolv'd to make his Quarters yet nearer, and to cut off even his Provisions by Sea, or a good port thereof. To which purpose *St. Richard Grenvill* drew his Men from *Bodmin*, and possess'd himself of *Lambeth*, a strong House of the Lord *Roberts*, two Miles West of *Bocannock*, and over the River that runs to *Lijthial*, and thence to *Foy*, and likewise to *Reipme* Bridge; by which the Enemy was not only deprived of that useful out-let, but a safe Communication made between him and the King's Army, which was before

before interrupted. And on the other side, which was of more Importance, *St. Jacob Ashley*, with a good Party of Horse and Foot, made himself Master of *View-Hall*, another House of the Lord *Masters*, over against *Foy*, and of *Ferross* Fort, a Mile below it, at the Mouth of the *Haven*; both which places he found so tenable, that he put Captain *Page* into one, and Captain *Garraway* into the other, with two hundred Com-manded Men, and two or three pieces of Ordnance; which these two Captains made good, and defended so well, that they made *Foy* utterly useless to *Effex*, save for the Quartering his Men; not suffering any Provisions to be brought in to him from the Sea that way. And it was exceedingly wonder'd at by all Men, that he, being so long possess'd of *Foy*, did not put strong Guards into those places; by which he might have prevented his Armie's being brought into those extreme necessities they shortly after fell into; which might easily be foreseen, and as easily, that way, have been prevented.

Now the King had leisure to fit still, and warily to expect what invention or stratagem the Earl would make use of, to make some attempt upon his Army, or to make his own Escape. In this posture both Armies lay still, without any notable Action, for the space of eight or ten days; when the King seeing no better fruit from all that was hitherto done, resolv'd to draw his whole Army together, and to make his own Quarters yet much nearer, and either to force *Effex* to Fight, or to be usefully even in his Quarters. And it was high time to do so; for it was now certain, that either *Waller* himself, or some other Forces, were already upon their March towards the West. With this Resolution the whole Army advanced in such a manner, that the Enemy was compell'd still to retire before them, and to quit their Quarters; and, among the rest, a rising ground called *Beacon Hill*; which they no sooner quitted, than the King possess'd; and immediately caus'd a square work to be there rais'd, and a Battery made, upon which some pieces of Cannon were plant-ed, that they into their Quarters, and did them great hurt; when their Cannon, though they remain'd twenty foot for one, did very little or no harm.

AND now the King's Forces had a full prospect over all the others Quarters; saw how all their Foot and Horse were dispos'd, and from whence they receiv'd all their Forage and Provisions; which when clearly view'd and observ'd, *Gerung* was sent with the greatest part of the Horse, and fifteen hundred Foot, a little Westward to *St. Blaise*, to drive the Enemy yet closer together, and cut off the Provisions they receiv'd from thence; which was so well executed, that they did not

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only possels themselves of *St Asfeld*, and the Welterly part of *St Blafe* (so that the Enemies Horse was reduced to that small extent of Earth that is between the River of *Foy*, and that at *Blafe*, which is not above two Miles in breadth, and little more in length; in which they had for the most part found since they came to *Lishtiel*, and therefore it could not now long supply them) but likewise Messers of the *Par* near *St Blafe*; whereby they depriv'd them of the chief place of Landing the Provisions which came by Sea. And now the Earl began to be very sensible of the ill Condition he was in, and discern'd that he should not be able long to remain in that posture; besides, he had receiv'd advertisement that the Party which was sent for his Relief from *London*, had receiv'd some breath in *Somerfetshire*, which would much retard their March; and therefore it behoov'd him to enter upon new Counsels, and to take new Resolutions.

It is very true the Defeat at *Croopedy* (in which there did not appear to be one thousand Men kill'd, or taken Prisoners) had so totally broken *Waller's* Army, that it could never be brought to Fight after; but when he had marched at a distance from the King, to recover the broken Spirits of his Men, and heard that his Majesty was marched directly towards the West, observing likewise that every Night very many of his Men run from him, he thought it necessary to go himself to *London*, where he made grievous complaints against the Earl of *Essex*, as if he had purposely expos'd him to be affront'd; all which was greedily hearken'd to, and his Person receiv'd, and treated, as if he had return'd Victorious after having Defeated the King's Army: which was a method very contrary to what was us'd in the King's Quarters, where all accidental Misfortunes, how inevitable soever, were still attended with very apparent discouragement.

But when he went himself to *London*, or presently upon it, he sent his Lieutenant General *Middleton* (a Person of whom We shall say much hereafter, and who liv'd to wipe out the Memory of the ill foot-steps of his Youth; for he was but eighteen years of Age, when he was first led into Rebellion) with a Body of three thousand Horse and Dragoons, to follow the King into the West, and to wait upon his Rear, with Orders to reduce in his way *Donnington Castle*, the House of a private Gentleman near *Newbury*, in which there were a Company or two of Foot of the King's; and which they believ'd would be deliver'd up upon as demand'd; being a place, as they thought, of little strength. But *Middleton* found it so well defended by Colonel *Bois*, who was Governour of it, that after he had lost at least three hundred Officers and Soldiers, in attempting to take it, he was

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compell'd to recommend it to the Governour of *Abington*, to send an Officer and some Troops to block it up from entering that great Road into the West; and himself prosecuted his March to follow the King.

In *Somerfetshire*, he heard of great Magazines of all Provisions, made for the supply of the King's Army, which were sent every day by strong Convoys to *Exeter*, there to wait further Orders. To surpris these Provisions he sent Major *Carr*, with five hundred Horse; who fell into the Village where the Convoy was, and was very like to have Master'd them, when *St Francis Dodington*, with a Troop of Horse, and some Foot from *Bridgewater*, came seasonably to their Relief; and after a very sharp Confront, in which two or three good Officers of the King's were kill'd, and, among them, Major *Killegrew*, a very hopeful young Man, the Son of a Gallant and most deserving Father, he totally Routed the Enemy; kill'd thirty or forty upon the place; and had the partial of them two or three Miles; in which Major *Carr*, who Commanded the Party, and many other Officers, were taken; and many others desperately wounded; and recover'd all that they had taken: which sharp Encounters, where always many more Men are lost, than are kill'd, or taken Prisoners, put such a stop to *Middleton's* March, that he was glad to retire back to *Sherborne*; that he might refresh the wearied, and recover the Spirits of his Men. This was the Defeat or Obstruction, which the Earl of *Essex* had Intelligence that the Forces had met with coming to his Relief; and which made him despair of any Succour that way.

It is so the Earl found himself in this Condition, and that, within very few days, he must be without any Provisions for his Army; he resolv'd, that *St William Balfour* should use his utmost endeavour to break through with his whole Body of Horse, and to save them the best he could; and then that he himself would Embark his Foot at *Foy*, and with them escape by Sea. And two Foot Soldiers of the Army, whereof one was a French-man, came over from them, and assured the King, that they intended, that Night, to break through with their Horse, which were all then drawn on that side of the River, and Town of *Lishtiel*, and that the Foot were to march to *Foy*, where they should be Embarked. This Intelligence agreed with what they otherwise receiv'd, and was believ'd as it ought to be; and thereupon, order was given, that both Armies (for that under Prince *Maurice* was looked upon as distinct, and always so Quarter'd) should stand in their Armes all that Night; and if the Horse attempted an escape, fall on them from both Quarters; the Passage between them, through which they must go, being

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but a Musketeer's cottage; and they could not avoid going very near a very little Cottage, that was well Fortified; in which fifty Musketeers were placed. Advertisement was sent to *Goring*, and all the Horse; and the Orders renew'd, which had formerly been given, for the breaking down the Bridges, and cutting down the Trees near the high-way, to obstruct their passage.

Ballfour with the Earl of Essex's Horse escapes from the King's Army.

THE effect of all this Providence was not such as was reasonably to be expected. The Night grew dark and milly, as the Enemy could wish; and about three in the Morning, the whole Body of the Horse pass'd with great Silence between the Armies, and within Pistol-shot of the Cottage, without so much as one Musketeer discharged at them. At the break of Day, the Horse were discover'd marching over the Heath, beyond the reach of the Foot; and there was only at hand, the Earl of *Cleveland's* Brigade, the Body of the King's Horse being at a greater distance. That Brigade, to which some other Troops which had taken the Alarm join'd, follow'd them in the Rear; and kill'd some, and took more Prisoners: But stronger Parties of the Enemy frequently turning upon them, and the whole Body often making a stand, they were often compell'd to retire; yet follow'd in that manner, that they kill'd and took about a hundred; which was the greatest damage they sustain'd in their whole March. The Notice and Orders came to *Goring*, when he was in one of his joust Exercises; which he receiv'd with mirth, and fighting those who sent them, as Men who took Alarms too warmly; and he continued his delights, till all the Enemies Horse were pass'd through his Quarters; nor did then pursue them in any time. So that, excepting such who, by the rising of their Horses, became Prisoners, *Balfour* continued his March even to *London*, with less loss or trouble than can be imagin'd, to the infinite Reproach of the King's Army, and of all his Garrisons in the way. Nor was any Man call'd in question for this famous neglect; it being not thought fit to make severe inquiry into the behaviour of the rest, when it was so notoriously known, how the Superior Officer had fail'd in his duty.

THE next Morning, after the Horse were gone, the Earl drew all his Foot together, and retir'd *Lisibeth*, and march'd towards *Ey*; having left order for the breaking down that Bridge. But his Majesty himself from his new Fort arriv'd there, and sent a Company of Musketeers, who quickly beat those that were left; and thereby preserv'd the Bridge; out of which the King presently march'd to overtake the Rear of the Army, which march'd so fast, yet in good Order, that they left two Demy-Culverins, and two other very good Guns,

and some Ammunition, to be dispos'd of by the King. That day was spent in smart Skirmishes, in which many fell; and if the King's Horse had been more, whereof he had only two Troops of his Guards (which did good Service) it would have prov'd a Bloody day to the Enemy. The Night coming on, the King lay in the Field, his own Quarters being so near as, the King lay in the Field, his own Quarters being, which fell within few yards of him, when he was at Supper. Sunday being the next day, and the first day of September, in the Morning, *Batler*, Lieutenant Colonel to the Earl of *Essex*, who had been taken Prisoner at *Bosworth*, and was exchanged for an Officer of the King's, came from the Earl to desire a Parley. Aftoon as he was sent away, the Earl Embark'd himself, with the Lord *Roberts*, and such other Officers as he had most kinred to, in a Vessel at *Ey*; and so escap'd into *Plymouth*, leaving all his Army of Foot, Cannon, and Ammunition, to the care of Major General *Shippes*; who was to make as good Conditions for them as he could; and after a very short stay in *Plymouth*, he went on board a Ship of the Royal Navy; that attended there; and was, within few days, deliver'd at *London*; where he was receiv'd without any abatement of the respect they had constantly paid him; nor was it less than they could have shew'd to him, if he had not only brought back his own Army, but the King himself likewise with him.

THE King consented to the Parley; upon which a Cessation was concluded; and Hostages interchangeably deliver'd; and then the Enemy sent Propositions, such as upon delivery of a strong fortified Town, after a handsome defence artfully granted. But they quickly found they were not look'd upon as Men in that Condition; and so, in the end, they were contented to deliver up all their Cannon; which, with the four taken two or three days before, were eight and thirty pieces of Cannon; a hundred Barrels of Powder, with Match and Bullets proportionable; and about six thousand Armes; which being done, "the Officers were to have liberty to wear their Swords, and to pass with their own Money, and private Goods; and to secure them from Plunder, they were to have a Convoy to *Poole*, or *Southampton*; all their sick and wounded might stay in *Ey* till they were recover'd, and then have Passes to *Plymouth*."

THIS Agreement was executed accordingly, on Monday the second of September, and though it was near the Evening before all was finish'd, they would march away that Night; and though all care was taken to preserve them from Violence, yet first at *Lisibeth*, where they had been long Quarter'd, and in other Towns through which they had formerly pass'd,

the Earl of Essex leaves his Army, and carries Ammunition, to the care of Major General Shippes; who was to make as good Conditions for them as he could; and after a very short stay in Plymouth, he went on board a Ship of the Royal Navy; that attended there; and was, within few days, deliver'd at London; where he was receiv'd without any abatement of the respect they had constantly paid him; nor was it less than they could have shew'd to him, if he had not only brought back his own Army, but the King himself likewise with him.

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the Inhabitants, especially the Women, who pretended to see their own Cloaths and Goods about them, which they had been plunder'd of, treated them very rudely, even to stripping of some of the Soldiers, and more of their Wives, who had before behaved themselves with great Insolence in the march. That Night there came about one hundred of them to the King's Army, and of the six thousand, for so many march'd out of *Ey*, there did not a third part come to *Southampton*; where the King's Convey left them; to which *Skippin* gave a large Testimony under his hand, "that they had carried themselves with great Civility towards them, and fully complied with their obligation.

*As for as
Oxford
during the
King's ab-
sence.*

WHILST the King was in the West, though he had left *Oxford* in a very ill State in respect of Provisions and Fortifications, and Soldiers, and of the different humours of those who remain'd there, the Town being full of Lords (besides those of the Council) and of Persons of the best Quality, with very many Ladies, who, when not pleas'd themselves, kept others from being so; yet, in his absence, they who were solicitous to carry on his Service, concurr'd and agreed it well together, that they prevailed with the rest to do every thing that was necessary. They caus'd Provisions of Corn to be laid in, in great proportions; assigning the Publick Schools to that purpose; and committing the Custody of them to the owners of the Corn. They had rais'd to many Voluntiers, that their Guards were well kept, and there was need they should be so; for when both the Parliament Armies were before the Town, Major General *Brown*, a Citizen of *London* of good Reputation, and a stout Man, had been left in *Alstep* with a strong Garrison; from whence, being superior in number, he infest'd *Oxford* very much; which gave them the more reason to prosecute the Fortifications; which, in the most important places, they brought to a good perfection; and when they had no more apprehension of a Siege, *Waller* being at a distance, and not able to follow the King, and his able to sit down before *Oxford*, they resolv'd to do somewhat to be talk'd of.

THE King had, before his departure, found they were not satisfis'd with their Governour, and very apprehensive of his Rudeness, and want of Complacency. Upon the death of *William Brouncker*, who had been Governour of *Oxford*, to the great satisfaction of all Men, being a very brave and generous Person, and who perform'd all manner of Civilities to all sorts of People, as having had a good Education, and well understanding the manners of the Court, the Queen being then in *Oxford*; her Majesty, who thought her self the lesse for being under the charge, and care of a Roman Catholic;

tholick, prevail'd with the King, to confer that charge upon *St Arthur Aston*; who had been at *Reading*, and had the fortune to be very much esteem'd, where he was Not known; and very much diliked, where he was; and he was by this time too well known at *Oxford*, to be believ'd by any; which the King well understood, and was the more troubled, because he saw the prejudice was universal, and with too much reason; and therefore his Majesty had given an extraordinary Commission to the Lords of his Council, to whose Authority he was to submit, which oblig'd him to live with a little more respect towards them, than he desir'd to do; being a Man of a rough Nature, and so given up to an immoderate love of Money, that he cared not by what unrighteous ways he extract'd it. There were likewise some Officers of Name, who, having then no charge in the Army, staid in the Town; and those, by the King's direction, the Lords dispos'd to assist the Governour; and particularly, to take care of the several Quarters of the Town; one whereof was assign'd to each of them; among them, Colonel *Gage* was one; who having the English Regiment in *Flanders*, had got leave there to make out of his Service to the King; and to that purpose was newly come from thence to *Oxford*.

He was in truth a very extraordinary Man, of a large and very graceful Person, of an Honourable extraction, his Grandfather having been Knight of the Garter; besides his great experience and abilities as a Soldier, which were very eminent, he had very great parts of breeding, being a very good Scholar in the polite parts of Learning, a great Master in the Spanish and Italian Tongues, besides the French and the Dutch, which he spoke in great perfection; having scarce been in *England* in twenty years before. He was likewise very convenient in Courts; having for many years been much esteem'd by the Arch-Duke and Dutchess, *Albert and Isabella*, at *Brussels*; which was a great and very regular Court at that time, so that he deserv'd to be look'd upon as a wise and accomplished Person. Of this Gentleman, the Lords of the Council had a singular esteem, and consulted frequently with him, whilst they look'd to be Besieged; and thought *Oxford* to be the more secure for His being in it; which render'd him so ungrateful to the Governour, *St Arthur*, that he cross'd him in any thing he propos'd, and hated him perfectly; as they were of Natures, and Manners, as different as Men can be.

THE Garrison of *Basing House*, the Seat of the Marquis *Colwall* *Gage* of *Windsor*, in which himself was and commanded, had been now strictly Besieged, for the space of above three Months; by a conjunction of the Parliament Troops of *Hampshire* and *Suffex*,

Staffes, under the Command of *Norton*, *Ouseley*, *Jarvis*, *Whitehead*, and *Morley*, all Colonels of Regiments, and now united in this Service under the Command of *Norton*; a Man of Spirit, and of the greatest Fortune of all the rest. It was so closely begin before the King's March into the West, and was looked upon as a piece of such importance, that when the King first gave Notice to *Oxford* of his resolution to march into the West, the Council humbly desired his Majesty, "that he would make *Basing* his way, and thereby relieve it, which his Majesty found would have retarded his march too much, and might have invited *Waller* the sooner to follow him; and therefore declined it. From that time, the Marquis, by frequent expressions, impurported the Lords of the Council "to provide, in some manner, for his relief; and not to suffer his Person, and a place from whence the Rebels receiv'd so much prejudice, to fall into their hands. The Lady *Marchioness*'s Wife, was then in *Oxford*; and solicited very diligently the timely preservation of her Husband; which made every body desire to gratify her, being a Lady of great Honour and Alliance, as Sister to the Earl of *Essex*, and to the Lady *Marchioness* of *Hereford*; who was likewise in the Town, and engaged her Husband to take this business to heart; and all the Roman Catholics, who were numerous in the Town, look'd upon themselves as concern'd to contribute all they could to the good work, and to offer'd to lift themselves, and their Servants in the Service.

THE COUNCIL, both upon publick and private motives, was very heartily dispos'd to effect it; and had several conferences together, and with the Officers; in all which the Governour too reasonably oppos'd the design, "as full of most difficulties, and liable to greater damages, than any Soldier who understood Commands, would expose himself and the King's Service to; and protest'd, "that he would not take for any of the small Garrison that was under his charge, "to be hazarded in the attempt. It was very true, *Basing* was near forty Miles from *Oxford* and, in the way between them, the Enemy had a strong Garrison of Horse and Foot at *Alton*, and as strong at *Reading*, whose Horse every day visit all the High-ways near, besides a Body of Horse and Dragoons Quarter'd at *Newbury*; so that it appear'd to most men hardly possible to send a Party to *Basing*, and impossible for that Party to return to *Oxford*, if they should be able to get to *Basing*; yet new opportunities from the Marquis, with a positive Declaration, "that he could not defend it above ten days, and must then submit to the worst conditions the Rebels were like to grant to his Person, and to his Religion; and new instances from his Lady, prevailed with the Lords to

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enter upon a new consultation; in which the Governour persisted in his old resolution, as seeing no cause to change it.

In this Debate Colonel *Gage* declared, "that though he thought the Service full of hazard, especially for the return; yet if the Lords would, by lifting their own Servants, persuade the Gentlemen in the Town to do the like, and engage their own Persons, whereby a good Troop or two of Horse might be raised (upon which the principal dependence must be) he would willingly, if there were no body else thought fitter for it, undertake the conduct of them himself; and hoped he should give a good account of it: which being offer'd with great cheerfulness by a Person, of whose Prudence, as well as Courage, they had a full confidence, they resolv'd to do the utmost that was in their power to make it effectual.

THERE was about this time, by the surrender of *Greenland House* (which could not possibly be longer defended, the whole structure being beaten down by the Cannon) the Regiment of Colonel *Herbert* march'd into *Oxford*, amounting to near three Hundred; to which as many others join'd as made it up four hundred Men. The Lords mounted their Servants upon their own Horses; and they, with the Volunteers, who frankly lifted themselves, amounted to a Body of two hundred and fifty very good Horse, all put under the Command of Colonel *William Pike*, an excellent Officer, bred up in *Flanders* in great emulation with Colonel *Gage*; and who, upon the Catholick Interest, was at this time contented to serve under him. With this small Party for so great an Action, *Gage* march'd out of *Oxford* in the beginning of the Night; and, by the Morning, reach'd the place where he intended to refresh himself and his Troops, which was a Wood near *Wallingford*; from whence he dispatch'd an Express to *St. William Osley*, Governour of *Winchester*; who had promis'd to the Lords of the Council, "that, whensoever they would endeavour the raising of the Siege before *Basing*, he would send one hundred Horse, and three hundred Foot out of his Garrison for their Assistance; and a presumption upon this aid, was the principal motive for the undertaking; and so he was directed, at What hour in the Morning his Party should fall into *Basing* Park, in the Rear of the Rebels Quarters; whilst *Gage* himself fall on the other side; the Marquis being desired at the same time to make frequent Salies from the House.

AT FIVE ome hours of retirement in the Morning, and finding this Express to *Winchester*; the Troops march'd through by-Lanes to *Aldermaston*, a Village out of any great road; where they intended to take more rest that Night. They

They had marched, from the time they left *Oxford*, with Orange Tawny Scarfs and Ribbons, that they might be taken for the Parliament Soldiers; and hoped, by that Artifice, to have passed undiscov'rd even to the approach upon the *Bejagers*. But the Party of *Horle* which was sent before to *Alldermaston*, found there some of the Parliament *Horle*, and to getting their Orange-Tawny Scarfs, fell upon them; and killed some, and took six or seven Prisoners; whereby the secret was discover'd, and notice quickly sent to *Bejag* of the approaching danger; which accident made their stay in that Village than was intended, and than the weariness of the Soldiers required. About eleven of the Clock, they began their march again; which they continued all that Night; the *Horlemen* often alighting, that the Foot might ride, and often taking many of them behind them; however they could not but be extremely weary, and fatigued.

BETWEEN four and five of the Clock on *Wednesday* Morning, it having been *Monday* Night that they left *Oxford*, they arriv'd within a Mile of *Bejag*; where an Officer, sent from *St William* Ogle, came to them to let them know, "that he durst not send his Troops so far, in regard many of the Enemies *Horle* lay between *Winchester* and *Bejag*. This broke all the Colonels measures; and, since there was no proceeding, made him change the whole Method of his proceeding; and instead of dividing his Forces, and falling on in several places, as he meant to have done if the *Winchester* Forces had comply'd with their obligation, or if his march had been undiscov'rd, he resolv'd now to fall on *joyn'd* with all his Body in one place; in order to which, he commanded the Men to be ranged in Battalions; and rid to seven Squadrons, giving them such words as were proper to the occasion; which no man could more pertinently deliver, or with a better grace: he commanded every Man to eye a white Tape Ribbon, or Handkerchief above the Elbow of their right Arms; and gave them the word *St George*; which was the sign and the word that he had sent before to the Marquis, let in his Salutes their Men, for want of distinction, might fall foul of each other.

THUS it they marched towards the House, Colonel *W* leading the right Wing, and Lieutenant Colonel *B* by the left of the *Horle*; and *G*age himself the Foot: they had not marched far, when at the upper End of a large Campaign Field, upon a little rising of an Hill, they discern'd a Body of five Cornets of *Horle* very full, standing in very good order to receive them. But before any impression could be made upon them, the Colonel must pass between two Hedges lin'd very thick with Musketeers; from whom the *Horle*

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very Courageously bore a smart Volley, and then Charged the Enemies *Horle* so Gallantly, that, after a shorter resistance than was expected from the known Courage of *Norton*, though many of his Men fell, they gave ground; and at last plainly run to a safe place, beyond which they could not be pursued. The Foot disputed the business much better, and being beaten from Hedge to Hedge, retired into their Quarterns and Works; which they did not abandon in less than two hours; and then a free entrance into the House was gained on that side, where the Colonel only stay'd to salute the Marquis, and to put in the Ammunition he had brought with him; which was only twelve Barrels of Powder, and twelve hundred weight of Match; and immediately marched with his *Horle* and Foot to *Bejag-House*, a good Market Town two Miles from the House; leaving one hundred Foot to be led, by some Officers of the Garrison, to the Town of *Bejag*, a Village but a Mile distant. In *Bejag-House*, they found store of Wheat, Mault, Oats, Salt, Bacon, Cheese, and Butter; as much of which, was all that day sent to the House; as they could find Carts of Horses to transport, together with fourteen Barrels of Powder, and some Muskets, and forty or fifty head of Cattle, with above one hundred Sheep: whilst the other Party, that went to *Bejag-Town*, beat the Enemy that was Quarter'd there, after having kill'd forty or fifty of them; some fled into the Church, where they were quickly taken Prisoners; and, among them, two Captains, *J*ermy and *S*tephens, the two eldest Sons of two of the greatest Rebels of that Country, and both Heirs to good Fortunes, who were carried Prisoners to *Bejag-House*; the rest, who besieg'd that side, being fled into a strong Fort which he had rais'd in the Park. The Colonel spent that, and the next day, in sending all manner of Provisions into the House; and then reasonably computing that the Garrison was well provided for two Months, he thought of his retreat to *Oxford*; which it was time to do: for besides that *Norton* had drawn all his Men together, who had been dismayed, with all the Troops, which lay Quarter'd within any distance, and appear'd within sight of the House more numerous and gay than before, as if he meant to be revenged before they parted, he was likewise well inform'd by the Persons he had employed, that the Enemy from *Abingdon* had lodg'd themselves at *Alldermaston*, and thence from *Reading* and *Newbury*, in two other Villages upon the River *Kenet*; over which he was to pass.

HEREUPON, that he might take away the Apprehension that he meant suddenly to depart, he sent out Orders, which he was sure would come into the Enemies hands, to two or three Villages next the House, "that they should, by the next Vol. II. Part 2. M m day

day-noon, send such proportions of Corn into *Basing-Horse*, as were mention'd in the Warrants; upon pain, if they fail'd by the time, to have a thousand Horse and Dragoons sent to fire the Towns. This being done, and all his Men drawn together about eleven of the Clock at Night, *Thursday* the second Night arriv'd at *Salisbury*, the Marquis giving him two or three Guides who knew the Country exactly, he march'd from *Basing* without sound of Drum or Trumpet, and pass'd the *Kenet*, undiscov'rd, by a Ford near a Bridge which the Enemy had broke down; and thereby thought they had secur'd that passage; the Horse taking the Foot on *Cray*; and then, marching by ways, in the Morning they likewise pass'd over the *Thames*, at a Ford little more than a Mile from *Reading*; and so escap'd the Enemy, and got betwixt Night to *Wallingford*; where they secur'dly reposed, and retir'd their Men that Night; and the next Day arriv'd late at *Oxford*; having lost only two Captains, and two or three other Gentlemen, and Common Men; in all to the number of eleven; and forty or fifty wounded, but not dangerously: what number the Enemy lost could not be known; but it was believ'd, they lost many, besides above one hundred Prisoners that were taken; and it was confid'd, by Enemies as well as Friends, that it was as Solderly an Action, as had been perform'd in the War on either side; and reloidned very much to the reputation of the Commander.

The next day after the Army of *Effix* was gone, and dissolv'd, the King retir'd to his Quarters at *Bosconocke*, and stay'd there only a day to refresh his Men; having sent, the day before, *Greenwell*, with the Cornish Horse and Foot, towards *Plimouth*, to join with *Goring* in the pursuit of *Belvoir*, and that Body of Horse; which, by passing over the Bridge near *Salisbury*, they might easily have done. But he slacken'd his march that he might possess *Salisbury*, which the Enemy had quitt'd, and left therein eleven pieces of Cannon with some Armes and Ammunition; which, together with the Town, was not worth his unwarrantable stay. This kept him from joining with *Goring*; who thereby, and for want of that Foot, excus'd his not fighting with *Belvoir* when he was within distance; but contented himself with sending a Commanded Party to follow his Rear, and in that too eager a pursuit, Captain *Sam. Wainman*, a young Man of extraordinary parts and expectation, the Son of a very wise and eminent Father, was lost, to the irreparable damage of a Noble Family. Thus *Belvoir*, by an orderly and well govern'd march, pass'd above one hundred Miles in the King's Quarters, as hath been said before, without any considerable loss, to a place of safety within their own precincts.

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The fear and apprehension of the Enemy was no sooner over, than the murmur begun, that the King had been persuaded to grant too good conditions to that Body of Foot; and that he might well have forced them to have submitted to his mercy, as well as to have laid down their Arms; and to have made both Officers and Soldiers to become Prisoners of War; by which the Enemy would not have been able soon to have rais'd another Army. But they who undertook to censure that Action, how great a Number fewer they were, did not at all understand the present temper and constitution of the King's Army; which then was not near so strong as it was reputed to be: whatever it might have done by a brisk and vigorous attempt, when it first enter'd *Cornewal*, which was in the beginning of *August*, and when a Party of his Majesty's Horse surpris'd and seiz'd the Earl of *Essex's* own Lieutenant Colonel, and many other Officers of Name at *Bosconocke*, before his Majesty was suspected to be in any near distance: I say whatever might have been then done, in that consideration the Enemy was then in, the case was very much alter'd in the beginning of *September*, when the Articles were made; and when the number of the Foot who laid down their Arms, was in truth superior to those of the King's (as it will appear anon) when his Army march'd out of *Cornewal*. The oversight, which was a great one, was on the other side, when their Horse broke through. If they had then known, and it was hardly possible they should not know it, that all the King's Horse, his Guard only excepted, were at that time Quarter'd behind them, about *St. Blasie*, their Foot might very well have march'd away with their Horse, their Cannon only being left behind; and having got but four or five hours before, which they might easily, and as undisturb'd have done, the King's Army in the Condition and state it was in, naked and unshod, would through those inclosed paths, narrow Lanes, and deep Ditches, in *Devon* and *Dorsetshire*, have been able to have done them little harm: Besides the King very well knew at the time the Articles were made, that *Maldenston*, notwithstanding all his Affidavits, was then come to *Winton*; and therefore there can be no doubt, that his Majesty, in those considerations, proceeded with no less Prudence than Clemency.

AFTER this great Success, the King thought fit to renew the King his offer of Peace; and sent a Message to the two Houses of Parliament, to desire that there might be a Treaty to that purpose; which Message was sent by a Trumpet to the Earl of *Effix*, after his repair to *London*, to be deliver'd by him, of which there was no consideration taken in three Months after the receipt of it. This done, the King was persuaded, in his way

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way (as it was not much out of it) to look upon Plymouth, for to him it might be presumed that the *Company* Troops, how impatient soever they were to be at their harvest, would attend him; and if he could, by appearing before it, become Master of it, which was not thought improbable, he might return to *Oxford* in great Triumph, and leave the West thoroughly reduced: for then *Lyme* could not hold out, and he might be sure to carry an Army with him strongly recruited; but if it proved not a work of ease and expedition, he might proceed in his march without farther stay; and he quickly found it necessary to do so; having sent a Summons to the Town, and receiv'd a rude Answer to it.

For the Earl of *Essex* had left the Lord *Roberts* Governor in that Town; a Man of a stout and sturdy Nature, a great Opinionaire, and one who must be overcome before he would believe that he could be so. The King, finding no good could be done with him, and that the reducing the Town would require some time, purposed his former Resolution, and marched away; having committed the Blocking up of Plymouth to *St Richard Greenwell*, a Man who had been bred a Soldier, and of great expectation, but of greater promise; having with all manner of Assurance undertaken to take the Town by *Christmas*, if such Conditions might be perform'd to him, all which were punctually comply'd with; whilst he made his Quarters as far as ever they had been formerly from the Town; beginning his War first upon his Wife, who had been long in possession of her own Fortune, by virtue of a Decree in *Chancery*, many years before the Troubles; and setting upon all the bad, and then making himself Master of all their Estates who were in the Service of the Parliament, without doing any thing of importance upon the Town, only upon the first Message between the Lord *Roberts* and him, there arose so mortal a misunderstanding, that there was never Civility or Quarter observ'd between them; but such as were taken on either side, were put to the Sword; or that which worse, to the Halter.

Since there will be often occasion to mention this Gentleman, *St Richard Greenwell*, in the ensuing discourse, and because many Men believ'd, that he was hardly dealt with in the next year, where all the proceedings will be set down at large, it will not be unfit, in this place, to say somewhat of him, and of the manner and merit of his coming into the King's Service some Months before the time We are now upon. He was of a very ancient and worthy Family in *Cornwall*, which had, in several Ages, produced Men of great Courage, and very signal in their Fidelity to, and Service of the Crown; and was himself younger Brother (though in his Nature, or

Humour,

Humour, use of Kin to him) to the brave *St Beroul Greenwell*, who so Courageously lost his Life in the Battle of *Langdown*. Being a younger Brother, and a very young Man, he went into the Low Countries to learn the Profession of a Soldier; to which he had dedicated himself under the great Earl General of that Age, Prince *Maurice*, in the Regiment of my Lord *Pier*, who was General of all the *English*. In that Service he was look'd upon as a Man of Courage, and a diligent Officer, in the quality of a Captain, to which he arriv'd after five years Service. About this time, in the end of the Reign of King *James*, the War broke out between *England* and *Spain*; and in the Expedition to *Calais*, this Gentleman serv'd as a Major to a Regiment of Foot, and continued in the same Command, in the War that soon after follow'd against *France*; and, at the Siege of *Rheas*, infam'd himself into the very good grace of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was the General in that Invasion; and after the unfortunate retreat from thence, was made Colonel of a Regiment with general Approbation, and as an Officer that well serv'd it.

His Credit every day increas'd with the Duke; who, out of the generosity of his Nature, as a most generous Person he was, resolv'd to raise his Fortune; towards the beginning whereof, by his countenance, and sollicitation, he prevail'd with a rich Widow to Marry him, who had been a Lady of extraordinary Beauty, which she had not yet outlived; and though she had no great Dowry by her Husband, a younger Brother of the Earl of *Suffolk*; yet she inherited a fair Fortune of her own, near *Plymouth*; and was besides very rich in a Personal Estate, and was look'd upon as the richest March of the West. This Lady, by the Duke's Credit, *St Richard Greenwell* (for he was now made a Knight and Baron) obtain'd; and was thereby possess'd of a plentiful Estate upon the Borders of his own Country; where his own Family had great Credit and Authority. The War being quickly at an end, and he depriv'd of his great Patron, had nothing now to depend upon but the Fortune of his Wife; which, though ample enough to have supported the expence of a Person of his Quality ought to have made, was not large enough to satisfy his Vanity and Ambition; nor so great as he, upon common reports, had promised himself by her. By not being enough pleas'd with her Fortune, he grew left pleas'd with his Wife's; who, being a Woman of a fiery and Impetuous Nature, and of a Wit superior to His, quickly returned the disrespect the receiv'd from him; and in no degree studi'd to make her self easy to him. After some years spent together in these Dometick unbecomable Contentions; in which he possess'd himself of all her Estate, as the Sole Inheritor

M m 3

The King
lov'd
St
Richard
Greenwell
in
Dowry
Plymouth.

ner of it, without allowing her, out of her own, any Compency for her fill; and indulged to himself all those Licences in her own House, which to Women are most grievous, the fondness receiv'd into that Family, in which he had before been Married, and was always very much respected.

HER Absence was not ingratul to him, till the Tenants refused to pay him any more Rents, and he found himself on a foolish depend'd of her whole Estate, which was all he had to live upon: for it appear'd now, that she had, before her Marriage with him, seized her entire Fortune to absolutely upon the Earl of *Suffolk*, that the present right was in Him, and he required the Rents to be paid to him. This began a Suit in the Chancery between *St Richard Greenwile* and the then Earl of *Suffolk*, before the Lord *Crovostry*, who found the Conveyances in Law to be so firm, that he could not only not relieve *St Richard Greenwile* in Equity, but that in Justice he must Decease the Land to the Earl; which he did. This very terrible Mortification transported him so much, that, being a Man who used to speak very bitterly of those he did not love, after all endeavours to have engaged the Earl in a Personal Conflict, he reveng'd himself upon him in such opprobrious Language, as the Government, and Justice of that time would not permit to pass unpunished; and the Earl appear'd for Reparation to the Court of Scar-Chamber; where *St Richard* was Decees'd to pay three thousand pounds for damages to him; and was likewise find the Sum of three thousand pounds to the King, who gave the Fine likewise to the Earl: so that *St Richard* was committed to the Prison of the Fleet in Execution for the whole six thousand pounds; which at that time was thought by all Men to be a very severe and rigorous Decees, and drew a general Compassion towards the unhappy Gentleman.

AFTER he had endured many years of strict Imprisonment, a little before the beginning of the late Troubles, he made his escape out of the Prison; and transporting himself beyond the Seas, remain'd there till the Parliament was call'd that produced so many Miseries to the Kingdom; and when he heard that many Decrees which had been made, in that time, by the Court of Scar-Chamber, were repeal'd, and the Persons griev'd, absolv'd from those Penalties, he likewise return'd, and petition'd to have his Cause heard; in which a Committee was appointed; but before it could be brought to any conclusion, the Rebellion broke out in *Ireland*. Among the first Troops that were rais'd, and transport'd for the suppression thereof, by the Parliament (to whom the King had unhappily committed the prosecution of

it) *St Richard Greenwile*, upon the fame of being a good Officer, was sent over with a very good Troop of Horse; was Master of the Earl of *Leinsters* own Regiment of Horse, and was very much esteem'd of him, and the more by the Parliament, for the signal acts of Cracity he did every day commit upon the *Irish*; which were of so many kinds upon both Sexes, Young and Old, hanging old Men who were Bedrid, because they would not discover where their Money was, nor he believ'd they had; and old Women, some of Quality, after he had plunder'd them, and found less than he expected; that they can hardly be believ'd, though notoriously known to be true.

AFTER the Cession was made in *Ireland*, he pretended that his Confidence would not give him leave to stay there, and was much the more welcome to the Parliament, for declaring in hearty assault that Cession; and *St William Waller* being in the beginning of this year to make his Expedition into the West, after the Battle of *Atensford*, *St Richard Greenwile* was either commended to him, or invited by him, to Command the Horse under him; which he cheerfully accepted, not without many insinuations, how much his interest in *Down-falls*, and *Cromwells*, would advance Them. He receiv'd from the Parliament a great Sum of Money, for the making his Equipage; in which he always affected more than ordinary Luitre; and *St William Waller* communicated to him all his designs, with the ground and foundation of them, as to an entire Friend; and an Officer of that Eminence, by whose Advice he meant to govern his own Countie.

His first and principal design was to surpris *Basing House*, by a correspondence with the Lord *Edward Paulet*, Brother to the Marquis of *Winstchester*, and then with him, as unaliquid as a Brother ought to be. For the better execution of this, *St Richard Greenwile* was sent before with a Body of Horse, that all things might be well dispos'd, and prepar'd against the time *Waller* himself should come to him. He appointed a Rendezvous for the Horse at *Bagshot*, and the same day march'd out of *London* only with his Equipage; which was very Noble; a Coach and six Horses, a Wagon and six Horses, many Led Horses, and many Servants: with those, when he came to *Stanes*, he left the *Bagshot* road, and march'd directly to *Reading*, where the King's Garrison then was; and thence, without delay, to *Oxford*, where he was very privately receiv'd by the King, and the more, because he was not expected. He communicated then to the King the whole design of the surpris of *Basing*; upon which the King sent an Express immediately to the Marquis, with all the particular informations; who thereupon seized upon his Brother,

M m 4

and the other Conspirators; who confest'd all, with all the circumstances of the correspondence and combination. The Marquis prevail'd with the King, that he might only turn his Brother out of the Garrison, after Justice was done upon his Complices. This very happy and feasonable discovery, preserv'd that important place; which, with-out it, had infallibly been lost within few days, and therefore could not but much endear the Person of the Discoverer; upon whom the Parliament thunder'd out all those reproaches, which his deserting them in such a manner was liable to; and denounc'd all those judgements upon him of Attainder, Confiscation, and incapacity of Pardon, which they us'd to do against those, who, they thought, had done them most mischief, or against whom they were most incens'd; which was all the excuse he could make for his severe proceedings against those of their Party, who fell into his hands afterwards where he Commanded.

From *Oxford* he went quickly into the West, before he had any Command there; declaring that he would assist Colonel *Digby*; who, upon Prince *Maurice's* departure from thence with his Army, was left to Block up *Plymouth*; which he did with much Courage and Soldierly ability. To Him he had Letters from the King, that he should stir *Richard Greenwil* into the possession of his Wife's Estate, that lay within his Quarters, and which was justly liable to a Sequestration by her living in *London*, and being too zealous of that Party; which the Colonel punctually did. And so he came, after six many years, to be again possessor of all the Estate; which was what he most set his Heart upon.

One day he made a Visit from his Houſe, which he call'd his own, to the Colonel; and dined with him; and the Colonel civilly sent half a dozen Troopers to wait on him home, lest any of the Garrison, in their usual Executions, might meet with him. In his return home, he saw four or five fellows, coming out of a Neighbour Wood, with Burthens of Wood upon their backs, which they had stolen. He bid the Troopers fetch those fellows to him; and finding that they were Soldiers of the Garrison, he made one of them hang all the rest, which, to save his own Life, he was contented to do; for though his Appetite was to those Executions he had been accustomed to in *Ireland*, without any kind of Commiffion or presence of Authority.

Shortly after, upon a Salley made with Horse and Foot from the Town, Colonel *Digby* (who besides the keenness of his Courage had a more composed understanding, and less liable to fumes, than some of his Family who had sharper Parts) Charging them with such vigour as Rout'd, and drove them

them back, receiv'd himself in the close an unhappy wound, with a Rapier, in the Eye; which pierc'd near his Brain; so that, though he was brought off by his Soldiers, it was very long before he recover'd enough to endure the Air, and never did the effects of the Wound. Upon this accident *St Richard Greenwil* was plac'd in that Command, which he exercis'd for some Months; until, upon the Advance of the Earl of *Essex*, he was compell'd to retire into *Cornewall*, where *Wales* him at the King's coming thither.

This so large excursion upon a private Person may seem very extravagant; and to carry in it too much Animosity against the memory of a Man who did some things well, and was not without some merit in the King's Service: But they who know the Occurrences of the next year, which will be faithfully related, and consider the severity that he compell'd the Prince to use towards him, of which he made a great noise afterwards in the World, and prevail'd with some good Men to believe that the proceeding against him was too rigorous, and that the Council then about the Prince had some Personal disrespect towards him, may reasonably believe, that this enlargement was in some degree necessary, that such a Man's Original, Nature, Manners, and Disposition, should be manifest and clearly understood.

The King was now most intent to return into his Winter Quarters at *Oxford*, which was all he could propose to himself; in which he expected to meet with all the obtrusions and difficulties his enraged Enemies could lay in his way. He knew well that *Waller* was even ready to come out of *London*, and that *Middleton* was retir'd from *Tipton* to join with him; that they had sent for the Earl of *Manchester* to march towards the West with his Victorious Army: So that, if he long defer'd his march, he must look to Fight another Battle, before he could reach *Oxford*. Notwithstanding all which, his Army that had been upon hard duty; and had made long marches above six Months together, required some rest and refreshment; the Foot were without Cloaths, and Shoes; and the Horse in such ill humour, that without Money they would be more discontented. To provide the best remedy that could be applied to these evils, the next day after the King march'd from *Plymouth*, himself, attended only by his own Troop, and the principal Officers of the Court, went to *Exeter*; appointing the Army, by slow marches, to follow, and to be Quarter'd at *Tipton*, and the other Towns adjacent; where they arriv'd on the 21st of September.

His Majesty now quickly discern'd how continual hard duty, with little fighting, had less'n'd and diminish'd his Army. His own Body of Foot, which when he enter'd *Cornewall*,

mal, were above four thousand, was at this time much fewer; and Prince Maurice's, which consisted of full four thousand five hundred, when the King first view'd them at *Kirtan*, was not now half the Number. Of all the Forces under *Granvil*, which had made for him in *Wales*, and had been thought worthy of the Name of an Army, there were only five hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse left with him, for the Blocking up *Plymouth*; the rest were dwindled away; or else, which was his usual Artifice, he had encouraged them to fly for force time in *Cornwall*, and then to repair to him, as many of them did; for his Forces suddenly increased; and the truth is, few of the *Cornish* march'd Eastward with the King. The King's Horse were harried, and many of them dead in the marches; which contributed to the discontent of the Riders; so that great Provisions were to be made before they could begin a new march. By the diligence and activity of the Commissioners, appointed in *Devonshire* for those Affairs, his Majesty was within few days supplied with two thousand pounds in Money, which was precisely distributed among the Horse; and three thousand Sutes of Cloaths, with good proportions of Shoes and Stockings; which were likewise deliver'd to the Foot. What remain'd yet wanting for the Horse and Foot, was promis'd to meet them, upon their first entrance into *Devonshire*; where the Commissioners of the County, had undertaken they should be ready.

THERE was another thing of equal importance to be provided for, before the King left *Exeter*; which was, the Blocking up the Troops of *Lyme*; which were grown more insensible by the Success they had Had; and made Incursions sometimes even to the Walls of *Exeter*; and to restrain a stronger Garrison in *Taunton*. For when Prince Maurice rais'd his Siege from *Lyme*, he had very unhappily drawn out the Garrison of *Taunton*, which consisted of eight hundred Men under the Command of Sir *John Struel*, a Person of that eminent Courage and Fidelity, that he would never have given it up; and left only fourscore Men in the Castle to be kept by a Lieutenant, who basely gave it up, altho' as *Effex* in his passage demanded it, for which he deservedly afterwards suffer'd Death. And it was now, by the Garrison the Earl put into it, and the extreme Malignity and Pride of the Inhabitants, in both which they exceeded, become a sharp Thorn in the sides of all that Populous County.

To remedy the first of these, some Troops which depended upon the Garrison of *Exeter*, were assign'd, and were to receive Orders from Sir *John Berkeley*, Governour thereof; who was the more vacant for that Service, by the reduction of *Sherborne*; which was done during the King's stay at *Exeter*. The

The ether of *Taunton*, was more unhappily committed to Colonel *Windham*, the Governour of *Isradgewater*; who, though a Gentleman of known Courage and unquestionable Fidelity, by the Divisions and Factions in the Country, was as equal to the work. To dispatch all this, the King flaid as a full week at *Exeter*; but hasten'd his march to *Chard* in *Somersetshire*, where he flaid longer; for which he paid dear dear; for he might otherwise have reach'd *Oxford*, before the Enemy was in a Conjunction strong enough to stop him; yet even that they could not be prevented, except he would have left the Money and Cloaths (which the Commissioners of *Somersetshire* promis'd, and did deliver there at last) behind him; which would not have been grateful to the Army.

It was the last of *September*, that the King march'd from *Chard*; and Quarter'd that Night at a House of the Lord *Faulstich*, where Prince *Rupert* met him, and gave him an account of the unhappy Affairs of the North, and that he had left about two thousand Horse under the Command of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*; which he might as well have brought with him, and then the King would have had a glorious end of his Western Expedition. Prince *Rupert* presently return'd to *Bristol*, with Orders, as soon as was possible, to march with some Northern Horse under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and two thousand Foot, which were in *Wales*, under Colonel *Charles Gerard*, into *Glocestershire*; by which the Enemy might be oblig'd to divide their Force, which if they should still keep united, the Prince from thence would be able to join with the King: But these Orders were not executed in time. The King's Army at this time consisted in the whole but of five thousand five hundred Foot, and about four thousand Horse; and *Waller* was already come with his Horse to *Blanchford*; but some of his Troops being beaten up by those of the King's, he retir'd to *Shaftesbury*, and those parts of *Wiltshire* adjacent. However, the King, very much, before he left those parts, to Relieve *Portland* Castle, which had been now Besieged from the time of the Earl of *Effex*'s march that way. To that purpose, he march'd to *Sherborne*; where he flaid six days too long, though in that time he rais'd the Siege before *Portland* Castle, if he had not hop'd by that delay that his Nephew Prince *Rupert* would have been well advanced in his march. Sir *Lewis Dives* was left with his own Regiment of one hundred and fifty old Soldiers, and some Horse in *Sherborne* Castle, and made Commissioner in Chief of *Devonshire*; in hope that he would be able therely by his activity and the very good affection of that County, to raise Men enough to recover *Wynmouth*; and he did perform all that could be reasonably expected from him. His Majesty had a great desire, in

in his march to *Oxford*, to relieve *Donnington* Castle, and *Basing*; which was again Besieged by almost the whole Army of the Enemy; and then to send a good Party to relieve *Basing*, which had been close Besieged by Colonel *John Ferris*, another Son of the Lord *Sey*, with all the Forces of *Norhamptonshire*, *Warwick*, and *Oxfordshire*; and bravely defended by *St William Compton*, full three Months; but by this time reduced to the utmost extremity.

In order to preserve all this, the King came to *Salisbury* upon the sixteenth of *October*; where he understood, "that *Wall* lay at *Andover* with his Troops; that *Mankyn* was advanced as far as *Reading* with five thousand Horse and Foot, and four and twenty pieces of Ordnance; and that four Regiments of the *Train-bands of London*, were beginning their march to him; and that three thousand of the Horse and Foot of the Earl of *Essex's* Army were near *Portsmouth*, expecting Orders to join with the rest. This might very well have disposed his Majesty to have hasten'd his march to *Oxford*, which would have made a fair conclusion of the Campaign; and this was the more reasonable, because here the King receiv'd Letters from Prince *Rupert*, in which he declared, "that it was not possible for him to bring up his Troops so soon as his Majesty expected; and indeed as his present condition required; and if this had been resolv'd, both *Donnington* Castle, and *Basing*, might have been seasonably set at liberty; but a great galecy possid'd *Goring*, that he earnestly advis'd the King to march, with secrecy and expedition, to beat *Wall*; who lay at *Andover*, a good distance from the rest, with three thousand Horse and Dragons; which the King, upon the unanimous consent of the Council, consented to.

He had left all the Cannon that he had taken from *Essex*, in *Exeter*; and now he sent all his great Cannon to a Garrison he had within two Miles of *Salisbury* at *Langford*, a House of the Lord *Gorges*; where was a Garrison of one hundred Men, Commanded by a good Officer. The rest of the Cannon and Carriages were left at *Wilton*, the House of the Earl of *Feversham*, with a Regiment of Foot to guard them; and the King appointed the Rendezvous for the Army to be the next Morning, by seven of the Clock, near *Clarendon Park*; and good Guards were set at all the Avenues of the City, to keep all People from going out, that *Waller* might not have any notice of his purpose; and if the hour of the Rendezvous had been observ'd, as it rarely was (though his Majesty was himself the most punctual, and never absent at the precise time) that design had succeeded to wish. For though the Foot under Prince *Maurice* came not up till eleven of the

Clock, so that the Army did not begin it's march till twelve, yet they came within four Miles of *Andover*, before *Waller* had any Notice of their Motions; when he drew out his whole Body towards them, as if he meant to fight; but upon view of their Strength, and the good Order they were in, he changed his mind, and drew back into the Town; leaving a strong Party of Horse and Dragons to make good his Retreat. But the King's Van Charg'd, and Routed them with good Execution, and purified them through the Town, and few many of them in the Rear, until the darkness of the Night secur'd them, and hinder'd the others from following farther. But they were all scatter'd, and came not quickly together again; and the King Quarter'd that Night at *Andover*. The scattering this great Body under *Waller* in this manner, and the little resistance they made, so rais'd the Spirit of the King's Army, that they desir'd nothing more than to have a Battle with the whole Army of the Enemy; which the King meant not to seek out, nor to decline fighting with them, if they put themselves in his way. And so he resolv'd to raise the Siege of *Donnington* Castle, which was little out of his way to *Oxford*. To that purpose, he sent Orders for the Cannon which had been left at *Langford*, and *Wilton*, to make all hast to a place appointed between *Andover* and *Newbury*; where he laid with his Army, till they came up to him; and then march'd together to *Newbury*, within a Mile of *Donnington*.

The Blockade of *Donnington* Castle had been when *Madoc* from thence puruis'd his march into the West; he left to the care of Colonel *Horton*; who for some time was continu'd to Block it up; but then finding his Summons neglected, and that they had store of Provisions within, and having an addition of Forces from *Abingdon* and *Reading*, he resolv'd to Besiege it; which he began to do the 25th of *September*; and made his Approaches, and rais'd a Battery on the foot of the Hill next *Newbury*, and ply'd it to wit his great Cannon, that, after twelve days continual shooting, he beat down Three Towers and a part of the Wall; which he believ'd had fo bumbled the Governour and the Garrison, that they would be no longer so stubborn as they had been; and therefore he sent them another Summons, in which he magnify'd his own clemency, "that prevail'd with him, now they were even at his mercy, to offer them Quarter for their Lives, if they gave up the Castle before *Wednesday* at ten of the Clock in the Morning; but if that his favour was not accept'd, he declar'd, in the presence of God, that there should no Man amongst them have his Life spared. The Governour made himself merry with his high and threatening Language;

Language; and sent him word, "he would keep the place, and would neither give nor receive Quarter. At this time, the Earl of *Manchester* himself with his Forces came to *Newbury*; and receiving no better Answer to his own Summons, than *Horke* had done before, he resolv'd to Storm it the next day. But his Soldiers, being well inform'd of the resolution of those within, declin'd that hot Service; and ply'd it with their Artillery until the next Night; and then remov'd their Battery to the other side of the Castle; and began their Approaches by Saps; when the Governour made a strong Sally, and beat them out of their Trenches, and kill'd a Lieutenant Colonel, who Commanded in Chief, with many Soldiers; flor their Chief Cannoner through the Head, brought away their Cannon Bunkers, and many Armes, and retreivd with very little loss: yet the next Night they fill'd their Battery; and continu'd some days their great shot, till they heard of the Approach of the King's Army; whereupon they drew off their Ordnance, and their Train'd-bands of *London* being not yet come to them, the Earl thought fit to march away to a greater distance; these having been, in nineteen days, above one thousand great shot spent upon the Walls, without any when the of the Garrison, than the beating down kind old paratheoof.

WHEN the King came to *Newbury*, the Governour of *Donnington* attended him; and was Knighted for his very good behaviour, and there was then to little apprehension of great of the Enemy, that his Majesty thought not of prosecuting his Journey towards *Oxford*, before he should Relieve both *Basing* and *Banbury*. And now importunities being sent from the last, which was even upon the point of rendering its want of Victuals; they having already eaten most of their

Banbury.
Capitulation
between the
Earl of
Northampton
and
the King.

Horses, his Majesty was well content; that the Earl of *Northampton*, who had the Supreme Government of that Garrison, where he had left his brave Brother his Lieutenant, should, with three Regiments of Horse; attempt the relieving it; Letters being sent to *Oxford*, "that Colonel *Gage*, with four of Horse and Foot from thence, should meet him; which they did punctually; and came time enough to *Banbury* before they were expected: yet they found the Rebels Horse (Superior in number by much to them) drawn upon five Bodies on the South side of the Town, near their Scence; as if, upon the advantage of that ground, they meant to Fight. But two of these flotes, made at them by a Couple of Drakes brought from *Oxford* by Colonel *Gage*, made them stagger, and retir'd from their ground very disorderly. Their Cannon and Big game had been sent out of the Town the Night before; and their Foot, being above seven hundred, run out of *Banbury*

upon the first advance of the King's Troops. Colonel *Gage* with the Foot went directly to the Castle, that they might see Liberty; whilst the Earl of *Northampton* follow'd the Horse closely; that they found it best to make a stand; where he instantly Charged and Rour'd them; and notwithstanding they had lined some Hedges with Musquetees, pursued them till they were scatter'd, and retailly dispersed; their General, surn'd *Bones*, continuing his flight, till he came to *Caversham*, without slaying. The Foot, for the most part, by deserting themselves, escap'd by the Luculines, before Colonel *Gage* could come up. But there were taken, in the Chase, one Field piece, and three Waggons of Armes and Ammunition; many slain; and two Officers of Horse, with near one hundred other Prisoners, four Cornets of Horse, and two hundred Horse, were taken; and all this with the loss of one Captain and nine Troopers; some Officers, and others, being wounded, but not mortally. Thus the Siege was raised from *Banbury*; which had continued full three Weeks; so notably censured, that though they had but two Horses left unwin, they had never fuller'd a Summons to be sent to them; and it was now Reliev'd the very day of the Month upon which both Town and Castle had been render'd to the King two years before; being the 26th of *October*.

THOUGH the Relief of *Banbury* succeed'd to wish; yet the King paid dear for it soon after: the very day after that Service was perform'd, Colonel *Urpy*, a Scots-man, who had formerly serv'd the Parliament, and is well mention'd, in the transactions of the last year, for having quitted them, and perform'd some signal Service to the King, had in the West, about the time the King enter'd into *Cornwall* (in a discontented humour, which was very natural to him) desired a Pass to go beyond the Seas; and to quitted the Service; but instead of embarking himself, made halt to *London*; and put himself now into the Earl of *Manchester's* Army, and made a discovery of all he knew of the King's Army, and a description of the Persons and Customs of those who principally commanded; so that as they well knew the constitution, and weakness of the King's Army, they had also Advertainment of the Earl of *Northampton's* being gone, with three Regiments of Horse, to the Relief of *Banbury*. Whereupon, within two days after, all those Forces which had been under *Effix* and *Waller*, being united with *Manchester* (with whom likewise the Train'd-bands of *London* were now join'd; all which made up a Body of above eight thousand Foot; the number of their Horse being not inferior) advanced towards the King, who had not half the number before the departure of the Earl of *Northampton*, and stay'd still at *Newbury* with a resolution

lution to expect the return of that Earl, that he might likewise do somewhat for *Basing*; not believing that the Enemy could be so soon united.

The second
Battle of
Newbury.

It was now too late to hope to make a Safe retreat to *Oxford*, when the whole Body of the Enemies Army, which had receiv'd positive Orders to Fight the King as soon as was possible, appear'd as near as *Thatcham*; so that his Majesty not at all dismay'd, resolv'd to stand upon the Defensive only; hoping that, upon the advantage he had of the Town of *Newbury* and the River, the Enemy would not speedily Advance; and that in the mean time, by being compell'd to lodge in the Field, which grew now to be very Cold, whilst his Army was under cover, they might be forc'd to retire. The King Quarter'd in the Town of *Newbury*; and plac'd strong Guards on the South of the Town; but the greater part of the Army was plac'd towards the Enemies Quarter in a good House belonging to *Mr. Doleman at Stone*, and his Village near it, defended by the River that runs under *Dorington*. Cattle, and in a House between that Village and *Newbury*, about which a Work was cast up, and at a Mill upon the River of *Kenet*; all which lay almost East from the Town Directly North from thence were two open Fields, whose most of the Horse stood with the Train of Artillery, and some half a mile West, was the Village of *Speen*; and beyond it a small Heath. In this Village lay all *Prince Maurice's* Foot, and some Horse, and at the Entrance of the Heath a Work was cast up, which clear'd the Heath. In this posture they had many Skirmishes with the Enemy for two days, without losing any ground; and the Enemy was still beaten off with loss.

On *Sunday Morning*, the seven and twentieth of *October*, by the break of day, one thousand of the *Earl of Manchester's* Army, with the Train-bands of *London*, came down the Hill; and pass'd the River that way by *Shaw*; and, unexpect'd, forc'd that Guard which should have kept the Pass near the House; that was entrenched where *St. Bernard's* Abbey lay; who instantly, with a good Body of Musqueteers, fell upon the Enemy; and not only Routed them, but compell'd them to Rout two other Bodies of their own Men, who were coming to second them. In this pursuit very many of the Enemy were slain, and many drown'd in the River, and about two hundred Armes taken. There continued, all that day, very warm Skirmishes in several parts; the Enemies Army having almost encompass'd the King's; and with much more loss to them, than to the King; till, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, *Waller* with his own, and the Foot which had been under *Essex*, fell upon the Quarter at *Speen*, and

and pass'd the River; which was not well defended by the Officer who was appointed to guard it with Horse and Foot, very many of them being gone off from their Guards, as never imagining that they would, at that time of day, have attempt'd a Quarter that was thought the forefront of all. But having thus got the River, they march'd in good Order, with very great Bodies of Foot, winged with Horse, towards the Heath; from whence the Horse which were left there, with too little resistance, retir'd; being in truth much overpowered; by reason the Major part of them, upon confidence of security of the Pass, were gone to provide Forage for their Horse.

By this means, the Enemy possess'd themselves of the Ordnance which had been plant'd there; and of the Village of *Speen*; the Foot which were there, retir'd to the Hedge next the large Field between *Speen* and *Newbury*, which they made good: at the same time, the right Wing of the Enemies Horse advanced under the Hill of *Speen*, with one hundred Musqueteers in the Van, and came into the open Field, where a good Body of the King's Horse stood; which at first receiv'd them in some disorder; but the *Queen's* Regiment of Horse, commanded by *St. John Cantfield*, charged them with so much Gallantry, that he routed that great Body, which then fled; and he had the execution of them near half a mile; wherein most of the Musqueteers were slain, and very many of the Horse; inasmuch that that whole Wing rallied not again that night. The King was at that time with the *Prince*, and many of the *Lords*, and other his *Sevants*, in the middle of that Field; and could not, by his own Presence, restrain those Horse which at the first approach of the Enemy were in that disorder, from shamefully giving Ground. So that if *St. John Cantfield* had not, in that Article of Time, given them that back Charge, by which other Troops were ready to charge them in the Flank, the King himself had been in very great danger.

At the same time, the left Wing of the Enemies Horse advanced towards the North-side of the great Field; but before they got thither, *Goring* with the *Earl of Cleveland's* Brigade, Charg'd them so vigorously, that he forc'd them back in great confusion over a Hedge; and following them, was Charg'd by another fresh Body; which he defeated likewise, and slew very many of the Enemy upon the place; having not only Routed and beat on them off their ground, but secur'd the Shot of three Bodies of their Foot in their pursuit, and in their retreat, with no considerable damage, save that the *Earl of Cleveland's* Horse falling under him, he was taken Prisoner; which was an extraordinary loss. Whilst this was doing on that side, twelve hundred Horse, and three thousand

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Foot of those under the Earl of *Mansfeffer*, advanced with great Resolution upon *Sham-House*, and the Field adjacent; which quarter was defended by *Sir Trank Aitley*, and Colonel *George Liffe*; and the House, by Lieutenant Colonel *Page*. They came linging of Pikes; and, at first, drove forty Musketeers from a Heidge, who were placed there to stop them; but they were presently Charg'd by *Sir John Brown* with the Prince's Regiment of Horse; who did good execution upon them, till he saw another Body of their Horse ready to Charge him, which made him retire to the Foot in *Mr Doleman's* Garden, which flank'd that Field, and give fire upon those Horse, whereof very many fell; and the Horse thereupon Wheeling about, *Sir John Brown* fell upon their Rear, kill'd many, and kept that Ground all the day; when the Relieve of Foot, Comanded by Colonel *Thelwell*, gall'd their Foot with several Volleys; and then fell on them with the But-ends of their Muskets, till they had not only beaten them from the Hedges, but quite out of the Field; leaving two Drakes, some Colours, and many dead Bodies behind them. At this time, a great Body of their Foot attempted *Mr Doleman's* House; but were to well entertain'd by Lieutenant Colonel *Page*, that after they had made their first shot, they were forced to retire in such Confusion, that he pursued them from the House with a notable Execution; and infom'd that they left five hundred dead upon a little spot of ground; and they drew off the two Drakes out of the Field to the House, the Enemy being beaten off, and retired from all that Quarter.

It was now night; for which neither Party was sorry; and the King, who had been on that side where the Enemy only had prevail'd, thought that his Army had suffer'd little in all other places. He saw they were entirely possid'd of *Speen*, and had taken all the Ordnance which had been left there; whereby it would be easy for them, before the next Morning, to have compass'd him round; towards which they might have gone far, if they had found themselves in a condition to have pursued their fortune.

HEREUPON, as soon as it was night, his Majesty, with the Prince, and those Lords who had been about him all the day, and his Regiment of Guards, retired into the Fields under *Downington* Castle, and resolv'd to prosecute the resolution that was taken in the morning, when they saw the great Advantage the Enemy had in numbers, with which he was like to be encompass'd, if his Forces were beaten from either of the Posts. This resolution was, "to march away in the Night towards *Wallingford*"; and to that purpose, all the Carriages, and great Ordnance, had been that Morning drawn

under *Downington*-Castle; so he sent Orders to all the Officers, to draw off their Mento the same Piece; and receiving Intelligence at that time that *Prince Rupert* was come, or would be that night at *Earls*, that he might make no Hay there, but presently be able to joyn with his Army, his Majesty himself, with the Prince, and about three hundred Horse, made halt thither; and found *Prince Rupert* there; and thence made what halt they could back towards *Oxford*. The truth is, the King's Army was not in to fill a condition, as the King conceiv'd it to have been: that Party which were in the Field near *Speen*, kept their ground very resolutely; and although it was a fair Moon-shine night, the Enemy, that was very near them, and much Superior in Number, thought not fit to assault or disturb them. That part of the Enemy that had been so roughly treated at *Sham*, having receiv'd Succour of a strong Body of Horse, resolv'd once more to make an attempt upon the Foot there; but they were beaten off as before; though they stood not well enough to receive an equal hit, but retired to their Hill, where they stood still. This was the last Action between the Armies; for about ten of the Clock at night, all the Army, Horse, Foot, and Cannon, upon the King's Orders, drew forth their several Guards to the Heath about *Downington* Castle, in which they left most of their wounded Men, with all their Ordnance, Ammunition, and Carriages; then *Prince Maurice*, and the other Officers, march'd in good Order away to *Wallingford*, committing the bringing up the Rear to *Sir Humphrey Bennet* (who had behaved himself very Signally that day) who with his Brigade of Horse march'd behind, and receiv'd not the least disturbance from the Enemy; who, in so light a Night, could not but know of the Retreat, and were well enough pleas'd to be rid of an Enemy that had handled them so ill. By the Morning, all the Army, Foot as well as Horse, arriv'd at *Wallingford*; where having Retire'd a little, they march'd to *Oxford*, without seeing any Party of the Enemy that look'd after them.

MANY made a Question which Party had the better of the Day; and neither was well enough frim'd with their Success. There could be no question there were very many more kill'd of the Enemy, than of the King's Army; whereof were missing, only *Sir William St Leger*, Lieutenant Colonel to the Duke's Regiment of Foot; Lieutenant Colonel *Tipping*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Leake*, both Officers of Horse, who were all there slain, with not above one hundred Common Soldiers, in all places. The Earl of *Brentford*, General of the Army, was wounded on the head; *Sir John Casfield*, *Sir John Greenwell*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Page*, were wounded;

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but all recover'd. The officers of the Enemies side were never talk'd of, being for the most part, of no better Families than the Common Soldiers. But it was reasonably computed, by those who saw the Action in all places, that there could not be so few as one thousand dead upon the place: yet because the King's Army quitted the Field, and march'd away in the Night, the other side thought themselves Masters; and the Parliament celebrated their Victory with their usual Triumphs; though, within few days after, they discern'd that they had little reason for it. They came to know, by what accident was not imagin'd, that the Earl of *Brentford* remain'd that night in the Castle, by reason of the hurt in his Head, and so sent Colonel *Urry* to him to persuade him to give up the Castle, and to make him other large Offers; all which the General rejected with the Indignation that became him. No more shall be said of the Colonel, because, after all his tergiversations, he chose at last to lose his Life for, and in the King's Service; which ought to expiate for all his transgressions, and preserve his memory from all unkind Reflections.

THE next day, when they knew that the King's Army was retired, and not till then, they made halt to possess themselves of *Newbury*; and then drew up their whole Army before *Dunnington* Castle, and firman'd the Governour "to deliver it to them, or else they would not leave one Stone upon another. To which the Governour made no other reply, than "that he was not bound to repair it; but however it "would, by God's help, keep the ground afterwards: seeing his obstinacy, they offer'd him "to march away with the "Armes, and all things belonging to the Garrison; and, when that moved not, "that he should carry all the Cannon, and "Ammunition with him; to all which he Answer'd, "that he wonder'd they would not be satisfied with so many An- "swers that he had sent, and desired them "to be assured, "that he would not go out of the Castle, till the King sent "him Order so to do. Offended with these high Answers, they resolv'd to Assault it; but the Officer who commanded the Party, being kill'd with some few of the Soldiers, they retired; and never after made any attempt upon it; but remain'd quietly at *Newbury* in great Faction among themselves; every Man taking upon himself to find fault, and censure what had been done, and had been left undone, in the whole day's Service.

THE King met Prince *Rupert*, as he expected, with Colonel *Gerrard*, and Sr *Almaruke Langdale*; and made all the halt he could to join those Forces with his own Army, that he might march back to *Newbury*, and disengage his Cannon,

Cannon, and Carriages. By the way he met the Earl of *Norhampton*, and those Regiments which had Reliev'd *Banbury*; and having with marvellous Expedition caus'd a new Train of Artillery to be form'd, he brought his Army again to a Rendezvous on *Balington-Green*; where, with the Addition of those Forces, and some Foot, which he drew out of *Oxford*, under the Command of Colonel *Gage*, it appear'd to be full six thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse; with which he march'd to *Wallingford*; and within a day more than a Week after he had left *Dunnington* Castle, found himself there again in so good a posture, that he resolv'd not to decline Fighting with the Enemy; but would be first possess'd of his Cannon, and put some Provision into the Castle; which he accomplish'd without any opposition.

THE Enemies Army lay still at *Newbury*, perplexed with the Divisions and Factions among their own Officers, without any notice of the King's advance, till a Quarter of their Horse was beaten up. The next Morning, the King put his Army into Battail; Prince *Rupert*, who was now declared General, led the Van; and got possession of the Heath, on the back side of the Castle; from which a small Party might have kept him, the entrance into it being very deep, and the way narrower. On that Heath, the King's Army was drawn up about Noon, every one being prepared to Fight; and none of the Enemy appearing, they march'd by the Castle over the River by a Mill, and two Fords below it, without any opposition; and thence drew into the large Field between *Spens* and *Newbury*; which was thought a good place to expect the Enemy; who, in the mean time, had drawn a great body of their Horse and Foot into the other Field toward *Wey*, and had made Breast-works and Batteries on the back side of *Newbury*; which Town they resolv'd to keep, and stand upon the defensive, as the King had done before; presuming, that they now having the warmer Lodging, might better attack the King after his Men had lain a night or two in the Fields; it being now the Month of *November*, but fair for that Season. Some light Skirmishes pass'd between the Horse, but when the King saw upon what disadvantages he must force them to Fight, he call'd his Council together; who were unanimous in opinion, "that since he had Reliev'd the Castle, "and put sufficient Provisions into it, and that it was in his "power to draw off his Ordnance and Ammunition from it; "therefore, he had done his business; and if any Honour had "been lost the other day, it was regain'd now, by his having "pass'd his Army over the River in the face of Theirs, and "offer'd them Battle; which they durst not accept. Upon which the King resolv'd to attempt them no farther, but gave

Orders to retire in their view, with Drums Beating and Trumpets Sounding, the same way he came over the River. So the King lay that night at *Downington* Castle, and all the Army about him.

THE King had not yet done all he meant to do, before he took up his Winter Quarters; and was willing, that the Enemy should have an opportunity to Fight with him, if they desired it: And therefore, on the *Sunday* morning the tenth of *November*, his Majesty marched with all his Cannon and Ammunition over the Heath from *Downington*, over a fair Campaign, to *Lambourne*; in which march, some of the Enemies Horse attempted his Rear, but were repul'd with loss; many being slain, and some taken Prisoners. There the King Quarter'd that night, and the next day, to refresh his Men, for the ill Lodging they had endured at *Downington*; having first some Persons of great Reputation and Interest to *Marlborough*, to make large provisions for Him, and his Army. And then, since he heard the Enemy lay still at *Newbury*, he marched to *Marlborough*; where he found all things to his wish. His heart was set upon the relief of *Basing*, which was now again distress'd; the Enemy having, as he said before, begirt it closely from the time that *Gage* had reliev'd it. He had a great mind to do it with his whole Army; that thereby he might draw the Enemy to a Battle; but, upon full Debate, it was concluded, that the safest way would be to do it by a strong Party; that one thousand Horse should be drawn out, every one of which should carry before him a Bag of Corn, or other Provisions, and march so as to be at *Basing* Houfe the next morning after they parted from the Army; and then every Trooper was to cut down his Bag, and to make their retreat as well as they might: And Colonel *Gage*, who had so good success before, was appointed to Command this Party; which he cheerfully undertook to do. The better to effect it, *Hungerford* was thought the fitter place to Quarter with the Army, and from thence to dispatch that Party: so his Majesty march'd back to *Hungerford*, which was half way to *Newbury*: the Enemy was in mean time march'd from thence to *Basing*; which, they thought, would, upon the fight of their whole Army, presently have yielded; but finding the Mischance still obstinate to defend it, they were weary of the Winter War, and foretook all their force from thence, and quitted the Siege the very day before *Gage* came thither: so that he easily deliver'd his Provisions, and retired to the King without any inconvenience. His Majesty then march'd to *Farrington*, with some hope to have surpris'd *Abingdon* in his way; but he found it too well provided; and so after he had consider'd where to Quarter his Horse, which had formerly had their

head Quarter at *Abingdon*, and those places which were now under the power of that Governour, he return'd to *Oxford*; *The King* where he arriv'd to the universal Joy, on the three and twentieth of *November*; a Season of the year fit for all the Troops to be in their Winter Quarters.

THE King was exceedingly pleas'd to find how much the Fortifications there had been advanced by the care and diligence of the Lords; and was very gracious in his acknowledgement of it to them. And the Governour *St. Arthur Aston*, having, some Months before, in the Managing his Horse in the Fields, caus'd him to fall, had in the fall broken his own Leg, and, shortly after, been compell'd to cut it off; so that, if he recover'd at all, which was very doubtful, he could not be fit for any active Service; his Majesty resolv'd to comit that Governour upon another. Of which resolution, with all the circumstances of grace and favour, and sending him a Warrant for one thousand pounds a year Pension for his Life, he gave him notice; and then, to the most general satisfaction of all Men, he comit'd that Governour upon Colonel *Gage*; whom he had before Knighted. *St. Arthur Aston* was so much displeas'd with his Successor, that he brought the King to comit that Charge upon any other Person; and when he found that his Majesty would not change his purpose, he sent to some Lords to come to him, who he thought were most Zealous in Religion, and desired them to tell the King from him, that though he was himself a Roman Catholic, he had been very careful to give no scandal to his Majesty's Protestant Subjects; and could not but inform him, that *Gage* was the most Jesuited Papist alive; that he had a Jesuit who liv'd with him; and that he was present at all the Sermons among the Catholics; which he believ'd would be very much to his Majesty's disservice. So much his Passion and Animosity over-ruled his Conscience.

THE King lik'd the choice he had made; and only advis'd the new Governour, by one of his Friends, to have so much discretion in his Carriage, that there might be no notice taken of the Exercise of his Religion; to which animadversion he Answer'd, that he never had dissembled his Religion, nor ever would; but that he had been so wary in the Exercise of it, that he knew there could be no Wrince produced, who had ever seen him at Mass in *Oxford*; though he heard Mass every day; and that he had never been but once at a Sermon; which was at the Lodging of *St. Arthur's* Daughter; to which he had been invited with great importunity; and believ'd now that it was to entrap him. But the poor Gentleman enjoy'd the Office very little time; for within a Month, or thereabout, making an attempt to break

down *Culham* Bridge near *Abingdon*, where he intended to erect a Royal Fort, that should have kept that Garrison from that side of the Country; he was thro' through the Heart with a Musquet Bullet. Prince *Rupert* was present at the Action, having approv'd, and been much pleas'd with the defence; which was never pursu'd after his death: and in truth the King sustain'd a wonderful loss in his death; he being a Man of great wisdom and temper; and one among the very few Soldiers, who made himself to be Universally lov'd and esteem'd.

THIS was the King's Condition was now much better, than, in the beginning of the Summer, he had reason to expect (he had broken, and defeat two Armies of the Parliament, and return'd into his Winter Quarter with advantage, and rather with an increase than diminution of his Forces) yet his necessities were still the same, and the Fountains dry'd up from whence he might expect Relief; his Quarters flooden'd, and leav'd by the loss of the whole North: for after the Battle of *Tork*, the *Scotts* return'd to Reduce *New-castle*; which they had already stor'd; and all other Garrisons which had held out for the King; and when that Work should be thoroughly and sufficiently done, it must be expected that Army should again move South-ward, and take such other Places, as the Parliament should not be at leisure to look after themselves.

The Tempe
rature
of the Army,
and Court at
this time.

THIS King's Army was less united than ever; the old General was set aside, and Prince *Rupert* put into the Command, which was no Popular Change: for the other was known to be an Officer of great Experience, and had committed no overthrows in his Conduct; was willing to hear every thing Debated, and always concurr'd with the most reasonable Opinion; and though he was not of many words, and was not quick in hearing, yet upon any Action he was sprightly, and Commanded well. The Prince was Rough, and Passionate, and lov'd not Debate; liked what was propos'd, as he liked the Persons who propos'd it; and was to great an Enemy to *Digby* and *Colpepper*, who were only present in Debates of the War with the Officers, that he cross'd all they propos'd. The truth is, all the Army had been oppos'd, from the first raising it, to a Neglect and Contempt of the Council; and the King himself had not been solicitous enough to preserve the Respect due to it; in which he lessen'd his own Dignity.

GORING, who was now General of the Horse, was no more gracious to Prince *Rupert*, than *Wilmot* had been; had all the other's faults, and wanted his regularity, and preserving his respect with the Officers. *Wilmot* lov'd Debauchery, but thrust it out from his business; never neglected that, and rarely miscarried

in carrying it. *Goring* had a much better Understanding, and a sharper Wit (except in the very exercise of Debauchery, and then the other was inspir'd) a much keener Courage, and preference of Mind in danger: *Wilmot* discern'd it farther off, and because he could not believe himself so well in it, commonly prevenu'd, or warily declin'd it; and never drank when he was within distance of an Enemy: *Goring* was not able to resist the Temptation, when he was in the middle of them, nor would decline it to obtain a Victory; as, in one of these fits, he had suffer'd the Horse to escape out of *Corwall*, and the most signal Misfortunes of his life in War, had their rise from that uncontrollable Licence. Neither of them valued their promises, professions, or friendships, according to any Rules of Honour, or Integrity; but *Wilmot* violat'd them the less willingly, and never but for some great benefit, or convenience to himself; *Goring* without scruple, out of Humour, or for Wit's sake; and lov'd no Man to well, but that he would cozen him, and then expose him to Publick Blame for having been cozen'd: therefore he had always fewer Friends than the other, but more Company; for no Man had a Wit that pleas'd the Company better. The Ambition of both was unlimited, and so equally incapable of being contented; and both unrestrain'd by any respect to good Nature or justice, from pursuing the satisfaction thereof: yet *Wilmot* had more Scruples from Religion to startle him, and would not have attain'd his end by any gross, or foul Act of wickedness; *Goring* could have pass'd through those pleasantly; and would, without hesitation, have broken any Trust, or done any Act of Treachery to have satiated an ordinary passion, or appetite; and in truth, wanted nothing but Industry (for he had Wit, and Courage, and Understanding, and Ambition, uncontroll'd by any fear of God, or Man) to have been diligent, and successful in the highest attempt of wickedness, as any Man in the Age he liv'd in, or before. Of all his Qualifications, Dissimulation was his Master-piece; in which he so much excell'd, that Men were not ordinarily sham'd, or out of countenance, with being deceiv'd but twice by him.

THE Court was not much better dispos'd than the Army; they who had no Preferment, were angry with those who had; and thought they had not deserv'd so well as themselves: They who were envid, found no satisfaction or delight in what they were envid for; being poor and necessitous, and had the more sensible of their being so, by the Titles they had receiv'd upon their own violent Impunity. So that the King was without any joy in the Favours he had confer'd, and yet was not the less solicitous to grant more to others of
the

the same kind; who, he foresaw, would be no better pleas'd than the rest: and the pleasing one Man this way, displeas'd one hundred; as his Creating the Lord *Chopper* at this time, and making him a Baron (who in truth had serv'd him with great Abilities; and, though he did imprudently in desisting, did deserve it) did much dissatisfy both the Court, and the Army; to neither of which he was in any degree gracious, by his having no Ornament of Education, to make Men the more propitious to his parts of Nature; and dispos'd many others to be very importunate to receive the same Obligation.

THERE had been another Council enter'd upon, and concluded with great Deliberation and Wildom, which turn'd at this time to his Majesty's disadvantage; which was the Cession in *Ireland*, enter'd into, as hath been said before, with all the reason imaginable, and in hope, to have made a good Peace there, and so to have had the Power of that united Kingdom, to have assist'd to the suppressing the Rebellion in this. But now, as all the Supplies he had receiv'd from thence upon the Cession, had been already destroy'd without any benefit to the King, for his Majesty found, that he should not be able to make a Peace there; and then the Government there would be in the worse condition by being depriv'd of so many good Officers, and Soldiers, upon the conclusion of the Cession. There had been Commissioners from that time sent over to the King from the Confederate Roman Catholics, to treat a Peace; the Lord Lieutenant, and Council, had sent likewise Commissioners to inform the King of all things necessary to be consider'd in the Treaty; and the Parliament which was then sitting in *Ireland*, had sent likewise Commissioners, in the Name of the Protestants in that Kingdom, to prevent the making any Peace; and with a Petition to dissolve the Cession that had been made.

Propositions from *Ireland*, receiv'd by the King.

THE Commissioners from the Confederate Roman Catholics, demanded "the Abrogation, and Repeal of all those Laws, which were in force against the Exercise of the Roman Religion: That the Lieutenant, or Chief Governour, should be a Roman Catholic; and that there should be no distinction made, whereby those of that Religion should not be capable of any Preference in the Kingdom, as well as the Protestants; together with the Repeal of several Laws, which that Nation thought to have been made in their prejudice."

THE Commissioners from the State (whereof some were of the Privy Council) propos'd "that they desired a Peace might be made; but propos'd in order, as they said, to the disunity of the Kingdom, "that all the *Irish* might be dis-

arm'd; and such among them, as had been most signal and barbarous in the Missives in the beginning of the Rebellion, might be excepted from Pardon, and prosecuted with the utmost rigour of Law: That the Laws might be put in Execution against all Roman Catholics, and especially against all Jesuits, Priests, and Fryars; and that they might be oblig'd to pay all the Damages which had been sustain'd by the War.

THE Commissioners from the Protestants demanded, "that the Cession might be dissolv'd, and the War carried on with the utmost Rigour, according to the Act of Parliament that had been made in the beginning of the Rebellion; and that no Peace might be made on any Conditions."

THE King demand'd of the *Irish*, "whether they believ'd it could be in his Power, if it were agreeable to his Conscience, to grant them their Demands? and whether he must not thereby purchase *Ireland* with the loss of *England* and *Scotland*? There were among them some sober Men, who confess'd "that as his Majesty's Affairs then stood, they believ'd he could not grant it; and they hoped, that their General Assembly would, when they should be inform'd of the truth of his Majesty's Condition, which was not known to them, be perswaded to depart from some of their Demands; but that, for the present, they had not Authority to proceed from any one Proposition."

THE King then asked the Commissioners who had been sent over by the Marquis of *Ormonde*, Lieutenant of the Kingdom, "which Forces they thought to be the stronger, the King's Army, or that of the Rebels; they confess'd "the Rebels to be much superior in Power, and that they were possess'd of more than three parts of the Kingdom. The King then asked them, "whether they thought it probable, "that they found themselves to be the stronger, that the Rebels would be perswaded to yield to so disadvantageous terms, as they propos'd, and to be so wholly at the Mercy of those whom they had so much provok'd? and if they could be so dispos'd, whether they believ'd that they were able, though they should be willing, to sell all they have in *Ireland* to pay the Damages which had been sustain'd by the War? The Commissioners acknowledged, "that they thought the last impossible; and that there might be a mitigation in that particular; but for the former, they durst not advise his Majesty to recede at all; for that there could be no other security for the Protestants in that Kingdom, but by leaving the *Irish* without any capacity, or ability to Trouble them: for their perfidiousness was such, that they could

could not be trusted; and therefore they must be put into such a Condition, by being totally Disarm'd, that they should not be able to do any Mischief; or that all the Protestants must leave the Kingdom to the entire possession of the *Irish*; and whether that would be for his Majesty's Service and Security, they must refer to his own Wisdom.

The King then sent for the Commissioners from the Parliament, on the behalf of the Protestants, and asked them, whether they were ready, if the Cessation were expired, to renew the War, and to prosecute it hopefully, to the Reduction or Suppression of the *Irish*? They answer'd very clearly, that in the State they were in, they could not carry on the War, or defend themselves against the *Irish*, who were much Superior to them in Power; but if his Majesty would recruit his Army, and send over Money, and Arms, and Ammunition, with Shipping, they made no doubt, but with God's blessing, they should be able shortly to reduce them, and drive them out of the Kingdom. The King then asked them, whether they did in truth think, that his Majesty was able to send them such Supplies as they stood in need of; or whether they did not, in their Conscience, know, that he was not able to send them any part of it, and stood in want of all for his own Support? They answer'd, that they hoped he would make a Peace with the Parliament, and would then be able to send over such Assistance to Ireland, as would quickly settle that Kingdom.

But after all these discourses, his Majesty prevail'd not with any of them to depart from the most unreasonable of all their Demands; whereupon he dismissed them; and told the *Irish*, that it had been in their Power so far to have oblig'd him, that he might hereafter have thought himself bound to have granted them in some particulars, which were not now reasonable to have been done; but they would repent this their senseless perverseness, when it would be too late, and when they found themselves under a Power that would drive them, and make them cease to be a Nation.

So they all left *Oxford*, and his Majesty, notwithstanding all this Resolution, not to depart from any thing, that might in any degree be prejudicial to the Protestant Interest in that Kingdom, found that he suffer'd under no reproach more in England, than by having made that Cessation: to wonderfully unreasonable was the generality of the Nation then by the absurd imputation of his Majesty's favouring the *Irish*.

His freights in which the King now was, brought him to some reflections he had never made before; and the considerations of what might probably be the event of the next Summer, dispos'd him to Inclinations which were very contrary to what he

he had ever before entertain'd. His three younger Children were taken from the Governem't in whose hands he had put them, and were not only in the Parliament Charters, but expressly by their Overt, put into the Custody of One in whom the King could have the less confidence, because it was One in whom the Parliament confided so much. He had with him the Prince, and the Duke of *York*, both young; and he had no resolution more fix'd in him, than that the Prince should never be absent from him; which, as hath been touch'd before, made him less consider what Governour, or Servants he put about him; relolving to form his Manners by his own Model. But now he began to say, that himself and the Prince were too much to venture in one bottom; and that it was now time to unbovy him, by putting him into some action and acquaintance with business, out of his own sight: but communicated their thoughts only with the Lord *Digby*, the Lord *Colpepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and was thought to confer more with the Lord *Colpepper* upon the Subject, than with either of the other; but had some particular thoughts upon which he then conferr'd with no body. There was but one Province in which the Prince could reside, after he was sever'd from the King; and that was the *Irish*; which was yet in a worse condition than it had been by the Rebels being possess'd of *Tannton*, one of the chief Towns in *Somersetshire*; and though it was an open, and unfortified place, it was very strong against the King in the natural disposition of the Inhabitants, which were very numerous; and all the places adjacent of the same Ill Principles; and *Waller* had already sent some Troops thither to confirm them in their Rebellious Inclinations, and had himself a resolution (specially to go thither, with a Body sufficient to form an Army for the reduction of the *Welsh*: nor was the design improbable to succeed; for the reputation of the *Scotts Army*, upon the recovery of all the North, had shaken and terrified all the Kingdom; and the King's Army was the last Enemy the *Welsh* had been acquainted with, and had left no good Name behind it.

To prevent this mischief, *Goring* (who had now made a full friendship with the Lord *Digby*, either of them believing he could deceive the other, and to wish equal passion embracing the Engagement.) was sent with some Troops to *Salisbury*, from whence he might easily prevent any motion of *Waller*; without which, *Tannton* would be in a short time reduced by the Garrisons the King had in the Country: so that his alteration rather confirm'd, than diveders his Majesty, in his thoughts of sending the Prince thither; and he began to publish his purpose, and named Councillors to be with his Highness,

A Council
held for
the Prince
of Wales.

Hignefs, by whose Advice all things should be done; his Majesty's purpose being, in truth, only at that time that the Prince should go no farther West than *Briftol*; and that there might no jealousies arise from this Action (which every Body knew was to far from the King's former purpose; and it might be imagin'd, that his Hignefs would be sent to the Queen his Mother into *France*; which many unreasonably apprehended) the King declared what Council he intended should be about his Son; and the Reputation of whom, he thought, would allay all jealousies of that kind. He named the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Lord *Copel*, the Lord *Hopton*, the Lord *Chilpepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and appointed them to meet frequently at the Prince's Lodging, to consider with his Hignefs, what preparations should be made for his Journey, and in what manner his Family should be established. There was one Person more, who of necessity was to wait on the Prince, the Earl of *Berkshire*, his Governour; and then his Majesty found, what wrong Measures he had taken in conferring that Trust; and lamented his own error to those he trusted; but knew not how to prevent the Inconveniencies that might ensue, unless by applying two remedies, which were not seasonal, and might have been productive of great Inconveniencies. The one was, to lessen the Prince's Reverence, and Esteem for his Governour; which was very sufficiently provided for. The other, to leave the Governour without any more Authority, than every one of the Council had; and as much less, as the Prince had a better esteem of every one of them, than he had of Him: and so left him without a Governour, which would have been a little better, if he had been without the Earl of *Berkshire* too.

Division
might arise
at West-
minster.

WHEN the King was in this Melancholic posture, it was a great refreshment, and some advantage to him, to hear that the disorder the Parliament was in, was Superior to His Majesty's Cause of all the Distractions in his Court, or Army, proceeded from the extreme poverty and necessity his Majesty was in; and a very moderate supply of Money would, in a Moment, have extinguished all those distempers. But all the Wealth of the Kingdom, for they were well nigh possessed of all, could not prevent the same, and greater distractions and emulations, from breaking into the whole Government of the Parliament: for all the personal Animosities imaginable broke out in their Councils, and in their Armies; and the House of Peers found themselves, upon the matter, excluded from all power, or credit, when they did not concur in all the demands which were made by the Commons.

THAT violent Party, which had at first seiz'd the rest

into the War, and afterwards obstructed all the Approaches towards *Pence*, found now that they had finished as much of their work, as the tools which they had wrought with, could be applied to; and what remain'd to be done, must be dispatched by new Workmen. They had been long unacquainted with the Earl of *Essex*, and He as much with Them; both being more sollicitous to suppress the other, than to destroy the King. They bore the loss and discourour he had sustain'd as *Criminal*, very well; and would have been glad, that both He and his Army had been quite cut off, instead of being diffus'd; for most of his Officers and Soldiers, were corrupted in their Affections towards them; and desired nothing but Peace: so that they resolv'd never more to trust, or employ any of them. But that which troubled them more, was, that their beloved Earl of *Manchester*, upon whom they depended as a safe Friend, by whom they might infensibly have divert'd the Earl of *Essex* of all inconvenient Authority in the Army, appear'd now as unapplicable to their purposes as the other; and there was a breach fallen out between Him and *Oliver Cromwell*, which was irreconcilable, and had brought five Councils upon the Stage, before they were ripe.

Cromwell accus'd the Earl of *Manchester*, of having betray'd the Parliament out of Cowardice; for that he might, at the King's last being at *Newbury*, when he drew off his Cannon, very easily have Defeated his whole Army, if he would have permitted it to have been engag'd: that he went to him, and bestow'd him evidently how it might be done; and desired him that he would give him leave, with his own Brigade of Horse, to Charge the King's Army in their Retreat; and the Earl, with the rest of his Army, might look on, and do as he should think fit; but that the Earl had, notwithstanding all importunity used by him and other Officers, positively and obstinately refused to permit him; giving no other reason, but that, he said, if they did engage, and overthrow the King's Army, the King would always have another Army to keep up the War; but if that Army which he Commanded, should be overthrow'n, before the other under the Earl of *Essex* should be reinforced, there would be an end of their pretences; and they should be all Rebels, and Traitors, and executed and forfeited by the Law.

THIS pronouncement what the Law would do against them, was very heavily taken by the Parliament, as if the Earl bestow'd the Law to be against them, after so many Declarations made by them, that the Law was on their side, and that the King's Armies were taken up against the Law. The Earl confest, he had used words to that effect, that they should

“ should be treated as Traitors, if their Army was Defeated, “ when he did not approve the advice that was given by the “ Lieutenant General; which would have exposed the Army “ to greater hazard, than he thought reasonable in that Con- “ juncture, in the middle of the Winter, to expose it to “ He then recominced *Cromwell*, “ that at another time, *Crom- “ well* discoursing freely with him of the State of the King “ dom, and proposing somewhat to be done, the Earl had An- “ swer’d, “ that the Parliament would never approve it; to which *Cromwell* presently replied, “ My Lord, if you will “ stick firm to honest Men, you shall find your self in the “ head of an Army that shall give the Law to King and Par- “ liament; which discourse, he said, made great impression “ in him; for he knew the Lieutenant General to be a Man “ of very deep designs; and therefore he was the more care- “ ful to preserve an Army, which he yet thought was very “ faithful to the Parliament.

“ It is a discourse flattered those who had always an aversion “ to *Cromwell*, and had observ’d the fierceness of his Nature, “ and the Language he commonly used when there was any “ mention of Peace; so that they desired that this matter might “ be thoroughly examin’d, and brought to judgement. But the “ other side put all obstructions in the way, and rather chose “ to lose the advantage they had against the Earl of *Manchester*, “ than to have the other matter examin’d; which would un- “ doubtedly have made some discoveries they were not yet ready “ to produce. However the Animosities encreas’d, and the “ Parties appear’d barefaced against each other; which augment- “ ed the distractions, and divided the City as well as the “ Parliament; and new opinions started up in Religion; which “ made more subdivisions; and new terms and distinctions were “ brought into discourse; and *Fanaticks* were now first brought “ into appellation: which kind of confusions exceedingly dis- “ tinguish’d Men of any sober understanding, to wilst for Peace; “ though none knew how to bring the mention of it into the “ Parliament.

“ The *Scottish* Commissioners were as jealous, and as un- “ satisfied as any other Party; and found, since the Battle of *Jew*, “ neither their Army, nor themselves so much consider’d, as “ before; nor conditions perform’d towards them with any par- “ tiality. They had long had jealousy of *Cromwell*, and *Sir “ Henry Vane*, and all that Party; which they saw encreas’d “ every day; and grew powerful in the Parliament, in the “ Council, and in the City. Their sacred Vow and Covenant “ was mention’d with less reverence, and respect, and the Inde- “ pendants, which comprehended many Sects in Religion, “ spake publicly against it; of which Party *Cromwell* and *Vane* “ were

were the Leaders; with very many of their Clergy Men, who “ were the most Popular Preachers, and in the Assembly of Divi- “ ners had great Authority; so that the *Scotts* plainly perceiv’d, “ that though they had gone as far towards the dissolution of “ the Church of *England*, as they desired, they should never be “ able to Establish their Presbyterian Government; without “ which they should lose all their Credit in their own Country, “ as all their Interest in *England*. They discern’d likewise, “ that there was a purpose, if that Party prevail’d, to change “ the whole Frame of the Government, as well Civil as Eccle- “ siastical, and to reduce the Monarchy to a Republick; which “ was as far from the end and purpose of that Nation, as to re- “ fuse Episcopacy. So that they saw no way to prevent the “ Mischief and Confusion that would fall out, but by a Peace; “ which they began heartily to wish, and to conspire with those “ of that Party which most desired to bring it to pass; but how “ to set a Treaty on foot, they knew not.

“ The House of Peers, three or four Men excepted, with’d “ it; but had no power to compais it. In the House of Com- “ mons, there were enough who would have been very glad of “ it, but had not the Courage to propose it. They who had “ an inward aversion from it, and were resolv’d to prevent it “ by all possible means, wrought upon many of the other to “ believe, “ that they would except of a Proposition for a Treaty, “ if the King desired it; but that it would be dishonourable, “ and of very pernicious consequence to the Nation, if the “ Parliament first propos’d it. So that it seem’d evident, “ that if any of the Party which did in truth desire Peace, should “ propose it to the Parliament, it would be rejected; and re- “ jected upon the point of Honour, by many of those who in “ their hearts pray’d for it.

“ They tried their old Friends of the City, who had serv’d “ them Turns to often, and set some of them to get hands to a “ Petition, by which the Parliament should be mov’d, “ to send “ to the King to Treat of Peace. But that design was no “ sooner known, but others of an opposite Party were appointed “ to set a counter Petition on foot, by which they thought “ claim any Consent to, or Approbation of the other Petition; “ not that they did not desire Peace, as much as their Neigh- “ bours (no body was yet arriv’d at the impudence to pro- “ pose against Peace) “ but that they would not presume to move “ the Parliament in it, because they knew their wisdom “ knew best the way to obtain it, and would do what was “ necessary and fit towards it; to which they wholly left it.

“ This Petition found more Countenance among the Mag- “ istrates, the Mayors, and Aldermen; *Sir Henry Vane* having “ diligently provided, that Men of his own Principles and In- “ Vol. II. Part 2. O o citizens,

clinations, should be brought into the Government of the City; of which he saw they should always have great need, even in order to keep the Parliament well disposed. So that they who did in truth desire any reasonable Peace, found the way to it so difficult, and that it was impossible to prevail with the two Houses to propose it to the King; that they relolv'd, "it could only rise from his Majesty; and to this purpose they should all labour with their several Friends at *Oxford*, to incline the King to send a Message to the Parliament, to offer a Treaty of Peace in any place where they should appoint; and then they would all run the utmost hazard before it should be rejected.

This Independent Party (for under that Style and Appellation they now acted, and own'd themselves) which fear'd and abhorr'd all Motions towards Peace, were in as great straits as the other, how to carry on their designs. They were relolv'd to have no more to do with either of their Generals, but how to lay them aside, was the difficulty; especially the Earl of *Essex*, who had been entirely their Founder, that they ow'd not more to the Power and Reputation of Parliament, than to His sole Name, and Credit: the being able to raise an Army, and conducting it to Fight against the King was purely due to Him, and the effect of His Power. And now to put such an Affront upon him, and to think of another General, must appear the highest Ingratitude, and might provoke the Army it self, where he was still exceedingly belov'd; and to continue him in that Trust, was to betray their own Designs, and to render them impracticable. Therefore, till they could find some expedient to explicate and disentangle themselves out of this Labyrinth, they made no advance towards the Recruiting or Supplying their Armies, nor to provide for any Winter Expedition; only they sent *Ballerour*, with such Troops towards the West, as they cared not for, and relolv'd to use their Service no more.

They knew not how to propose the great alterations they intended, to the Parliament; and of all Men, the South Commissioners were not to be trusted. In the end, they relolv'd to pursue the Method in which they had been hitherto successful, and to prepare, and ripen things in the Church, that they might afterwards in due time grow to maturity in the Parliament. They agreed therefore in the Houses (and in these Combinations they were always unanimous) that they would have a Solemn Fast-Day, in which they would seek God (which was the new phrase they brought from *Switzerland* with their Covenant) "and desire his Assistance, to lead them out of the perplexities they were in: and they did as readily agree in the nomination of the Preachers who were

were to perform that Exercise, and who were more Tru'd in the deepest Designs, than most of those who named them were: for there was now a Schism among their Clergy, as well as the Laity; and the Independents were the Boldest, and more Political Men.

When the Fast-Day came (which was observ'd for eight or ten hours together in the Churches) the Preachers pray'd the Parliament might be inspir'd with those thoughts, as might contribute to their Honour and Reputation; and that they might preserve that opinion the Nation had of their Honesty and Integrity, and be without any Selfish ends, or seeking their own Benefit and Advantage. After this preparation by their Prayers, the Preachers, let their Texts be what they would, told them very plainly, that it was no wonder there was such Division among them in their Councils, when there was no Union in their hearts: That the Parliament lay under many reproaches, not only among their Enemies, but with their best Friends; who were the more out of countenance, because they found that the aspersions and imputation which their Enemies had laid upon them, were so well grounded, that they could not wipe them off: That there was as great Pride, as great Ambition, as many private Ends, and as little Zeal and Affection for the Publick, as they had ever impur'd to the Court: That, whilst they pretended, at the Publick cost, and out of the Purcs of the poor People, to make a general Reformation, their chief care was to grow great and rich Themselves; and that both the City and Kingdom took notice, with great anxiety of Mind, that all the Offices of the Army, and all the profitable Offices of the Kingdom, were in the hands of the Members of the two Houses of Parliament; who, whilst the Nation grew poor, as it must needs do under such insupportable Taxes, grew very rich; and would, in a short time, get all the Money of the Kingdom into their hands; and that it could not reasonably be expected, that such Men, who got so much, and enriched Themselves to that degree, by the continuance of the war, would heartily pursue those ways which would put an end to it; the end whereof must put an end to their Exorbitant Profit. When they had exaggerated these reproaches, as pathetically as they could, and the sense the People generally had of the corruption of it, even to a despair of ever seeing any end of the Calamities they sustain'd, or having any prospect of that Reformation in Church and State, which they had so often and so solemnly promised to effect, they fell again to their Prayers, that God would take his own Work into his hand; and if the Instruments he had already employ'd, were not

“worthy to bring so glorious a Design to a conclusion, that He would inspire others more fit, who might perceive what was begun, and bring the Trouble of the Nation to a Godly period.

After Mr. Fish, Mr. Vane, and Cromwell proposed a joyful discourse.
 “When the two Houses met together, the next day after these devout Antimadvertisings, there was another Spirit appear'd in the looks of many of them. So *Henry Vane* told them, “if ever God had appear'd to them, it was in the exercise of Yesterday; and that it appear'd, it proceeded from God, because (as he was credibly inform'd by many, who had been Auditors in other Congregations) the same admonitions, and discourses had been made in all other Churches, as the Godly Preachers had made before Them; which could therefore proceed only from the immediate Spirit of God. He repeated some things which had been said, upon which he was well prepar'd to enlarge; and besought them to remember their obligations to God, and to their Country; and that they would free themselves from those just reproaches; which they could do no otherwise, than by detesting themselves of all Officers, and Charges, that might bring in the least advantage and profit to themselves; by which only they could make it appear, that they were publick hearted Men; and as they pay'd all Taxes and Impositions with the rest of the Nation, so they gave up all their service to their Countie's Service, without any reward or gratuity.

He told them, “that the Reflections of Yesterday, none of which had ever enter'd upon his Spirit before, had rais'd another Reflection in him than had been mention'd, which was, that it had been often taken notice of, and observ'd by the King himself, that the Numbers of the Members of Parliaments, who sat in either Houle, were too few to give reputation to Acts of great Moment, as were traffick'd in their Councils; which, though it was no fault of theirs, who kept their proper Stations, but of those who had deserted their places, and their trusts, by being absent from the Parliament; yet that, in truth, there were too many absent, though in the Service of the Houle, and by their appointment; and if all the Members were oblig'd to attend the Service of the Parliament, in the Parliament, it would bring great reputation to their Numbers, and the People would pay more reverence, and yield a fuller obedience to their Commands: and then concluded, “that he was ready to accuse himself for one of those who giv'd by an Office he had; and though he was possess'd of it before the beginning of the Troubles, and owed it not to the favour of the Parliament (for he had been joy'd with *St. John*

John Russell in the Treasurer-ship of the Navy by the King's Grant) “yet he was ready to lay it down, to be dispos'd of by the Parliament; and willed, that the profits thereof might be apply'd towards the support of the War.

When the Lc. was thus broke, *Oliver Cromwell*, who had not yet arriv'd at the faculty of Speaking with decency and temper, commended the Preachers “for having dealt plainly and impartially, and told them of their faults, which they had been so unwilling to hear of: that there were many things, upon which he had never reflected before, yet upon “revolving what had been said, he could not but confess, “that all was very true; and till there were a perfect reformation in those particulars which had been recommended to them, nothing would prosper that they took in hand: that the Parliament had done very wisely, in the entrance into the War, to engage many Members of their own in the most dangerous parts of it, that the Nation might see that they did not intend to Embark them in perils of War, whilst themselves sat securely at home out of Gun-flow, but would march with them where the danger most threaten'd; and those Honourable Persons, who had expos'd themselves this way, had merited so much of their Country, that their memories should be held in perpetual veneration; and whatsoever should be well done after them, would be always imputed to their Example: But, that God had so blessed their Army, that there had grown up with it, and under it, very many excellent Officers, who were fitter for much greater Charges than they were now possess'd of; and desired them not to be terrify'd with an imagination, that if the highest Offices were vacant, they should not be able to put so fit Men into them; for, besides that it was not good to put so much trust in any Arm of Flesh, as to think such a Cause “thus depended upon any one Man, he did take upon him to assure them, that they had Officers in their Army, who were fit to be Generals in any Enterprize in Christendom.

He said “he thought nothing so necessary as to purge, and vindicate the Parliament, from the partiality towards their own Members; and made a proffer to lay down his Commission of Command in the Army; and desir'd, “that an Ordinance might be prepar'd, by which it might be made unlawful, for any Member of either Houle of Parliament, to hold any Office or Command in the Army, or any Place of Employment in the State; and so concluded with an exhortation upon “the Vices, and Corruptions, which were gotten into the Army; the prophaneities, and impiety, and absence of all Religion; the drinking and gaming, and all manner of Licence, and Laziness; and said plainly, that till

the whole Army were now Modell'd, and Govern'd under a stricter Discipline, they must not expect any notable Success in any thing they went about.

This Debate ended in appointing a Committee, to prepare an Ordinance for the Exclusion of all Members from their Truiths aforesaid; which took up much Debate, and depended very long before it was brought to a conclusion; and in the end was call'd the *Self-denying Ordinance*; the driving on of which, exceedingly encreas'd the inclination of the other Party to Peace; in which they did now foresee would only prevent their own ruine, in that of the Kingdom.

A private came from so many several hands to *Oxford*, that the King should send a Message to the Houses for Peace, with an Assurance that it would not be rejected, that his Majesty (who still apprehended as great a division among his own Friends upon the Conditions of Peace, out of the unweary wearis of the War, as he discern'd there was among his Enemies upon the Emulation in Command, or differences in Religion) enter'd upon the consideration how to bring it to pass. The Members of Parliament were still sitting at *Oxford*; but they at *London* who were most desirous of Peace, had given warning to avoid that Rock; and that their Names should never be mention'd; which would have procur'd an Union between the most irreconcilable Parties, in throwing out such Overtures. On the other side the sending a late Message, by a Trumpet, was not probably like to produce any other effect, than an insolent Answer in the same way, or no Answer at all, as his two or three last Messages had done.

In conclusion, the King resolv'd that there should be a short Message drawn; in which, the continuance of the War, and the mischiefs it brought upon the Kingdom, should be lamented: and his desire express'd, that some reasonable Conditions of Peace might be thought upon; assuring them that his Majesty would be willing to consent to any thing, that could consist with his Confidence and Honour. He resolv'd, that he would send this Message by some Persons of Condition; who might, upon conference with their Friends, be able to make some impressions; at least discover what might be reasonably expected. And if the Parliament should refuse to grant a Safe Conduct for such Messengers, it might well be presum'd, what reception the Message it self was like to find. The Persons he resolv'd to send, were the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of *Surrehampton*; both of unblemish'd Honour, and of general Reputation in the Kingdom. So a Trumpet was sent to the Earl of *Essex* for a Safe Guard, and Pass, to those two Lords; to the end they might deliver a Message

Message from the King to the two Houses concerning a Treaty of Peace. To which the Earl of *Essex* only answer'd, that he would acquaint the Houses with it, and return their Answer; and so dismissed the Trumpet.

This King had now done his part; and the rest was to be perfected there. They who were resolv'd never to admit a Peace, though they could not still prevent a Treaty, thought they had advantage enough to object against this unusual Message: "If the Message it self had been sent, they might have judg'd, whether it had been like to be attended with good Success, and so might have accepted a Treaty, if they had approv'd of it; but this sending of Messengers before they knew what they would bring, was an invention to begin a Treaty before they admitted it; and to send Enemies into their Quarters, with Authority to feather their Position abroad; and therefore, with great passion, they press'd, that no such Pass should be sent. On the other hand it was, with equal passion, alledged, that the refusal of the Safe Conduct was a total rejection of Peace, before they understood upon what terms it would be offer'd; which the People would take very ill from them; and conclude that the War must continue for ever; they therefore wish'd that a Safe Guard might be sent without delay, and that they would have a better opinion of their Friends, than to imagine that the Preference, or Power of two Men how considerable soever, would be able to corrupt, or pervert their Affections from the Parliament.

In this opinion the *Scotts* Commissioners likewise concurr'd; so that the other Party found it necessary to consent, and the Safe Conduct, after many Debates, was sent accordingly. But that they might not seem to their Friends abroad, to be overpower'd; they revenged themselves in pursuing the dispatch of their *Self-denying Ordinance* with great vehemence; and because the effect of that was manifestly that they should be without a General, it was already propos'd, that *St. Thomas Fairfax* (who had behaved himself so signally in their *Irish* Service, in the Defeat of Colonel *Bellasis*, and taking him prisoner, which gave them their first footing in *Yorkshire*, since those of their being shut up and Besieged in *Hull*; in the next year, he made those of the Lord *Byron*, and taking all the *Irish* Regiments; and lastly in the late Battle at *York*, where he had turned the fortune of the day, when the *Scotts* Army was Routed and their General Fle'd) might now be made their General; for which *Oliver Cromwell* assur'd them he was very equal. In the discourse upon this Subject (which found all opposition) as the Service of the Earl of *Essex* was much magnified, and his merit extoll'd, by those who desired to have no other General,

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neral,

The Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton, first to London with a Message for a Treaty.

mental, so it was undervalued, and depressed, with some bitterness and constancy, by those who believ'd that all they could would be to no purpose, if He were not totally excluded from any power.

As o'rt the beginning of December, the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton, upon their Pals, went from Oxford to London, where they were advised not to go much abroad, lest the People should be apt to do them injury; and very few had the Courage to come to them, except with great privacy. Only the *Scottish* Commissioners, as Men in Sovereign Authority, and Independent upon the Parliament, made no scruple of visiting them, and being visited by them. The Houses did not presently agree upon the manner of their reception, how they should deliver their Message; in which there had been before no difficulty, whilst the War was carried on only by the Authority of the Parliament. Heretofore the Message being deliver'd to either House, was quickly communicated to the other; but now the *Scottish* Commissioners made a third Estate, and the Message was directed to Them as well as to the Houses. In the end it was resolv'd, that there should be a Conference between the two Houses in the Painted Chamber; at which the *Scottish* Commissioners should be present, and sit on one side of the Table; and that the upper end of it should be kept for the King's Messengers: Where there was a Seat provided for them, all the rest being bare, and expecting that They would be too too: for though the Lords used to be cover'd whilst the Commons were bare, yet the Commons would not be bare before the *Scottish* Commissioners; and so none were cover'd. But as soon as the two Lords came thither, they cover'd, to the trouble of the other; but, being presently to speak, they were quickly freed from that Eye-sore.

The two Lords us'd very few words, in letting them know the King's great Inclinations to Peace, and deliver'd and read their Message to that purpose; which was receiv'd by the Lords without any other expressions than "that they should report it to the Houses; and so the meeting broke up. And then many of the Lords, and some of the Commons, pass'd some Compliments and Ceremony to the two Lords, according to the acquaintance they had with them, and found opportunities to see them in private, or to send Confiding Persons to them. By which means, they found there were great Divisions among them, and upon Points that would admit no reconciliation: and therefore they believ'd that there would be a Treaty of Peace; but they could not make any such guesses of the Moderation of the Conditions of the Peace, as to conclude that it would be with effect. For they that most desired

desired the Peace, and would have been glad to have had it upon any terms, durst not own that they wish'd it, but upon the highest terms of Honour, and Security for the Parliament; which could neither be Secure, nor Honourable for the King. They discover'd, that they who did heartily wish the Peace, did intend to promote a Treaty between Persons named by the King and Persons named by the Parliament, to meet at some third Place, and not to send Commissioners to Oxford to Treat with the King himself; which they had already found to be ineffectual, and not more likely now to produce a better end: Whereas they did believe, or seem'd to believe, that how unreasonable soever the Propositions should be, upon which they Treated, they would, by yielding to some things, when they refus'd others, sooner prevail with the Houses to mollify their demands, than at first to reform them.

This Method was not ungrateful to the two Lords; who had the same conceptions, that, if sober Men were named for Commissioners, somewhat would result from the freedom of their Communication. And the Duke of Richmond sent his Secretary *Wick* expressly to Oxford, to know the King's pleasure, whether, if a third Place were propos'd for Commissioners on both sides to meet, they should consent to it? Which his Majesty (though he had no mind to trust others, but where himself was present) was perswaded to approve. But all this was but discourse, and private wishes: for it was never brought into Debate; and it was told them very plainly, that, as long as they staid in Town, the Houses would never so much as confer upon the Subject of their Message; because they found it would be matter of great Debate, and spend much time, during which they did not desire their Company, nor to be troubled with their Infusions. And therefore, as soon as they had receiv'd the King's Message, they proceeded upon their Trial of the Arch Bishop of *Canterbury* before both Houses of Parliament, upon an Impeachment of High Treason, resolving likewise to give that evidence to the People, of what inclination they had to make a Peace with the King. The two Lords, observing this affected delay in the business they were sent about, and being advised by their Friends not to stay longer, but to expect the determination to be sent to Oxford, return'd to the King, with some confidence that a Treaty would be consented to; and that it would be at some third Place, and not at Oxford, and his at London, by Commissioners which should be agreed on by both Houses. But they brought an express desire, and even a condition to the King, from all those with whom they had confer'd, and who were the chief Persons who advanced the Treaty, that, if that which they labour'd for, should be yielded

yielded to by the Parliament, his Majesty would not Name a Person (whom they mention'd to the King) for one of his Commissioners; for that he was so odious, that they would absolutely decline the Treaty, before they would admit Him to be one of the Treators.

The Trial of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.

It was, as is said before, a very sad Omen to the Treaty, that, after they had receiv'd the King's Message by those Noble Lords, and before they return'd any Answer to it, they proceeded in the Trial of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; who had lain Prisoner in the *Tower*, from the beginning of the Parliament, about four years, without any prosecution till this time. Now they brought him to the Bars of both Houses; charging him with several Articles of High Treason; which, if all that was alledged against him, had been true, could not have made him guilty of Treason. They accus'd him "of a design to bring in Popery, and of having "correspondence with the Pope, and such like particulars, as the Confidences of his greatest Enemies absolv'd him from. No Man was a greater, or abler Enemy to Popery; No Man a more resolute and devout Son of the Church of *England*. He was prosecuted by Lawyers, afraid to that purpose, out of those, who from their own Antipathy to the Church and Bishops, or from some dissimulations receiv'd from him, were fure to bring Passion, Animosity, and Malice enough of their own; what evidence forever they had from others. And they did treat him with all the rudeness, reproach, and barbarity imaginable; with which his Judges were not displeas'd.

He defended himself with great and undaunted Courage, and less Passion than was expected from his Constitution; answer'd all their objections with clearness, and irrefutable reason; and convinc'd all impartial Men of his Integrity, and his detestation of all Treasonable Intensions. So that though few excellent Men have ever had fewer Friends to their Persons, yet all reasonable Men absolv'd him from any foul Crime that the Law could take notice of, and punish. However, when they had said all they could against Him, and he all for himself that need to be said, and no such Crime appearing, as the Lords, as the Supreme Court of Judicature, would take upon them to judge him to be worthy of death; they refer'd to their Legislative Power, and by Ordinance of Parliament, as they call'd it, that is by a determination of those Members who fate in the Houses (whereof in the House of Peers there were not above twelve) they appointed him to be put to death as guilty of High Treason. The first time the two Houses of Parliament had ever assumed that Jurisdiction; or that ever Ordinance had been made to such a purpose; nor could any Rebellion be more against the Law, than that *Murtherous Act*.

WHERE

When the first mention was made of their monstrous purpose, of bringing the Arch-Bishop to a Trial for his Life, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had always a great Reverence and Affection for him, had spoken to the King of it, and propos'd to him, "that in all events, there might be "a Pardon prepar'd, and sent to him, under the Great Seal of *England*; to the end, if they proceeded against him in any form of Law, he might plead the King's Pardon; which "must be allow'd by all who pretended to be govern'd by the Law; but if they proceeded in a Martial, or any other extraordinary way, without any form of Law, his Majesty should declare his Justice and Affection to an old faithful Servant, whom he much esteem'd, in having done "all towards his preservation that was in his Power to do. The King was wonderfully pleas'd with the Proposicion; and took from thence occasion to commend the Piety and Virtue of the Arch-Bishop, with extraordinary Affection; and commanded the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to cause the Pardon to be prepar'd, and his Majesty would Sign and Seal it with all possible secrecy; which at that time was necessary. Whereupon the Chancellor sent for *St Thomas Gardiner* the King's Solicitor, and told him the King's pleasure; upon which he presently drew the Pardon, which was Sign'd and Seal'd with the Great Seal of *England*, and carefully sent, and deliver'd into the Arch-Bishop's own hand, before he was brought to his Trial; who receiv'd it with great joy, as it was a Testimony of the King's gracious Affection to him, and care of him, without any opinion that they who endeavour'd to take away the King's Life, would preserve His by his Majesty's Authority.

When the Arch-Bishop's Council had perus'd the Pardon, and consider'd that all possible Exceptions would be taken to it, though they should not reject it, they found, that the impeachment was not so distinctly set down in the Pardon as it ought to be; which could not be help'd at *Oxford*, because they had no Copy of it; and therefore had supplied it with all those general expressions, as, in any Court of Law, would make the Pardon valid against any exceptions the King's own Council could make against it. Hereupon, the Arch-Bishop had, by the same Messenger, return'd the Pardon again to the Chancellor, with such directions and copies as were necessary; upon which it was perfected accordingly, and deliver'd safely again to him, and was in his hands during the whole time of his Trial. So when his Trial was over, and the Ordinance pass'd for his Execution, and He call'd and asked, according to custom in Criminal proceedings, "what he could say more, why he should not suffer death? He told them,

them, "that he had the King's gracious Pardon, which he
 "pleaded, and tender'd to them, and desired that it might
 "be allow'd. Whereupon he was sent to the Tower, and the
 "Pardon read in both Houses; where, without any long
 "Debate, it was declar'd to be of no effect, and that the
 "King could not Pardon a Judgement of Parliament. And
 "so, without troubling themselves farther, they gave order
 "for his Beheading; which he underwent with all Christian
 "Courage and Magnanimity, to the Admiration of the Beholders
 "and Contumelious of his Enemies. Much hath been said of
 "the Person of this great Prelate before, of his great Endowments,
 "and natural Infirmities, to which shall be added no more in
 "this place (his memory deserving a particular celebration)
 "than that his Learning, Piety, and Virtue, have been attain'd
 "by very few, and the greatness of his Infirmities are common
 "to all, even to the best Men.

WHEN they had dispatched this important work, and
 "thereby receiv'd a new instance of the good Affection and
 "Courage of their Friends, and involv'd the two Houses in fresh
 "glorie and obloquy (for too many concurr'd in it, without
 "considering the inconveniencies of it, and only to keep their
 "Credit clear and entire, whereby they might with the more
 "Authority advance the Peace that was desired) they now enter
 "upon the Debate, "what Answer they should send the King,
 "concerning a Treaty for Peace. They who desired to
 "advance it, hop'd thereby to put an end to all the designs of
 "new modelling the Army, and to prevent the encrease of the
 "Factions in Religion, which every day broke out among them,
 "to the notorious Scandal of Christianity. They who had no
 "mind to a Treaty, because they had minds avers from all
 "thoughts of Peace, discern'd plainly, that they should not be
 "able to finish their design upon the Army, and fit many other
 "devices on foot, which would contribute to their convenience,
 "until this long-for Treaty were at an end; and therefore
 "they all agreed to give some conclusion to it; and resolv'd,
 "that there should be a Treaty, and upon the Method that should
 "be observ'd in the conducting it; from which they who should
 "be employ'd by them, should not recede to be diverted.

THEY then nominated sixteen Commissioners for the two
 "Houses agree Houses, and four for the Parliament of Scotland, and named
 "at West-
 "bridge. The Treaty should be limited to be finished within twenty days
 "from the time when it should b.g.n.

UPON this conclusion, they sent their Answer to the Mes-
 "sage, they had receiv'd from the King by a Trumpet, in a Letter
 "from their General, to the King's General; in which they
 "inform'd his Majesty, "that, out of their passionate desire
 "of Peace,

"Peace, they had agreed to his Proposicion for a Treaty;
 "and that they had assign'd *Usbridge* for the place where it
 "should be; and had appointed the Earl of *Northumberland*,
 "the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Earl of
 "Dorset, of the House of Peers; and of the Commons,
 "the Lord *Wainman*, Mr *Pierpont*, Mr *Hollis*, Mr *Saint-John*
 "(whom they call'd the King's Solicitor General) "Sr *Henry*
 "*Jane* the younger, Mr *Whitlock*, Mr *Crew*, and Mr *Pri-
 "gans*; and for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Lord *London*,
 "Canceller of *Scotland*, the Lord *Atterdale* (who, by the
 "death of his Father, became Earl of *Lantherdale* by the name
 "of the Treaty) "Sr *Charles Eskin*, and one Mr *Barclay*, to be
 "their Commissioners; together with Mr *Alexander Henderson*,
 "in matters only which relate to the Church; to Treaty,
 "again, the particulars they had entrusted them with, with such
 "Persons, as his Majesty should please to Nominate; for all
 "whom a Safe Conduct should be sent, as soon as his Majesty
 "should name them; as they desired his Majesty's Safe Conduct
 "for the Persons named by them; to none of which the King
 "took any exception, but sign'd their Pass; and sent word
 "to the Houses, "that he accepted the Treaty, and the place, and
 "that he had nominated, as Commissioners for Him, the Duke
 "of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hereford*, the Earl of *South-
 "ampton*, the Earl of *Kingston*, the Earl of *Chichester*, the Lord
 "Cople, the Lord *seymour*, the Lord *Hutton*, Contrivor of
 "the King's Household, the Lord *Colepepper*, Master of the
 "Rolls; Sr *Edward Hyde*, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sr
 "Edward *Nicholas*, principal Secretary of State; Sr *Richard*
 "Law, Lord Chief Baron of his Court of Exchequer; Sr *Thomas*
 "Gascoigne, his Majesty's Solicitor General; Sr *Orlando*
 "Bridgman, Attorney of his Court of Wards; Mr *John Al-
 "bansham*, and Mr *Geoffrey Palmer*; and desired, that a Safe
 "Conduct might be sent for them, as his Majesty had sent for
 "the others; and that they should then be ready, at the day that
 "was set down, at *Usbridge*.

WHEN this was return'd to Westminster, there arose new
 "dissputes upon the Persons named by the King, or rather a-
 "gainst the Additions, and Appellations of Title, which were
 "made to their Names; for they did not except against the
 "Persons of any of them, though several were most ungracious
 "to them.

WHEN the Lord Keeper *Littleton* had fled from *West-
 "minster*, upon his Majesty's Commands to attend him at *Tork*,
 "the two Houses had, in their fury, declared, "that nothing
 "which should, from that time, pass under the Great Seal,
 "should be good and valid; but void and null: ins that they
 "did discontinue any Commission, which they forewar might
 "issue

The article
 in the
 headed.

The two
 Houses agree
 as a Treaty
 at West-
 bridge.

The King
 accepts.

iffus out for their Conviction, Trial, and Attainder: and, in some time after, they had caused a Great Seal to be made with the King's Image, for the dispatch of the necessary process in Law, and proceedings in Courts of Justice; which Seal was committed by them to some of their Members, who had fate in the Chancery, and transferr'd the business of that Court, and applied the Seal to all those uses and purposes it had been accustomed unto. They found this Declaration and Ordinance of theirs, invaded in this Misdemeanour had now receiv'd from the King. The Lord *Darresmore* had been created Earl of *Cheshber*; *St Christopher Hatton*, Lord *Hatton*; *St John Colepepper*, Lord *Colepepper*, with the Addition of Master of the Rolls: which Office they had bestow'd upon *Lansdown*, then Speaker, who was in possession of it; *St Edward Hyde* was declar'd Chancellor of the Exchequer; which, though it was an Office they had not meddled with bestowing, yet it had pass'd the Great Seal, after it came into the King's hands. *St Thomas Gardiner* was made the King's Solicitor; and the Patent formerly granted to their belov'd *Saint-John*, stood revoked; which they would not endure; having, as is said, annex'd that Title to his Name when they mention'd him as a Commissioner for their Treaty. They had the same exception to the Chief Baron, and to the Attorney of the Wards; both which Offices were in the possession of Men more in their favour.

AFTER long Debate, they were contented to infer their Names in their Safe Condukt, without their Honours, or Offices; and they were so angry with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that they had no mind that he should be styl'd Knight, because he was not so when he left the Parliament: But the *States* Commissioners prevail'd in that point, since they had not yet pretended to take away the Uke of the King's Sword from him: so they allow'd him, by a Majority of Votes, to be a Knight, and sent their Safe Condukt, in the manner as is mention'd, to *Oxford*: Upon which the King, at the desire of the Persons concern'd, forbore to insist; but giving them still in his own Pass, and in his Commission whereby they were authoriz'd to Treat, the Style and Appellation which belonged to them, and which must be allow'd by the others before they begun to Treat. The Style of their Pass was not thought worthy any reply; and because there was private advice given at the same time, * that they would not, when they met at the Treaty, consider any Authority that qualified the King's Commissioners to Treat, but only what should be under the King's Sign-Manual, though they would not have taken that for a sufficient Warrant for themselves to Treat with the King's Enemies; at last the King's

Commissioners were contented, together with a Commission under the Great Seal of *England*, to take another likewise with them in that form, and only under the Sign-Manual, as was desired.

ABOUT the end of *January*, or the beginning of *February*, The Treaty the Commissioners on both sides met at *Uxbridge*; which be- at *Ux-* ing within the Enemy's Quarters, the King's Commissioners wis- were to have such Accommodations, as the other thought fit to leave to them; who had been very civil in the distribution, and left one entire file of the Town to the King's Commissioners, one Houle only excepted, which was given to the Earl of *Pembroke*; so that they had no cause to complain of their Accommodation; which was as good as the Town would yield, and as good as the other had. There was a good Houle at the end of the Town, which was provided in the Treaty, where was a fair Room in the middle of the Houle, handsomely dress'd up for the Commissioners to sit in; a large square Table being placed in the middle with Seats for the Commissioners, one side being sufficient for those of either Party; and a Rail for others who should be thought necessary to be present, which went round. There were many other Rooms on either side of this great Room, for the Commissioners on either side to retire to, when they thought fit to consult by themselves, and to return again to the publick Debate; and there being good Stairs at either end of the Houle, they never went through each others' Quarters; nor met, but in the great Room.

AS SOON as the King's Commissioners came to the Town, all those of the Parliament came to visit and to welcome them; and, within an hour, those of the King's return'd their visits with usual Civilities; each professing great desire and hope, that the Treaty would produce a good Peace. The first visits were altogether, and in one Room; the *Scots* being in the same Room with the *English*. Each Party eat always together, there being two great Inns which serv'd very well to that purpose. The Duke of *Richmond*, being Steward of his Majesty's Houle, kept his Table there for all the King's Commissioners: nor was there any restraint from giving and receiving Visits apart, as their acquaintance, and inclinations dispos'd them; in which those of the King's Party us'd their usual fre'd Freedom, as heretofore. But on the other side, there was great wariness and reservedness; and so great a jealousy of each other, that they had no mind to give, or receive Visits to, or from their old Friends; whom they loved better than their New. Nor would any of them be seen alone with any of the King's Commissioners, but had always one of their Companions with them, and sometimes one whom they

least trusted. It was observ'd by the Town, and the People that flock'd thither, that the King's Commissioners looked as if they were at home and govern'd the Town; and the City as if they were not in their own Quarters; and the truth is they had not that slattery and ferocity of Mind, as Men to have who do not believe themselves to be in a fault.

THE King's Commissioners would willingly have performed their Devotions in the Church, nor was there any restraint upon them from doing so, that is by Inhibition from the Parliament, otherwise than that by the Parliament's Ordinance (as they call'd it) the Book of Common-Prayer was not permitted to be read, nor Vestures, nor Ceremonies of the Church to be used. So that the days of Devotion were observ'd in their great Room of the Inn, whether many of the Country, and the Train of the Commissioners, and other Persons, who came every day from London, daily resorted.

WHEN the Commissioners, on both sides, met first together in the Room appointed for the Treaty, and had nam'd their Seats, it being left to the King's Commissioners, which side of the Table they would take; the Earl of Northampton, who always deliver'd any thing that was agreed between them, and read all the Papers (after the powers of both sides were examined, and perus'd) propos'd some Rules to be observ'd in the Treaty; "as of having Nothing binding, until
"All were Agreed upon; and such like; to which there was no objection; and offer'd, as a direction they had receiv'd from the Parliament, "that they should first enter upon the
"matter of Religion, and Treat three entire days upon that
"Subject, without entering upon any other; and if all Differences, in that particular, were not adjust'd within three
"days, they should then proceed to the next Point, which was
"the Militia; and observe the same Method in that, and then
"thence pass to the business of Ireland; which three Points
"being well settled, they believ'd the other differences would
"be with more ease compos'd: and after those Nine days
"were pass'd, they were to go round again upon the several
"Subjects, as long as the time limited would continue: His
"Majesty being left at liberty to propose what he thought fit,
"at his own time, and to change the Method propos'd if
"was declar'd, "that the Twenty days, limited for the Treaty,
"were to be reckon'd of the days which should be spent in
"the Treaty, and not the days of coming or returning, or
"the days spent in Devotion; there falling out three Sundays
"and a Fast-day in those Twenty days. The Method was willingly consented to; the King's Commissioners conceiving
"would be to no purpose to propose any thing on the King's
"behalf,

behalf, till they discern'd what agreement was like to be made in anyone particular; by which they might take their Measures, and might propose any thing of Moment under one of the three Heads mention'd before.

THERE happen'd a very odd Accident, the very first Morning they met at the Houle to agree upon their Method to be observ'd in the Treaty. It was a Market-day, when they used always to have a Sermon, and many of the Persons who came from Oxford in the Commissioners Train, went to the Church to observe the forms. There was one *Love*, a young Man, that came from London with the Commissioners, who preach'd, and told his Auditory, which consisted of the People of the Town, and of those who came to the Market, the Church being very full, "that they were not to expect any
"god from the Treaty; for that they came from Oxford with
"hearts full of Blood, and that there was as great distance
"between this Treaty and Peace, as between Heaven and
"Hell; and that they intended only to amuse the People with
"expectation of Peace, till they were able to do some notable mischief to them; and inveigh'd so seditionously against all Cavaliers, that is, against all who followed the King, and against the Persons of the Commissioners, that he could be understood to intend nothing else, but to stir up the People to mutiny; and in it to do some Act of Violence upon the Commissioners. They were no sooner advertis'd of it, by several Persons who had been present in the Church, and who gave very particular Information of the very words which had been spoken, than they inform'd the other Commissioners of it: gave them a Charge in writing against the Preacher; and demanded publick Justice. They seem'd troubled at it, and propos'd to examine it, and cause some severe punishment to be inflict'd upon the Man; but afterwards consider'd, "that they
"had no Authority to punish him, but that they had caus'd
"him to be sharply reprehended, and to be sent out of the
"Town; and this was all that could be obtain'd: so unwilling they were to discontentance any Man who was willing to serve them. This is the same *Love*, who some years after was by *Cromwell's* particular prosecution, had his head cut off, for being in a Plot with the Scots against the Army, and their Parliament.

It is not the purpose of this Discourse to set down the particular transactions of this Treaty; which were published by the King's Order, shortly after the conclusion of it, and all the Papers, which had been deliver'd by the Commissioners on either side, expos'd to the View of the Kingdom, in the most publick manner in which they were deliver'd. Only such particulars as fell out in that time, and were never communicated,

and many of them known to very few, shall be briefly mentioned, that any, who hereafter shall have the perusal of this History, may know how impossible it was, that this Treaty could produce such a Peace as both sides would have been glad of; and that they who govern'd the Parliament then, had at that time the resolution to Act those monstrous things, which they brought afterwards to pass.

*Copy of the
Signes.*

THE first business to be entered upon, being that of Religion, the Divines of both sides were admitted to be present in the places appointed for them, oppositely each other; and Dr *Steward*, Clerk of the Closet to the King, was a Commissioner, as Mr *Henderfon* was on the other side; and they both sat cover'd without the Bar, at the backs of the Commissioners. On the Parliament Part, it was propos'd, "that all the Bishops, Deans and Chapters, might be immediately taken away, and abolished; and in the room thereof, that there might be another Government erected; such as should be most agreeable to God's word, and the Practice of the best Churches; That the Book of Common-Prayer might be taken away, and totally suppress'd; and that, instead thereof, a Directory might be us'd (in which there was likewise set down as much of the Government, which they meant to erect for the future, as was necessary to be provided for the present, and which supplied all the use of Articles or Canons, which they had hitherto abolish'd) and "that the King himself should take the Covenant; and consent to an Act of Parliament, whereby all Persons of the Kingdom should be likewise oblig'd to take it. And the Copies of the Covenant, and the Directory were deliver'd at the same time to the King's Commissioners; which were very long, and necessary to be read over, before any Answer could be made to them. So they took that Afternoon to peruse them together, and adjourn'd their Treaty till the next Morning; and though they enter'd upon the reading them before dinner, the Directory was so very long, that they spent all that Afternoon, all some part of the Night, before they had finish'd the reading of them. Then, there being many new terms in the Directory, as *Congregational, Civil, Presbyterial, and Synodical*, which were not known in practice, and some expressions in the Covenant, which were ambiguous, and, they well knew, were left so, because the Persons who fram'd them, were not all of one mind, nor had the same Intentions in some of the other terms us'd; before the King's Commissioners caus'd many Questions to be prepar'd in writing, to be offer'd at the next meeting; wherein they desired to be inform'd, what their meaning was in such and such Expressions, in which they knew well they had several meanings, and would hardly concur in one, and the same Answer.

About

ABOUT the beginning of the Treaty, or the day before it did begin, the Earl of *Lowden*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, visited the Duke of *Richmond* privately in his Chamber; and either propos'd, or was very willing, to have private conference there with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, upon which the Duke, who knew well the other would not decline it, sent for him; and He presently went to the Duke's Chamber; where he found them both; and after some short Compliments, the Earl told him, "how stoutly he had defended his Kingdom; which the Parliament had refus'd to have denied, if he had not convinc'd them. Thence, he discourseth "the great prejudice the Parliament had against him, "as a Man who more industriously oppos'd Peace than any other of the King's Council; that he had now a good opportunity to wipe off all those jealousies, by being a good Instrument in making this Peace, and by persuading his Majesty to comply with the desires and supplications of his Parliament; which he hoped he would be.

THE Chancellor told him, "that the King did so much desire a Peace, that no Man need advise him to it, or could divert him from it, if fair and honourable conditions of Peace were offer'd to him; but if a Peace could not be had, but upon such conditions as his Majesty judg'd inconsistent with his Honour, or his Conscience, no Man could have credit enough to persuade him to accept it; and that for His own part, without reflecting upon the good or ill opinion the Parliament might have of him, he would disapprove him from consenting to it. The other seem'd disappointed in his so positive Answer; yet, with great freedom enter'd upon discourse of the whole matter; and, after some kind of Apology, "that *Scotland* was so far engag'd in the Quarrel, contrary to their former Intentions, and Professions, he did as good as conclude, "that if the King would fairly them in the business of the Church, they would not concern themselves in any of the other Demands. In which Proposition, finding no kind of Compliance from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but sharp protestations against the demands as inconsistent with Conscience, Justice, or Religion, the conference broke off, without inclination in either of them to renew it. But, from that time, there was more contradiction, and quick repartees between them two throughout the Treaty, than between any other of the Commissioners. And it was manifest enough, by the private Conferences with other of the Commissioners, that the Parliament took none of the points in controversy less to heart, or were less united in, than in what concern'd the Church.

WHEN, upon the next meeting of the Commissioners, the

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the Questions, which were mention'd before, were read, and deliver'd by the Duke of *Richmond*, who always perform'd that part on the behalf of the King's Commissioners, as the Earl of *Northumberland* did on the Parliaments; there was a visible disorder in their Commences; some of them, finishing, said, We look'd into Their Game; but without offering any Answer, they arose, and went to their Room of consultation; where they remain'd in great passion, and wrangling, many hours: so that the other Commissioners, finding that they were not like suddenly to agree, adjourn'd till the Afternoon, and departed to dinner. As soon as they came together in the Afternoon, and were fate, the Earl of *Northumberland* said, "that they wonder'd there should appear any difficulty in any expressions, upon which those Questions had been administer'd in the Morning; which to them seem'd very clear and plain; however, to give their Lordships satisfaction, that they had appointed another noble Lord, there present, who was well acquainted with the signification of all those words, to explain what the common sense and meaning of them was. Thereupon, the Earl of *Lancasterdale* made a discourse upon the several Questions, and what acceptation those expressions and words had. But, being a young Man, not accustom'd to an orderly and decent way of speaking, and having no precious pronunciation, and full of passion, he made every thing much more difficult than it was before: So that the Commissioners desired, "that they might receive an Answer in writing; since it was declared upon the entrance of the Treaty, that though in Debate any Man might say what he thought necessary, yet nothing should be understood to be the sense of either side, but what was deliver'd in Writing; and therefore they desired, that what that Noble Lord had said, which they presumed was the sense of all the rest, because they had refer'd to Him, and seem'd satisfied with what he had deliver'd, might be given to them in writing; without which they knew not how to proceed, or give an Answer to what was propos'd to them. This demand, founded upon a Rule of their own, which they knew not how to decline, put the *sixty* Commissioners into great passion: for all the *English* were still without speaking a word, as if they were not concern'd. The Lord *Lancasterdale* repeated what he had said before, a little more distinctly; and the Chancellor of *Sotland*, said, "that the things were so plain, that no Man could choose but understand, and remember what was spoken; and that the pressing to put it in writing was only to spend time; which would be quicken'd out, half the time assign'd for the business of Religion being to expire that night; and therefore passionately desired

them, "that they would rest satisfied with what had been spoken, and proceed upon the matter. It was replied, "that they could not trust their Memories so far, as to prepare an Answer to their demands concerning the Covenant, or Directory, except they were sure that they understood the full and declared meaning of their demands; which they had less reason now to believe they did, than before; since there was so much difficulty made to satisfy them in writing; and therefore they must insist upon receiving an Answer to the Papers they had given: And two or three of the King's Commissioners withdrew, and prepared another Paper; in which they set down the reasons which oblig'd them not to be satisfied with the discourse which had been made, and why they must insist upon the having it in writing; which being communicated to the rest as they sat, was likewise deliver'd to the others; who could not refuse to receive it, though it was plain enough they intended to give any Answer in writing; nor they on the King's side, to desist from demanding it: But they declared, "that as they presumed, they should, in the end, receive their Answer in writing, which they should not depart from, so was their resolution not to defer their farther proceeding upon the matter; but they were ready to prosecute that in the method they would desire; and so it was resolv'd, "the next Morning, to hear the Divines, who were of either Party, what they would say against or for Episcopacy, and the Government, and Lands of the Church; which were equally concern'd in the Debate.

On the King's part, besides *Dr Stewart*, who was a Commissioner in matters relating to the Church, there was *Dr Sheldon*, afterwards Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; *Dr Lamy*, afterwards Bishop of *Ely*; *Dr Fern*, afterwards Bishop of *Chichester*; *Dr Butler*, then Dean of *Worcester*, and Provost of *Queen's College in Oxford*; and *Dr Hammond*; all who, being the King's Chaplains, were sent by him to attend the Commissioners for their Devotions, and for the other Service of the Church, as the management of the Treaty required; which could not be forgotten: On the Parliament side, besides *Mr Alexander Henderson*, who was the Commissioner, *Mr Marshall*, Country Parson in *Essex*, and an Eminent Preacher of that Party, who was the Chief Chaplain in the Army, *Mr Vines*, a Parson likewise in *Warwickshire*, and a Scholar (both of them of the Assembly of Divines, and so, very convenient in those points relating to the Church, which had been so often discuss'd there) *Mr Claydon*, one who had been Fellow of *Merton College in Oxford*, and two or three others; who, bearing to parts in the disputes, had not their names remember'd.

Mr *Hinderson* began rather with Rhetorick, than Logic, of the necessity to change the Government of the Church, for the preservation of the State; which was so much in danger, that it could be preserv'd no other way; and therefore that in Conscience it ought to be consented to; that the Question was not about the preservation of Both, which by the Willoms of the Parliaments of both Nations, was found to be impossible; but since there could but one hand, whether they should be both Sacrificed, or the Church given up, that the State might be preserv'd: nor was the Question now whether Episcopacy was Lawful, and the Government by Bishops consistent with Religion, but whether it was so necessary, that Religion could not be preserv'd without it; which was to condemn all the Reform'd Churches of Europe, where there were no Bishops, England only excepted. I ought therefore to suffice, that the Parliament, which best understood what was good for the Nation, had found it to be a very unnecessary, inconvenient, and corrupt Government, that had been productive of great mischief to the Kingdom from the very time of the Reformation; that the Bishops had always favour'd Popery, and preserv'd, and continued many of the Rights and Customs thereof in their Government, and Practice; and had of late introduced many Innovations into the Church, by the example and pattern of the Church of Rome, and to the great scandal of the Protestant Churches of Germany, France, Scotland, and Holland; that they had been the occasion of the War between the two Nations of Scotland, and England; and then of the Rebellion in Ireland; and now of the Civil War in England; and thereupon, that the Parliament, in order to the uniting all the Protestant Churches, which was the only way to extinguish Popery, had resolv'd to change this inconvenient, mischievous Government, and erect another in the place of it, which should advance Piety, and true Religion; and that he hoped the King would consent to it as Gov^y in a Motion, which would prove so much for his honour and Glory. He took notice of "an old Answer formerly made by a King of England, when the alteration of some Laws had been desired of him, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*; the English which, he said, must be a mistake in the impression: that it was impossible for any King to lay it down as a Rule, that he will not change the Laws; for most Kings had changed them often for their own, and their Subjects benefit; but the meaning must be, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*, We will change them as often as there shall be occasion, but we will not suffer them to be changed by the prescription of others, without our consent. He said, they

* Let the reader observe in this Gov^y an Action, which would prove so much for his honour and Glory. He took notice of "an old Answer formerly made by a King of England, when the alteration of some Laws had been desired of him, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*; the English which, he said, must be a mistake in the impression: that it was impossible for any King to lay it down as a Rule, that he will not change the Laws; for most Kings had changed them often for their own, and their Subjects benefit; but the meaning must be, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*, We will change them as often as there shall be occasion, but we will not suffer them to be changed by the prescription of others, without our consent. He said, they

did not presume to think of compelling the King to change the Government of the Church; but they hoped he would willingly do it, upon the humble Petition of both Kingdoms, and for his own, and their benefit: That he should say no more, till he should hear the reasons from the Divines on the other side; why his Majesty should not consent to the Advice of his Parliament, since he conceiv'd nothing of Conscience could be alledged against it, because it appear'd by what his Majesty had consented to in Scotland, for the utter abolishing of Bishops, that he did not believe in his Conscience, that Episcopacy was absolutely necessary for the support of Christian Religion.

Dr *Steward*, with a much better countenance, told the Commissioners, that he hoped and knew, that their Lordships were too well acquainted with the Constitution of the Church of England, and the Foundation upon which it subsisted, to believe it could be shaken by any of those Arguments which had been made against it. He said, that though he did believe, it was impossible to prove that Government, settled and continued without intermission, from the time when Christianity was first planted in England, and under which the Christian Religion had flourish'd, was an unlawful and Anti-Christian Government; yet that he expected, that they who had sworn to abolish it, and came now to persuade their Lordships to concur with them in pressing the King to join in the same obligation, would not urge a less argument for such Engagement, than the unlawfulness, and wickedness of that Government, which Conscience obliged them to remove. But Mr *Hinderson* had wisely declined that Argument; though in their Common Sermons, and other Discourses in Print, they gave it no better Style than *Anti-Christian*; and had urged only the inconveniences which had fallen out from it, and benefit which would result by the Change, of which no judgement could be made, till it might be known what Government they did intend to erect in the place of it; and since the Union with the Foreign Protestant Churches, seem'd to be their greatest reason for the prodigious alteration they propos'd, he said that they would lie down, which Foreign Church it is, to which they meant to conform, and make their new Government by; for that he was assured, that the model which they seem affect'd to in their Directory, was not like to any of the Foreign Reform'd Churches now in the World. He said, though he would not take upon him to censure the Foreign Churches, yet it was enough known, that the most Learned Men of those Churches, had lamented that their Reformation was

"not so perfect as it ought to be, for want of Episcopacy;
 "which they could not be satisf'd to have; and they had al-
 "ways paid that Reverence to the Church of England, which
 "they conceiv'd due to it, as to the Church to which God
 "had vouchsafed the most perfect Reformation, because it re-
 "ains all that was innocent, or venerable in Antiquity. He
 "then enlarg'd upon the original Institution of Episcopacy; using
 "all those Arguments, which are still used by the most Learned
 "Men in those disputes, to prove, that without Bishops there
 "could be no Ordination of Ministers, and consequently no ad-
 "ministration of Sacraments, or performance of the Ministerial
 "Functions. He said, "he would not presume to say any thing
 "of his Majesty's having consented to the abrogation of Epi-
 "scopacy in Scotland, though he knew what his Majesty him-
 "self thinks of it, only that he had an obligation upon him
 "in Conscience in this Kingdom, which he had not in that
 "of his Coronation Oath, by which he was bound to defend the
 "Rights of the Church; and That alone would make it un-
 "lawful for his Majesty to consent to what was propos'd,
 "both in the point of Episcopacy, and the alienation of the
 "Lands of the Church; which would be direct Sacrilege.

UPON these several points, and what related from thence,
 the Divines on both sides (soon all that day, Morning and Af-
 ternoon, till it was very late in the night, and most part of the
 next day; only the Commissioners on either side, at the first
 coming together, Mornings and Afternoons, presented such Pa-
 pers as they thought fit, upon what had pass'd in Debate: As
 the King's Commissioners desired to know in writing, "whe-
 "ther the Parliament Commissioners did believe that the Go-
 "vernment of the Church by Bishops was unlawful? To
 "which they could never obtain a Categorical Answer.

WHEN the last of the three first days was past (for it was
 near twelve of the Clock at Night) and the Scotch Commis-
 sioners observ'd that nothing was consented to which they
 looked for, the Chancellor of Scotland enter'd into a long dis-
 course, with much passion, against Bishops, "of the mischief
 "they had done in all Ages, and of their being the sole Cause
 "of the late Troubles in Scotland, and of the present Trou-
 "bles in England. Remember'd, "that the Arch-Bishop of
 "Canterbury had pursued the Introduction of the Liturgy and
 "the Canons into Scotland, with so great vehemence, that
 "when it was desired, that the publishing them might be su-
 "spended for one Month, that the People might be the bet-
 "ter prepar'd to submit to what they had not been before ac-
 "quainted with, he would by no means consent to that de-
 "say; but caus'd it to be enter'd upon the next Sunday, a-
 "gainst the advice of many of the Bishops themselves; which

"put the People into such a fury, that they could not be ap-
 "peas'd. He lamented and complain'd, that three days had
 "been now spent in fruitless Debates; and that though their
 "Dives had Learnedly made it appear, that Episcopacy had
 "no foundation in Scripture, and that it might be lawfully
 "taken away; and that notwithstanding it was evident, that
 "it had been the cause of great mischief, and the Wisdom of
 "Parliament had thought the utter taking it away to be ab-
 "solutely necessary for the preservation of the Kingdom; their
 "Lordships were still unmoved, and had yielded in no one
 "particular of Importance, to give them satisfaction; from
 "which they could not but conclude, that they did not bring
 "the hearty inclination to Peace, which they hoped they
 "would have done; and so concluded with some expressions
 "more rude and insolent, than were expected.

WHEREUPON the Chancellor of the Exchequer, not without
 some commotion, said, "that he did not wonder, that
 "their Lordships, who had for some years been accustomed
 "to such Discourses, and the more inclin'd to suppose all that
 "was confidently said to be reasonably prov'd, and so having
 "not been us'd to converse with any Persons of a contrary
 "opinion, had been brought to consent and approve those al-
 "terations, which they had propos'd; but that it seem'd very
 "admirable to him, that their Lordships could expect, or
 "imagine it possible, that they who never had heard such
 "things said before, nor could understand in so little time
 "what had been now said, should depart from a Faith, and
 "a form of Worship, in which they had been educated from
 "their Cradle; and which, upon so long observation, and
 "experience, they looked upon with all possible approbation
 "and reverence, upon only hearing it inveigled against three
 "days, which would have been much too little time to have
 "warranted a Conversion from much less important opinions,
 "they had so long entertain'd; though their Arguments had
 "had as much weight as they wanted. He said, "they
 "were of opinion, that all those mischiefs and inconveniences
 "which they had mention'd, had in truth proceeded from an
 "over vehement desire to overthrow Episcopacy, not from
 "the Zeal to support it: that if the Arch-Bishop of Canter-
 "bury had been too precipitate in pressing the reception of
 "that, which he thought a Reformation, he paid dearly for
 "it; which made him the more wonder, that they should
 "blame Them, for not submitting to much greater alterati-
 "ons, than were at that time propos'd, in three days; when
 "they reproach'd Him, for not having given Them a whole
 "Month to consider. He said, "he might assure their Lord-
 "ships with great sincerity, that they were come thither with
 "all

all imaginable passion and desire, that the Treaty might conclude in a happy and blessed Peace; as he still hoped it would; but if it should be otherwise, that they would still believe, their Lordships brought with them the same honorable and pious Inclinations, though the Instructions, and Commands from those who trusted them, restrain'd them from conferring what in their own judgments seem'd reasonable. And so, without any manner of reply, both arose, and departed, it being near midnight.

THESE happen'd a pleasant Accident on one of these days, which were assign'd for the matter of Religion. The Commissioners of both sides, either before their sitting, or after their rising, entertaining themselves together by the Fire side, as they sometimes did, it being extremely Cold, in general and casual discourses, One of the King's Commissioners asked one of the other which whom he had familiarity, in a low Voice, why there was not in their whole Directory, any mention of all of the Creed, or the Ten Commandments, and so likewise of the Lords Prayer? which is only once recommended.

The Earl of Pembroke, overhearing the discourse, answer'd aloud, and with his usual passion, that He, and many others, were very sorry that they had been left out; that the putting them in had taken up many hours Debate in the House of Commons, and that at last the leaving them out had been carried by eight or nine Voices; and so they did not think fit to insist upon the addition of them in the House of Peers; but many were afterwards troubled at it, and he verily believ'd, if it were to do again, they should carry it for the inserting 'em all; which made many smile, to hear that the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, had been put to the Question, and rejected: And many of the other were troubled, and out of countenance with the reason the good Lord had given for the Exclusion.

Scandal of the Militia.

THE next Subject of the Treaty was the business of the Militia; which their Commissioners positively requir'd, to be entirely settled in the Parliament, and in such Persons as they thought fit to be confided in. This they said, was more necessary than ever, for the securing the People from their Fears and Jealousies; which were now much increased, and were capable of being allay'd by no other means; and delivered a large Paper to that purpose, which contained more than had been often said in their Declarations, and so often answer'd in those which had been published by the King. And when the Commissioners of the King, whereof there were four very Eminent in the knowledge of the Law, *Law-Gardiner, Bridgman, and Palmer*, made the demand appear to be without any pretence of Law, or Justice, and asserted it

to be settled in the King by the Law, they never offer'd to allowe any other Argument, than the determination of the Parliament, which had declared the right of the Militia to be in Them, from which they could not recede; so that the Conferences were very short upon those days, but the Papers very long which were mutually deliver'd; the preparing whereof took up the time; they of that side (even they who maintain'd the Peace) both publicly and privately insinuating upon having the whole Command of the Militia by Sea, and Land, and all the Forts, and Ships of the Kingdom at their disposal; without which they looked upon themselves as unwell, and at the King's Mercy; not considering that He must be at Theirs, if such a Power was committed to them. But in this particular, he who was most reasonable among them, thought it very unreasonable to deny them that necessary Security; and believ'd it could proceed from nothing else, but a Resolution to take the highest Vengeance upon their Rebellion.

THEN they entred upon the business of Ireland; in which they thought they had the King at a very great advantage; and that his Commissioners would not be able to answer the Charges they should make upon that particular. And many of the Commissioners on the King's part, who had not been well acquainted with those Transactions, thought it would be a hard matter to justify all that the King had been necellitated to do; and any thing of Grace towards the Irish Rebels, was as ungracious as *Order*, as it was at London; because they knew the whole Kingdom had a great detestation of them. They ripped up all that had been done from the beginning of the Rebellion; and how the King had voluntarily committed his carrying on that War to the two Houses of Parliament; that they had Levied great Sums of Money upon the Kingdom for that Service; but finding that it was like to bring a greater Burthen upon the Kingdom than it could bear, that his Majesty had consented to an Act of Parliament for the Encouragement of Adventurers to bring in Money, upon an assurance of having Land assign'd to them in that Kingdom, out of the Forfeitures of the Rebels, as soon as the Rebellion should be suppressed; and had likewise, by the same Act, put it out of his Power to make any Peace, or Cessation with those Rebels, or to grant Pardon to any of them without consent of Parliament; and thereupon many of his Majesty's Subjects had brought in very considerable Sums of Money, by which they had been able to manage that War without putting this Kingdom to further Charge; and God had blessed the Protestant Forces there, that they had subdued and vanquished the Rebels in all Encounters; and, probably,

Part of Ireland.

“ probably, by that time, the whole Rebellion had been extinguish’d, if the King had not, contrary to his promise, and obligation by that Act of Parliament, made a Cessation with those Execrable Rebels, when they were not able to continue the War; and had call’d over many of those Regiments, which the Parliament had sent over against the Irish, to return hither to Fight against the Parliament: by means whereof his Protestant Subjects of that Kingdom were in great danger to be destroy’d, and the Kingdom to be entirely possess’d by the Papists. They enlarg’d themselves upon this Subject, with all the invidious insinuations they could devise, to make the People believe, that the King was inclin’d to, and favour’d that Rebellion. They demand’d, “ that the King would forthwith declare that Cessation to be void; and that he would prosecute the War against those Rebels with the utmost fury; and that the Act of Parliament for their reduction, might be executed as it ought to be.

“ This the Commissioners of the King prepar’d and deliver’d a very full Answer in writing to all their Demands; at the delivery whereof, they appointed the Chancellor of the Exchequer to enlarge upon any of those particulars, which prov’d the Counselors that had been taken, just, and necessary. This he did in particularly and convincingly, that those of the Parliament were in much Confusion, and the King’s Commissioners much pleas’d. He put them in mind of “ their bringing those very Troops, which were Levied by the King’s Authority for the Suppression of the Rebellion in *Ireland*, to Fight against the King at *Edge-hill*, under the Command of the Earl of *Roffe*; or their having given over the prosecution of that War, or sending any supply of Arms, Money, or Ammunition thither; having employ’d those Mercenaries which were provided for that Service, against his Majesty’s informers as the Privy Council of that Kingdom had sent to his Majesty, that he would provide some other way for the preservation of that Kingdom, since they could not be able to support the War any longer, against his United Power of the Rebels: That all Overtures, which his Majesty had made towards Peace, had been rejected by the Parliament; and one hundred thousand pounds, brought in by the Adventurers for *Ireland*, had been sent in an entire Sum into *Scotland*, to prepare and dispose that King to come to send an Army to invade This; which they had done, and still then his Majesty had nor, in the least degree, deriv’d from the observation of that Act of Parliament; but when he saw that the Parliament, instead of prosecuting the end and intention of that Statute, apply’d it wholly to the carrying on the War against *Holland*, he thought

“ himself absolv’d before God and Man, if he did all he could to relieve and defend himself against their Violence, by making a Cessation with the Rebels in *Ireland*, and by drawing over some Regiments of his own Army from thence, to assist him in *England*: which Cessation had hitherto pleas’d the Protestants of that Kingdom; who were not able without supplies to preserve themselves from the strength and power of the Rebels; which supplies his Majesty could not send the Parliament would not lend; and therefore, if the Protestants there, should hereafter be oppress’d by the Rebels, who every day procur’d assistance from abroad, and were like to be more powerful, all the *Milchicks* and *Miscreants* that must attend them, would, before God and Man, be answerable to the Accounts of the Parliament; which had deliver’d them of those supplies, which, by his Majesty’s care, had been rais’d, and provided for them; and not to his Majesty, who had done nothing but what he was oblig’d to do for his own preservation; and if he had not sent for those soldiers from *Ireland*, they could not have stay’d there without a supply of Money, Cloaths, and Provisions; which the Parliament had not yet sent to that part of the Army which remain’d there, and which could by no other way have subsisted, but by the benefit, and security of the Cessation.

“ He told them, “ that all this unjustifiable way of proceeding, though it had compell’d the King to yield to a Cessation, yet could not prevail with him to make a Peace with the Irish Rebels; from whom he had admitted Commissioners to attend him with propositions to that purpose; but that, when he found those Propositions and Demands so unreasonable, that he could not consent to them in Conscience, and that they were inconsistent with the security of his Protestant Subjects there, he had totally rejected them, and dismissed their Commissioners with severe and sharp Animadversions: yet that he had given his Lieutenant, and Council there, Authority to continue the Cessation longer, in hope that the Rebels there, might be reduced to better Temper; or that his Majesty might be enabled by a happy Peace here, which he hop’d this Treaty would produce, to chastise their odious and obstinate Rebellion: And if the Parliament would yet give his Majesty sufficient caution that the War should be vigorously prosecuted there against the Irish, by sending over strong Supplies of Men and Money, he would put an end to that Cessation without declaring it to be void; which otherwise he could not in Justice do, and the doing whereof would be to no purpose.

“ This the Commissioners, visibly out of Countenance and Answer, made no other reply, but “ that they were sorry to find, “ that

that odious and detestable Rebellion had receiv'd so much Grace, as that Commissioners from it had been admitt'd upon the King's Presence; and that they wonder'd, there should be any scruple made of Declaring that Cession void, as that was expressly against the Letters of an Act of Parliament. This reply they gave in writing, with many pithical expressions against the Murthers and Cruelties, that had been used in the beginning of that Rebellion; which obliged the King's Commissioners to a little more than in their returns that they were inclin'd to; and to tell them, "That they willed it were in the King's Power to punish all Rebellion, with that severity that was due to it; but since it was not so, he must content to Treaties, and to all other Expedients which are necessary to reduce his Subjects who are in Rebellion, to return to their Duty and Obedience."

THE nine first days were now spent upon the three great heads, in which there was little advance made towards giving satisfaction to either Party; for though, in the matter of Religion, the King's Commissioners had made such considerations, as would oblige Bishops to be more diligent in Preaching, and to be themselves present in the administration of its most important parts of their Jurisdiction; yet no such Reformation was considerable to those who cared for nothing without extirpation; and in neither of the other particulars any ground had been gotten; and they were sensible, that the matter of Ireland, the King's defence would weigh down their Clamour and Calumny. There happen'd some Accidents in this time of the Treaty, which made impression on each Party; the first was found in the looks of the Parliament Commissioners, upon the Advertisement they receiv'd, that *St Lewis Dives*, who was Governour of a small Garrison in *Shrewsbury* in *Dorset-shire*, had from thence, in a Night, upon Intelligence with the King's Governour of *Parvland Castle*, surpris'd *Weymouth*, a Sea-Port possid'd by the Parliament; which was like to be attended with great benefit to the King.

BUT whilst the King's Commissioners entertain'd some hopes that this loss might have the more dispos'd the Parliament to a just Peace, they receiv'd Advertisement of a much greater loss sustain'd by the King, and which was more like to exalt the other side. Colonel *Langborne*, and *Nittes*, two very Active Officers in the Parliament Service, about *Shrewsbury* and *North-Wales*, by correspondence with some Townsmen, and some Soldiers in the Garrison of *Shrewsbury*, from whence too many of that Garrison were unhappily driven out, two or three days before, upon some Expedition, sent

upon that Town in the Night; and by the same Treachery, likewise enter'd the Castle; where *St Michael Earnly* the Governour had been long sick, and rising, upon the Alarm, out of his Bed, was killed in his Shirt; whilst he behav'd himself as well as was possible; and refus'd Quarter; which did not shorten his Life many days, he being even at the point of Death by a Consumption; which kept him from performing all due Offices of Vigilance he was accustom'd to, being a Gallant Gentleman, who understood the Office and Duty of a Soldier by long experience, and diligent observation. The loss of *Shrewsbury* was a great blow to the King, and freighten'd his Quarters exceedingly, and broke the secure Line of Communication with *Chester*, and expos'd all *North-Wales*, *Hereford*, and *Worcester*, to the daily incursions of the Enemy; and he News of this, recover'd the dejected Spirits of the Parliament Commissioners at *Usbridge*.

YET there had been an odd Accident which accompanied the Enterprize upon *Weymouth*, which gave them afterwards more trouble. *St Lewis Dives* had, in his March from *Shrewsbury*, intercepted a Packet of Letters sent out of *Summersetshire* to the Parliament; and among those, there was a Letter from *John Pym*, a Gentleman well known, and of a fair Estate in that Country, to Colonel *Edward Popham*, a principal Officer of the Parliament in their Fleets at Sea, and of a passionate and virulent Temper, of the Independent Party. The subject of the Letter was a bitter invective against the Earl of *Essex*, and all those who advanced the Treaty of Peace, and great detraction of the Peace, with very indecent expressions against the King himself, and all who adhered to him. This Letter had been sent by *St Lewis Dives* to one of the Secretaries at *Oxford*, and from Him to the Commissioners at *Usbridge*; who, as soon as they receiv'd it, communicated it to some of those Commissioners, who they knew desired a Peace, and were very great Friends to the Earl of *Essex*. The *last* were likewise as much invehiv'd against as any Body else. They to whom this Letter was communicated, durst not undertake to appear to know any thing of it; but advis'd, "that the Marquis of *Hereford*, might lend a Copy of it to his Brother the Earl of *Essex*, with such reflections as He thought fit: which being done accordingly, the Earl of *Essex*, who was yet General, took it so much to heart that he desired the Marquis of *Hereford* would send him the Original; which was presently done; hoping that it would have given some Advantage to the Earl of *Essex*, towards whom the Parliament yet behav'd it self with all imaginable decency and respect.

THE Conversation that this Letter occasion'd between some

some of the Commissioners of both sides, who in private used their old freedom, made a great discovery of the Faction that was in the Parliament: that there were many who desired to have Peace, without any alteration in the Government; but they might be sure of Indemnity, and security for what was past; that the *Stets* would insist upon the whole Government of the Church, and in all other Matters would defer to the King; but that there was another Party, that would have no Peace upon what conditions soever, who did resolve to change the whole frame of the Government in State, as well as Church; which made a great Party in the Army: all those of the Parliament who desired to remove the Earl of *Essex* from being General of the Army, and to make another General, were of that Party. There was likewise, among the Commissioners themselves, very little Truith, and Communication; *St. Barry Pense*, *Saint-John*, and *Prislaux*, being, upon the matter, but Spies upon the rest; and though most of the rest did heartily desire a Peace, even upon any Terms, yet none of them had the Courage to avow the receding from the most extravagant Demand. Besides, there was reason enough to believe, that if the King had yielded to all that was then proposed, they would likewise have insisted upon all which they had formerly Demand'd, and upon the delivery up of all those Persons who had faithfully serv'd the King, and had been by them always excepted, as Persons never to be Pardon'd.

For though they had assign'd those three general Heads of the Church, of the Militia, and of *Ireland*, to be first Insist'd upon, which were all plausible and popular Arguments, and in which they who most desired Peace, would insist at least upon many concessions, yet they had not, in the least degree, declar'd any other of their Propositions; as the exemption of many of the greatest Quality, or of the most declared Adversaries to the King, in the three Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, from Pardon; and the making the Estates of the rest, under the Name of Delinquents, liable to pay the Charges of the War; or from which, or any of the other very unreasonable demands, the Houses had not in their Instructions given their Commissioners Authority, in the least paricle to recede: They who desired Peace, being satisfied, that they had prevail'd to have a Treaty, which they imagin'd would do all the rest, and that these latter demands, would fall off, of themselves, when satisfaction should be given in those important particulars which more concern'd the publick; and, on the other side, they who resolv'd the Treaty should be ineffectual, were well content, that their Commissioners should be instructed only to insist upon those three Generals, without power to depart from any one expression, in the Propositions concerning these

particulars; being satisfied, that in the particular which concern'd the Church, the *Stets* would never depart from a title; and as sure, that the King would never yield to it; and that, in the Militia, they who most desired Peace, would adhere to that which most concern'd their own Security; and in the business of *Ireland*, besides the opportunity to please the King, upon an Argument in which the People generally concurr'd with them, they were safe enough; except the King should absolutely retract, and recant all that he had done, and by declaring the Cessation void, expose all those who had a hand in it, to Their censure, and judgement; and so dissolve alike the Authority he had in that Kingdom for the future, which they knew he would never do. So that they were safe enough in those three heads of their Treaty, without bringing any of their other demands into Debate; which would have spent much time, and rais'd great difference in opinion among them; yet they had those still in reserve, and might reasonably conclude, that if the King satisfied them in the Terms of those three Propositions, he would never insist upon any of the rest; which could not relate so much to his Conscience, or his Honour, as the other. Besides, they knew well, that if, by the King's Condescensions, they had full satisfaction in the former Three, they who had most passion for Peace, would, for their own sakes in the particular revenge upon those Men with whom they were angry enough, and in the preferments, which would be then in their disposal, never divide from them in any thing that remain'd to be demand'd.

One Night, late, the Earl of *Pembroke* came to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Lodging, to return him a visit; and sat with him some hours; all his discourse being to persuade him, to think it reasonable to consent to all that the Parliament had demand'd. He told him, "that there was never such a Pack of Knaves, and Villaines, as they who now govern'd in the Parliament; who would so far prevail, if this Treaty were broke off, as to remove the Earl of *Essex*; and then they would constitute such an Army as should force the Parliament, as well as the King, to consent to whatsoever they demand'd; which would end in the Change of the Government into a Common-wealth. The Chancellor told him, "if he believ'd That, it was high time for the Lords to look about them, who would be then no less concern'd than the King. He confid'd it, and "that they were now sensible, that they had brought this mischief upon themselves; and did heartily repent it, though too late; and when they were, in no degree, able to prevent the general destruction, which they foresaw; but, if the King would be

“so gracious to them, as to preserve them, by consenting to those unreasonable Propositions which were made by the Parliament, the other wicked Persons would be disappointed; by such his concessions; the Earl of Essex would still keep his power; and they should be able, in a short time since the Peace concluded, by adhering to the King, whom they would never forsake hereafter, to recover all for him that he now parted with, and to drive their wicked Men, who would destroy Monarchy, out of the Kingdom; and thus his Majesty would be greater than ever. How extravagant forever this discourse seems to be, the matter of it was the same, which the wisest of the rest, and there were Men of very good parts among them, did seriously urge to other of the King’s Commissioners, with whom they had the same conference: so broken they were in their Spirits, and so compass’d in their Understanding, even when they had their own sin in their View.

THE Earl of *Northumberland*, who was the proudest Man alive, could not look upon the Destruction of Monarchy, and the contempt the Nobility was already reduced to, and which must be then encreas’d, with any pleasure: yet the repulse he had formerly receiv’d at *Oxford*, upon his Address to the King, and the fair escape he had made afterwards from the jealousy of the Parliament, had wrought so far upon him, that he resolv’d no more to depend upon the one, or to provoke the other, and was willing to see the King’s Power and Authority so much restrain’d, that he might not be able to do any harm.

THE Earls of *Pembroke*, and *Salisbury*, were so totally without credit, or interest in the Parliament, or Country, that it was no matter which way their inclinations or affections disposed them; and their Fear of the Faction that prevail’d, was so much greater than their Hatred towards them, that though they wou’d they might rather be destroy’d than the King, they had rather the King and his Posterity should be destroy’d, than that *Wilson* should be taken from the one of them, or *Hauteville* from the other, the preservation of both which from any danger, they both believ’d to be the highest point of prudence, and politic circumspection.

THE Earl of *Denbigh* had much greater parts, and far further before him into the desperate designs of that Party that had then the power, than either of the other three, and desired those designs as much as any of them; yet the pride of his Nature, not inferior to the proudest, and the conscience of his Ingratitude to the King, in some respects superior to Thiers who had been most obliged, kept him from being willing to quit the Company with whom he had conversed so long

long. Though he had receiv’d from them most signal affronts and Indignities, and well knew he should never more be employ’d by them, yet he thought the King’s condition to be utterly desperate, and that he would be at last compell’d to yield to worse conditions than were now offer’d to him. He conferr’d with so much freedom with one of the King’s Commissioners, and spent so much time with him in the vacant hours, there having been formerly a great friendship between them, that he drew some jealousy upon himself from some of his Companions. With him he lamented his own condition, and acknowledged his disloyalty to the King, with expressions of great compunction; and protesteth, “that he would most willingly redeem his Transgressions by any sum that might serve the King signally, though he were farr to lose his Life in it; but that to lose himself, without any benefit to the King, would expose him to all misery; which he would decline, by not separating from his Party. He inform’d him more fully of the wicked purposes of those who then govern’d the Parliament, than others apprehended or imagin’d; and had a full prospect of the vile condition himself, and all the Nobility should be reduced to; yet thought it impossible to prevent it, by any Authority of their own; and concluded, “that if any conjuncture fell out, in which by losing his Life, he might preserve the King, he would embrace the Occasion; otherwise, he would trust the best he could for himself.

OF the Commissioners of the House of Commons, though, the three named before being excepted, the rest did in their hearts desire a Peace, and upon much honester conditions than they durst own; yet there were not two of them who had entire confidence in each other, or who durst communicate their thoughts together: so that though they could speak their minds freely enough, severally, to those Commissioners of the King’s side with whom they had former friendship, they would not, in the presence of any of their own Companions, use that freedom. The Debate that had been in the House upon the *Self-denying Ordinance*, had raised fo many Jealousies, and discompos’d the confidences that had formerly been between many of them, that they knew not what any Man intended to do; many who had, from the beginning of the Troubles, profess’d to have most devotion for the Earl of *Essex*, and to abhor all his Enemies, had lately seem’d to concur in that Ordinance, which was contriv’d principally for his dishonour and destruction; and others who seem’d still to adhere to him, did it with so many cautions, that there could be no confidence of their perseverance.

HOLLIS, who was the frankest among them in owning

his Animosity and Indignation against all the Independent Party, and was no otherwile affected to the Presbyterians, than as they constituted a Party upon which he depended to oppose the others; did Foresee that many of those who appear'd most ready to concur with him, would, by degrees fall from him purely for want of Courage, in which he abused. *Whitlock*, who, from the beginning, had concurr'd with them without any Inclinations to their Persons, or their Principles, had the same reason still not to separate from them. All his Effort was in their Quarters, and he had a Nature that could not bear, or submit to be undone: though to his Friends, who were Commissioners for the King, he used his old openness, and profess'd his declaration of all the proceedings of his Party, yet could not leave them. *Pennington*, and *Cress*, who were both Men of great Fortuna, and had always been of the greatest moderation in their Countie, and most sollicitous upon all opportunities for peace, appear'd now to have contracted more bitterness, and found that formerly; and were more resolv'd towards the King's Commissioners, than was expect'd; and in all Conferences insist'd peremptorily, that the King must yield to whatsoever was required in the three Demands, which had been Debated. They all valued themselves upon having induced the Parliament, against all Opposition, to consent to a Treaty; which producing no effect, they should hereafter have no more credit; and it plainly appear'd, that they had perswad'd themselves, that, in the Treaty, they should be able to perswade the King's Commissioners to concur with them; and that the King would yield upon the very same arguments, and expectation, that the Earl of *Penbrooke* had offer'd to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Some of them, who knew how impossible it was to prevail with the Commissioners, or, if they could be prevail'd to far in their judgements, how much more impossible it would be to perswade the King to consent to what was so diametrically against his Conscience, and his Honour; and in truth, against his Security, did wish, that, to get the more of the Treaty prologu'd, some Concessions might be made at the point of the Militia, in order to their security, which being provided for, might probably take off many Parties, who, out of that consideration principally, adhered to those who they thought were most jealous of it, and most solicitous for it. This seem'd such an Expedient to those to whom they propos'd it, that they thought fit to make a Debate among all the Commissioners at out it; and if it should produce no other effect, than the getting more days to the Treaty, and making more Divisions in the Parliament, but

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in which they might naturally expect from it, the benefit was not small that would attend it; for, as long as the Treaty is adjust'd, there could be little advance made towards new moulding the Army, the delay whereof would give the King likewise more time to make his Preparations for the Field, towards which he was in no forwardness. This consideration prevail'd with the Commissioners to send their opinion to the King, that he would give them leave to propose, when the next day came for the Debate of the point of the Militia, that the whole Militia of the Kingdom should be divided in such a Number of Persons, for seven or eight years, who might be all sworn to the observation of all the Articles which should be agreed upon in the Treaty; after the expiration of which time, which would be sufficient to extinguish all jealousies, it should be restored to the King. And they sent the King a List of such Names, as they wish'd might be inserted in the Proposition, of Persons in Credit with the Parliament, to which his Majesty might add the like Number of such, of whose Fidelity he was most assur'd.

The Earls of *Essex*, *Northumberland*, *Warwick*, and *Manchester*, with *Fairfax*, and *Cromwell*, were among those they recommended to be named by the King. With this Message they sent two of their own Body, who added other reasons, which they conceiv'd might prevail with Him; and it was with great difficulty that his Majesty was prevail'd with to consent, that such an Overture should be made. But being unwilling to dissent from his Commissioners judgement, and believing it would be rejected, and in hope that it would gain time by lengthning the Treaty, his Majesty was content, that the Commissioners should make such an Offer as was mention'd, and name the Persons they had propos'd of the Independent Party; and wish'd, he sent a List of such Persons as himself thought fit to trust in that Affair; in whom, together with the others, he would have the power of the Militia to be vest'd. But by this time, the Term assign'd for the Treaty drawing towards an end, they who had at first advis'd that Expedient, had not the same opinion of the success; and had plainly discover'd, that the Parliament would not consent to add one day more to the Treaty. So the farther prosecution of the Overture in that manner was laid aside for the King's Commissioners concluded, that at this time to offer any particular Names from the King to be trusted with the Militia, was but to expose those Persons to reproach, as some of them were very ungracious and unopinionate to them; and to give the other side an excuse for rejecting the offer, upon exception to their Persons. However, that they might see a greater consequence from the

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King

King in that point, than he had ever yet been induc'd to, they offer'd, ⁶⁰ that the Militia should be fo furnish'd for the ⁶¹ space of seven years, as they had desired, in such a Number ⁶² of Persons as should be agreed upon; a moiety of which ⁶³ Persons, should be nominated by the King, and the other ⁶⁴ moiety by the Parliament: which was rejected by them with their usual neglect.

From this time the Commissioners, on both sides, grew more resolv'd, and colder towards each other; inso much as in the last Conferences, the Answers and Replies upon one another, were sharper and more reflecting than they had hitherto been: and in their Conference upon the last day which held most part of the Night, it was evident, either the Labour'd most to make the other seem to be most in fault. The King's Commissioners deliver'd a Paper, which contain'd a Sum of all that had been done in the Treaty, and offer'd, ⁶⁵ that after a War of so many years, enter'd into, as was pretend'd, for the Defence, and Vindication of the Law of the Land, and the Liberty of the Subject, in a Treaty of ⁶⁶ twenty days, they had not demand'd any one thing, but ⁶⁷ by the Law of the Land, they had the least Title to demand; but insisted only on such particulars as were against ⁶⁸ Law, and the establish'd Government of the Kingdom; ⁶⁹ and that much more had been offer'd to them for the obtaining of Peace, than they could with justice or reason require: with which they were so offended, that they, for some time, refused to receive the Paper upon pretences, ⁷⁰ that the time for the Treaty was expired; because it was then after twelve of the Clock of the Night of the twentieth day; but at last they were contented to receive it, finding, that it would not be less publick, and would more reflect upon them, if they reject'd it: and so they parted a little before the break of day.

The next day, being *Sunday*, they rested in the Town, that they might in the Afternoon decently take their leave of each other; though *Monday*, according to the Letter of their Pass, was the last day of their freedom, and at that Season of the year their Journey to *Oxford* might require two days, as they had spent two days in coming thither; and the Commissioners for the Parliament, had given them a Paper in which they declar'd, ⁷¹ that they might safely make use of ⁷² another day for their return, of which no Advantage should be taken. But they having on *Sunday*, perform'd their mutual Visits to each other, parted with such coolness towards each other, as if they were hop'd to meet again; and the King's Commissioners were so unwilling to run any hazard, that they were on the *Monday Morning* so early in their

Coaches,

Coaches, that they came to *Oxford* that Night, and kiss'd the King's hand; who receiv'd them very graciously; and thank'd them for the pains they had taken. Surely the pains they had taken, with how little success however, was very great; and they who had been most inured to business, had not in their Lives ever undergone so great fatigue for twenty days together, as at that Treaty. The Commissioners seldom parted, during that whole time, till two or three of the Clock in the Morning. Besides, They were oblig'd to sit up later who were to prepare such Papers as were directed for the next day, and to write Letters to *Oxford*; so that, if the Treaty had continued much longer, it is very probable many of the Commissioners must have fallen sick for want of sleep; which some of them were not satisfic'd with in three or four days after their return to *Oxford*. Thus ended the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, the particulars whereof were, by the King's Command, shortly after published in Print, and never contradicted by the Parliament.

The King spoke to those he trusted most at that time, with much more Melancholy of his own Condition, and the State of his Affairs, than he had us'd to do. The loss of *Uxbridge* was attended with many ill Consequences; and that which had seem'd to bring some kind of recompence for it, the Surprise of *Weymouth*, prov'd but a Dream; for the Enemy had left but one part of the Town, which they, in a short time after, recover'd again by the usual Negligence of the King's Governours. So that his Majesty told them, He found it absolutely necessary to pursue his former resolution of separating the Prince his Son from himself, that the Enemy might not, upon any Success, find them together; which, he said, would be ruin to them both; where-as, though he should fall into their hands whilst his Son was at liberty, they would not dare to do him harm. He seem'd to have very reasonable Apprehensions, that upon the loss of a Battle, he might become a Prisoner; but he never imagin'd, that it would enter into their thoughts to take away his Life; nor that he believ'd they could be restrain'd from that Impious Act, by any remotes of Conscience, or that they had not wickedness enough to design, and execute it: but he believ'd it against their Interest; and would often, in discourse, say, of what moment the preservation of his Life was to the Rebels; and how much they were concern'd to preserve it, in regard, that if he himself were dead the Parliament stood dissolv'd; so that there would be an end of their Government: which, though it were true in Law, would have little shaken their Power, of which they were too long possess'd to part with it easily.

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THIS was a speculation of that Nature, that no body had reason to endeavour to change the King's opinion in that particular; and his Majesty thought of nothing so much as hastening the Prince's Journey; and to that purpose, Commanded those who were appointed to attend him to be ready by a short day, resolving that his Highness should make his Journey directly to *Bristol*, and continue his residence there, till some emergent alteration should make his remove from thence necessary. For whatever discourse was made of raising an Army in the West, the King had no purpose to put the Prince into the head of any such Army; and though *Goring* had prevail'd to be sent, with a strong Party of Horse, and some Foot, into *Hampshire*, upon pretence of securing the West from *Wallor's* Incurision, and upon some other design; yet the King had not the least purpose, that he should be where the Prince was; though he was not himself without that design at that present, as shall be made out anon, meaning by that device to withdraw himself from the Command of Prince *Rupert*, which the King did not apprehend. But his Majesty having no more in his purpose than is said before, he sent the Lord *Hypson* to *Bristol* to provide a House for his Highness, and to put that City into as good a posture of Security for the Prince's residence, as was necessary; nor was there any other Strength design'd to attend about his Highness's Person, than one Regiment of Horse, and one Regiment of Foot, for his Guards, both to be under the Command of the Lord *Capel*; who was likewise to raise them upon his own Credit and Interest; there being, at that time, not one Man raised of Horse or Foot, nor any means in view for the payment of them, when they should be raised; nor, indeed, for the support of the Prince's Family, or his Person. In so great scarcity, and poverty, was the King himself, and his Court at *Oxford*.

THERE happen'd an Accident at this time, that reconcil'd the minds of many to this Journey of the Prince into the West, and look'd like a good Omen that it would produce good effects; though it prov'd afterwards an occasion of much trouble and inconvenience. When the King return'd through *Somersetshire*, after the Defeat of the Earl of *Essex* in *Gloucester*, there had been a Petition deliver'd to him, in the Names of the Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and others his Majesty's Protestant Subjects of the County of *Somerset*, in which they desired, "that his Majesty would give them leave to Petition the Parliament, that there might be a Treaty for Peace; and that they might have liberty to wait upon his Majesty in Person in his march; and that when they came to a nearer distance, they might then go before, and deliver their

"Petitions

"Petition; and if they should not obtain their so just Request, they would then assist his Majesty to get that by the Sword, which could be obtain'd no other way. To that purpose, they desired leave "to put themselves in Armes, to attend his Majesty in the Journey. This Petition, how unjust, or impracticable soever in the manner, and way proposed, was contriv'd by some Persons of unquestionable Fidelity to the King; who thought, that under this specious Title of Petitioners for Peace, they might draw even that whole Populous County to appear for the King; and therefore the King gave them a gracious reception, and liberty to do all that they desired; believing it possible, that he might even from thence recruit his Foot; which he most desired. But his Majesty's speedy march, left that design to be better weigh'd and digested.

Upon the first Fame of the Prince's being to visit the West, and to keep his Court there, some Gentlemen, of the best Quality in the West, came to *Oxford*, as entrusted by the rest to acquaint his Majesty, "that they had now form'd the Design, they had formerly presented to him, much better than it was; and that the four Western Counties, *Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall*, had resolv'd to enter into an Association, and to be joyn'd Petitioners to the Parliament for Peace; and that their Petition should be sent by very many thousands of the most substantial Freeholders of the several Counties, who should have Money enough in their Purse to defray their Charges, going and returning; and whosoever refused to joyn in the Petition, should be looked upon as Enemies to Peace and their Country, and accordingly treated; so that this Address could not but have great influence upon the Parliament, being under the Style of One and All; and could not but be look'd upon as such. They desired the King, "that the Prince might be made General of this Association; in order to which, they would provide for his support according to his Dignity; and, in the first place, take care for the raising a good Guard of Horse and Foot, for the safety of his Person.

THOUGH this design, in the Notions thereof, was as impracticable as the former, yet his Majesty thought not fit to discountenance, and reject it. It was very vehemently pressed by many Persons of Quality, in the name of the four Western Counties, and among those who took it most to heart, *St Johns Staruel* was the Chief; a Gentleman of one of the largest Estates, that any Man possess'd in the West, who had, from the beginning of the Parliament, shew'd very great Affection to the Person of the King, and to the Government that was settled, both in Church and State; and from the beginning

beginning of the War had engaged both his own Person, and his two Sons, in the most active part of it, with singular Courage; and had render'd himself as odious to the Parliament, as any Man of that condition had done. This Gentleman was assisted, and counsel'd by Mr *Peasants*, a Lawyer of Eminency, who had been imprison'd, and banish'd *London*, for his declar'd Affection to the Crown; and they two but first entertain'd and form'd in their own thoughts, and then upon the communication of it with some Gentlemen, and more of the Farmers, and Freeholders of the County, found such a general concurrence with them, that they concluded it could not but have good Success, and would bring the Parliament to be glad of Peace. They were both very tenacious of what they had once resolv'd, and believ'd all who object'd against their undertaking to be sav'd from Peace; so that the King concluded, that he would for comply with them, as to make the Prince General of their Allocation; which he was sure could do no harm; and they were so much delighted with the consideration, that they promis'd speedily to make Provision for the Prince's support, and for the raising his Guards of Horse and Foot; and so that people made haste to *Bristol*, that all things might be ready against the Prince came thither.

The Prince of Wales made General of the King's Forces, and was afterwards dissolved.

UPON these reasons, the Prince had two Commissions granted to him; one, to be General of the Allocation, and another, to be General of all the King's Forces in *England*. For when the King declared his Nephew Prince *Rupert* to be General, in the place of the Earl of *Brentford*, his Highness desired, that there might be no General in *England* but the Prince of *Wales*; and that he might receive his Commission from Him; which his Majesty took well; and so that Commission of Generalissimo was likewise given to the Prince, when in truth it was resolv'd he should Act no part in either, but remain quiet in *Bristol*, till the fate of all Armies could be better discern'd.

THE Indisposition and Melancholy which possess'd the Court at *Oxford*, and all the King's Party, was prefer'd from despair, only by the extraordinary Discontents and Animations in the Parliament; which kept them from pursuing the advantages they had had by united Councils. As soon as the Commissioners were return'd from *Usbridge*, and that a Treaty could be now no farther urg'd, the Independent Party (for so they were now contented to be call'd, in opposition to the other which was call'd Presbyterian) appear'd bare-faced, and vigorously press'd on their self-denying Ordinance, that so they might proceed towards modelling their new Army, by putting out the old Officers; during the suspension whereof,

there was no care for providing for the Troops they had, or making recruits, or preparing any of those Provisions, which would be necessary for taking the Field. They were now enter'd into the Month of *March*, which was us'd as a strong Argument by both Parties, the one urging, that from the Season of the year, the necessity of expediting their resolution for passing the Ordinance, that the Army might be put into posture of marching; the other pressing, that so great an Assertion ought not to be attempted, when there was so short a time to make it in: That there would be apparent danger, that the Enemy would find them, without any Arrangement as it had been, they should be found at the end of the next Campaign in the same posture they were now in; whereas they made no doubt but, if this Ordinance was pass'd, they should proceed so vigorously, that the next Campaign should put an end to the War.

THE Debate continued many days in the House of Commons, with much passion, and sharp reflections upon Things, and Persons; whilst the House of Peers look'd on, and attendedly oppos'd the resolution below. Of the Presbyterian Party, which passionately oppos'd the Ordinance, the chief were, *Hollis*, *Baynton*, *Glan*, *Waller*, *Long*, and others, who believ'd their Party much Superior in Number; as the Independent Party was led by *Nathaniel Eaton*, *Paine*, *Cromwell*, *Hastings*, *Morris*, and others; who spoke more and warmer than they that oppos'd them. Of the House of Peers, there was none thought to be of this last Party, but the Lord *Sey*; all the rest were suppos'd to be of the Earl of *Essex*'s Party; and so, that it was impossible that the Ordinance should ever pass in the House of Peers, though it should be carried by the Commons: But they were in This, as in many other things, disappointed; for many, who had sat silent, and been thought to have been of one Party, appear'd to be of the other. They who thought they could never be secure in any Peace, except the King were first at their Mercy, and so oblig'd to accept the conditions they would give him, were willing to change the hand in carrying on the War; and many, who thought the Earl of *Essex* behaved himself too imperiously, were willing to have the Command in one who was more their equal. Many were willing he should be anger'd, and humbled, that himself might be more concern'd to advance a Peace, which he had not been forward enough to do, whilst he held the Supreme Command.

WHEN

When the Debate grew ripe, *Saint John, Pierpoint, Walsley, and Crew*, who had been thought to be of the Party of the Earl of *Essex*, appear'd for passing the Ordinance, as the only way to unite their Counsels, and to resist the Common Enemy; saying, "they discover'd by what they heard abroad, and by the Spirit that govern'd in the City, that there would be a general dissatisfaction in the People, if this Ordinance were not pass'd. Then they fell into a high Admiration of the Earl of *Essex*, extolling his great merit, and seem'd to fear, "that the War would never be carried on so happily, as it had been under Him; or if it were, that the good success must be still imputed to his Conduct, and Courage, which had form'd their Armies, and taught them to fight. By this kind of Oratory, and professing to decline their own inclinations and wills who were still surpris'd, and led by far prevail'd over those who were still surpris'd, and led by some Craft, that the Ordinance was pass'd in the House of Commons, and transmitted to the Peers for their Consent; where no body imagin'd it would ever pass.

The Self-denying Ordinance pass'd the Commons.

AFTER the Battle at *Tow*, and that the Earl of *Manchester* was required to march with his Army against the King, upon the defeat of the Earl of *Essex* in *Corwen*, the *Scottish* Army march'd Northward, to reduce the little Garrisons remaining in those parts; which was easily done. After which they march'd to *New-Castle*; which, being defended only by the Townsmen, and in no degree fortified for a Siege, was given up to them, after as good a resistance as could be made in such a place, and by such People. So that they having no more to do in those parts, the Parliament thought not it convenient to dismiss them to return into their own Country, nor to carry on all their designs. And therefore the *Scottish* Army was again advanc'd as far as *Tow*, and was to be apply'd as there should be occasion.

An account of the Earl of Arundel's Expedition into Scotland.

THE King had formerly, towards the end of the year forty three, consider'd how to give such a disturbance to *Scotland*, as might oblige their Army to stay at home to quench a Fire in their own Country; but all the Advance, which had been made towards the execution of that design, in the Conferences with the Earl of *Montrose*, and in the Commitment of Duke *Hamilton*, had been check'd for some time, by the King's not being able to give any Troops to that Earl, by the Protection whereof the Loyal Party of that Kingdom might come to his Assistance, and discover their Affection to his Majesty. Notwithstanding which, the vigorous Spirit of the Earl of *Montrose*, had stirr'd him up to make some attempt, whether he had any help or no. The Person whom

that Earl most hated, and contemn'd, was the Marquis of *Argyle*, who had then the Chief Government of *Scotland*; and though he was a Man endued with all the faculties of craft and dissimulation, that were necessary to bring great designs to effect, and had, in respect of his Estate and Authority, a very great Interest in that Kingdom; yet he had no Martial Qualities, nor the reputation of more Courage, than insolent and imperious Persons, whilst they meet with no opposition, are apt to have.

THE Earl of *Montrose* believ'd that his getting safely into *Scotland*, was much more difficult than it would be to raise Men enough there to controul the Authority of *Argyle*. There was at that time, at *Oxford*, the Earl of *Arundel*, remarkable for nothing, but for having Married the Dowager of the great Duke of *Buckingham*; within few years after the death of that Favourite. By the possession of Her ample Fortune, he had liv'd in the Court in great expence and some lustre, until his Riot had contracted a great debt; that he was necessitated to leave the Kingdom, and to retire to his own Fortune in *Ireland* (which was very fair) together with his Wife; who gave him reputation, being a Lady, besides her own great education and Fontaine, as Heiress to the House of *Ratland*, and Wife and Mother to the Duke of *Buckingham*, of a very great wit and Spirit; and made the mean parts of her present Husband (a handsome Man too) well enough receiv'd in all places: so that they had liv'd in *Ireland* in splendour, until they might well do, till that Rebellion drove the Lady again hence, to find a livelihood out of her own Estate in *England*. And upon the Queen's first coming to *Oxford*, She likewise came thither; where She found great respect from all. The Earl of *Arundel*, who was a Man of excessive pride and vanity, and of a very weak and narrow understanding, was follow'd without the countenance and company of his Wife, then he betook himself to the Rebels, with an imagination that his Quality and Fortune would give him the supreme Power over them; which, probably, he never intended to employ to the prejudice of the King, but desired to appear so considerable, that he might be look'd upon as a greater Man than the Marquis of *Ormond*; which was so unseemly and disturbing an Ambition to him, that it led him into several faults and follies. The Rebels were glad of His presence, and to have his Name known to be among them, but had no confidence in his abilities to advise or command them; but relied much more upon his Brother, *Alexander Marston*, who was fall to their Party, and in their most secret Councils.

THE Earl, according to his natural unlearnedness, did not like his Station there, but, by disguise, got himself into the Protestant

Protestant Quarters, and from thence into *England*, and so to *Oxford*; where his Wife then was; and made his presence unacceptible; the King not having then notice of his having ever been among the *Irish* Rebels; but he pretended to have great credit and power in *Ireland* to serve the King, and to dispulse the *Irish* to a Peace, if he should have any contentions from the King; which his Majesty knew him too well to think him capable of. Whether the Earl of *Antrim* had his original Extraction in *Scotland*, or the Marquis of *Artyll* in *Ireland*, must be left to the determination of those that to skill'd in the Genealogy of the Family of the *Macdonells*; in the superiority whereof they both pretend; and the Earl of *Antrim*, to much of those Lands in the Highlands of *Scotland*, which were possessed by *Artyll*; and the greatest part of his Estate in *Ireland* was in that part of *Ulster* that lay near *Scotland*, and his Dependents near of the same Language, and manner of living with the Highlanders of *Scotland*. The knowledge of this, dispos'd the Earl of *Mountrose* to make a great acquaintance with him soon as he came to *Oxford*, and to consult with him, whether it might not be possible to draw a Body of Men out of *Ireland* to be such a foundation for raising Forces in *Scotland*, as might advance the Emperick he had so long in his heart; it being notorious enough that the Highlanders in *Scotland* had very good Affections for the King; and desired nothing more than to free themselves from the hard slavery, they had long endured under the Tyranny of *Artyll*. The passage over the Sea in those places, between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, is so narrow, that the People often make their Markets in one and the other, in the space of few hours; and the hardiness of both People is such, that they have to delight in the superiority of diet, or clothing, or the great commodity of Lodging; and were very fit to constitute an Army that was not to depend upon any Supplies of Money, or Armes, or Victual, but what they could easily provide for themselves, by the dexterity that is universally practis'd in those parts.

THE Earl of *Antrim*, who was naturally a great Undertaker, and desired nothing so much, as that the King should believe him to be a Man of interest and power in *Ireland*, was highly exalted, when he discover'd by the Earl of *Mountrose*, that he was thought to have credit enough in that part of *Ireland*, to perform a Service for the King, which he never before entertain'd a thought of. So that he presently undertook to the Earl of *Mountrose*, "that, if the King would grant him a Commission, he would raise an Army in *Ireland*, and transport it into *Scotland*; and would himself be in the head of it; by means whereof he believ'd all the Clan of the

Macdonells in the Highlands of *Scotland*, might be persuaded to follow him. When the Earl of *Mountrose* had form'd such a reasonable undertaking, as he believ'd the Earl of *Antrim* might in truth be able to comply with, he acquainted the Lord *Digby* with it, who was a friend to all difficult designs, and desired him "to propose it to the King, and to let his Majesty know, that he was so confident of the Earl of *Antrim*'s being able to perform what should be necessary "for he would be very well content, if he would send for a Body but of two thousand Men into *Scotland*, which he well knew he could easily do) that he would himself be in the Highlands to receive them; and run his fortune with them; if his Majesty would give him leave to gather up "a Number of his Country-men about *Oxford*, as would be willing to accompany him; with whom he would make his way thither; and that, if no time were lost in prosecuting this design, he did hope that by the time the *Scottish* Army should be ready to take the Field, they should receive "such an Alarm from their own Country, as should hinder their advance.

UPON this Overture, the King conferr'd with the two Earls together; and finding the Earl of *Antrim* forward to advance the raising as many Men as should be desired, if he might have the King's Commission to that purpose; and knowing well, that he had, in that part of the Kingdom, Interest enough to do it; and the Earl of *Mountrose* as confidently assisting his Majesty, "that with two thousand Men Landed in the Highlands, he would quickly raise an Army; with which he could disquiet that Kingdom; and the design being more probable, than any other that could be propos'd to the same purpose, his Majesty resolv'd to encourage it all he could, that he might give it countenance; for he had neither Money, nor Armes, nor Ammunition, to contribute to it in any degree. The great objection, that appear'd at the first entrance into it, was, "that though the Earl of *Antrim* had power in *Ulster*, and among the Roman Catholics, he was very odious to the Protestants, and obnoxious to the State at *Dublin*, many "designs being discover'd against him of his correspondence with the Rebels, which were not known when he came into *England*. But that which gave most Umbrage (for no body suspected his conjunction with the Rebels) was his declaration to the Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of *Cromwell*, and the contempt the Marquis had of him, who would therefore undervalue any Proposition should be made by him, being a Man of so notorious a levity and inconstancy, that he did not use to intend the same thing long. There could be no trusting him with any Commission independent upon

“the Marquis of Ormond, or allowing him to do any thing in
“Ireland without the Marquis's Privy, and such a limitation
“would by no means be grateful to him. And though the
“nets, the King's Friends in *Scotland* would receive by
“carrying away any Body of Men out of *Ulster*, would be
“great lessning and abatement of the strength of the high
“Rebels, who had the Command over those parts, yet if the
“Earl of *Ardrum*, under any Authority from the King, should
“indirectly behave himself (as no Man who lov'd him best
“had any confidence in his discretion) all the reproaches all
“upon his Majesty, of his countenancing those Rebels, would
“receive the greatest confirmation imaginable.

This foresight of these difficulties gave life to an Intrigue
in the Court, which for some time had not succeeded. *Dennis*
O Neile (who was in subtlety and understanding much super-
rior to the whole Nation of the old *Tribes*) had long labour'd
to be of the Bed-Chamber to the King. He was very well
known to the Court, having spent many years between the
and the Low Countries, the Winter Season in the one, and
the Summer always in the Army in the other; as good an
Education towards advancement in the World, as that Age
knew. He had a fair Reputation in both Climates, having
competent Fortune of his own, to support himself without
dependence, and a natural Insinuation, and Address, which
made him acceptable in the best Company. He was a good
observer, and discerner of Mens Natures and Humours, and
was very dexterous in compliance where he found it useful.
As soon as the Troubles began in *Scotland*, he had, with the
first, the Command of a Troop of Horse; to which he was
by all Men held very equal; having had good experience in
the most Active Armies of that time, and a Courage very
notorious. And though his inclinations were naturally to ease
and luxury, his industry was insatiable, when his Honour
required it, or his particular Interest, which he was never
without, and to which he was very indulgent, made it necessary
or convenient.

In the second Troubles in *Scotland*, he had a greater Com-
mand, and some part in most of the Intrigues of the Court,
and was in great confidence with those who most desired
the destruction of the Earl of *Stratford*; against whom he
had contracted some prejudice in the behalf of his Nephew;
yet when the Parliament grew too imperious, he enter'd very
frankly into their new designs, which were contriv'd at
Court, with less circumspection than both the Seaside, and the
weight of the Affair required. And in this Combination, in
which Men were most concern'd for themselves, and to re-
ceive good recompence for the Adventures they made, he

had either been promised, or at least encouraged by the Queen
to hope to be made Groom of the Bed-chamber, when a vacan-
cy should happen. When the Civil War begun, he, be-
ing then in the Low Countries, having made an escape out of
the Tower, where he flood committed by the Parliament upon
a Charge of High Treason, chose rather to be Lieutenant
Colonel of Horse to Prince *Rupert*, than the Name of a greater
Officer, which he might well have preterred to; and presuming
that, by his dexterity, he should have such an Interest in that
young Prince, as might make his relation to him Superior to
those who had greater Titles. He had the misfortune, at the
first coming of the Prince, to have credit with him to make
some impressions, and prejudices, which he would have been
glad afterwards to have removed, when he saw others had
credit likewise to build upon those Foundations, which he
hoped to have had the sole Authority to have supervised, and
directed. When he saw some of his Fraternity promoted to
Offices and Honours, who had not ventur'd, or suffer'd more
than He (for if he had not made his escape out of the Tower
very dextrously, in a Ladies dress, he had been in manifest
danger of his Life) and whose pretences were not better
founded, than upon the promises made at the same time, when
he had promised himself to be of the Bed-Chamber, he now
perfed likewise to be admitted into that attendance; and the
Queen had been very sollicitous with the King on his behalf,
being conscious to her self, that he had been encouraged by
Her to hope it. But the King could by no means be prevailed
with to receive him, having contracted a prejudice against
him with reference to the Earl of *Stratford*; or upon some
other reason, which could not be removed by all his Friends,
or by the Queen her self; who therefore bid him expect a better
conjunction. This, *O Neile* took very heavily; and at the
same time, because his condition in the Army was less pleasant
to him, by Prince *Rupert's* withdrawing his Graces from him.

The design of the Earls of *Montrose* and *Ardrum*, which
was yet wholly managed with the King by the Lord *Digby*,
who was likewise of intimate Friendship with *O Neile*, gave
him opportunity to get his presence again on foot. It was ge-
nerally known that *O Neile*, whether by Alliance, or Friend-
ship, or long acquaintance, had more power with the Earl
of *Ardrum* than any Man; and that by the ascendant he had in
his understanding, and the dexterity of his Nature, in which
he was Superior to most Men, he could persuade him very
much; and it was as notorious, that the Marquis of *Ormond*
lov'd *O Neile* very well, and had much esteem for him. Upon
this ground the Lord *Digby* told the King, “that he had
thought of an expedient, which he did believe might relieve
“him
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in him the perplexities he sustain'd concerning the Conduct of the Earl of *Artrim*; and then propos'd, "that the sending of *O Neile* with him; who should first dissuade him from affecting to have any Commission Himself to Act in *Ireland*; and then incline him to depend upon the Assistance and Authority of the Marquis of *Ormond*; who should be required by the King to contribute all he could, for the making such Levies of Men, and for impressing of Ships, and other Vessels for their Transportation into the Highlands; and then, that he should go over himself with the Earl, and stay with him during his abode in *Dublin*; by which he might begin, and preserve a good Intelligence between Him and the Marquis of *Ormond*; and dispose the Marquis of *Ormond* to gratify him, in all things that might concern so important a Service; which, besides the Letters he should carry with him from the King, his own credit with the Marquis, and his singular Address, would easily bring to pass.

This Proposition was very agreeable to the King, who knew *O Neile* was equal to this business; and the Lord *Digby* did not in the least intimate any design for *O Neile's* advantage in the Service, which would have diverted the Negotiation: thereupon his Majesty himself spoke to him of the whole design, the Lord *Digby* desiring he would do so, pretending that he had not communicated any part of it to him, being not sure of his Majesty's Approbation. He receiv'd it as a thing he had never thought of; and when the King asked him, "whether he thought the Earl had interest enough in those parts of *Ireland*, to Levy and Transport a Body of Men into the Highlands? he Answer'd readily, "that he knew well, that there were so many there, where the Earl's Estate lay, who depended absolutely upon him, that there would be Men enough ready to go thither, or do what he required them: and that the Men were hardy and Routier by Service; but the drawing a Body of them together, and Transporting them, would require, he doubted, more power than the Earl himself had, or could be Master of. He said, there were two Objections in view, and a third, that he was not willing, for many reasons, to make. The first was, that nothing of that Nature could be done without the Authority and Power of the Marquis of *Ormond*, which, no doubt, would be applied to any purpose his Majesty should direct; yet that the Earl of *Artrim* had behaved himself so indiscreetly towards the Marquis, and so unhandedly oblig'd him, that it could not but be the fittest Command his Majesty should lay upon the Marquis, to enter into any kind of conjunction, or conversation with that Earl. The second was, that, though the Earl's Interest could make

many Men as he desired, to enter into any Adion or Engagement he would prescribe, he much doubted the Earl's Command in Chief, who had the Military power of those parts, would hardly permit a Body of those Men, which they reckon'd their best Soldiers, to be Transported; and thereby their own strength to be lessen'd; which was an objection of Weight; and not mention'd before to the King, nor consider'd by him. He said, "he was unwilling to make another objection, which reflect'd upon a Person so dear to him, and for whom he would at any time lay down his Life; which was, that he much fear'd the Earl of *Artrim* had not steadiness of mind enough to go through with such an Undertaking, which otherwise would be as easy as honourable.

The King, well satisfied with the Discourse he made, told him, "that he was not Himself without the same apprehensions he had, and knew but one way to secure the business, if he would undertake the Journey with him, by which all his fears would be compos'd; His Council would govern the Earl in all things, and his credit with the Marquis of *Ormond*, which should be improv'd by his Majesty's recommendation, would prevent any prejudice in him towards the Earl. The King added, "that the Service it self was of so vast importance, that it might preserve his Crown, and therefore his conducting it, without which he saw little hope of Success, would be a matter of great merit, and could not be Unrewarded. *O Neile* seem'd wonderfully surpris'd with the Proposition, and in some disorder (which he could hardly put on when he would) said, "that he would never disobey any Command his Majesty would positively lay upon him; but that he should look upon it as the greatest misfortune that could befall him, to receive such a Command, as would deprive him of attending upon his Majesty in the next Campaigns, where he was sure there must be a Battle; from which he had rather lose his life than be absent. Then he said, "though the Earl of *Artrim* was his Kinsman, and his Friend, and one who, he thought, lov'd him better than he did any other Man, yet he was the last Man in *England* with whom he would be willing to join in any Enterprize; mentioning his Pride, and Levity, and Weakness, and many Insinuations, which made it appear more requisite, that a Wiser Man should have the application of his Interest; which he knew must be himself. The King renew'd his desire to him, to undertake the Service; and the greatest he could perform for him; and commanded him to confer with the Lord *Digby*, who should inform him of all particulars, and should find the best way to make the Earl of

Antrim to communicate the Affair to him, and to wish his Assistance; which was easily brought to pass; nor was there any thing relating to that the Lord *Digby* had not before imparted to him; though the King suspected it not.

The Lord *Digby* had now brought the business to the state he wish'd; and, within two or three days, told the King how glad the Earl of *Antrim* was, that he had leave to communicate the matter with *O Neile*; and desired nothing more than that his Majesty would command him to go over with him, which was an excellent point gained, whereas he had himself chosen the Person, who was only fit to be with him, whereas he might have been jealous, if he had been first recommended to him. The Earl had, upon the first mention of him, taken Notice of the Difficulty he might find to draw his Men out of the *Irish* Quarters, by the opposition of those who Commanded there in chief; but, he said, if the King would make *O Neile* go with him, all that difficulty would be remov'd; for *Oswen O Neile* who was Uncle to *Daniel*, was the General of all the *Irish* in *Ulster*, and incomparably the best Soldier, and the wisest Man that was among the *Irish* Rebels, having long serv'd the King of *Spain* in *Flanders* in very eminent Command; and the Earl said, that he was sure *Daniel* had that credit with his Uncle, that he would not refuse at his request, to condescend to what was necessary for the Earl to do, which was all he desired.

The Lord *Digby* left not this circumstance, which he pretended never to have thought of before, unobserv'd, to advance the Council he had given for employing *O Neile*; when he took occasion then to Magnify again; and told the King, that he had already convinced the Earl of *Antrim*, of the folly of desiring any other Commission, than what the Marquis of *Ormond* should find necessary to give him; and how impossible it was for him to have any success in that design, without the cheerful concurrence, and friendship of the Marquis: which the Earl was now brought to confess, and solemnly promised to do all he should be advis'd, to compass it. But after all this, he lamented *O Neile's* obsequiousness to undertake the Journey, for many reasons; who, he said, had engag'd him, under all the obligations of the Friendship that was between them, to prevail with his Majesty, that he might not be absent from his charge in the Army, in a Season when there must be so much *Adison*, and when his Majesty's Person, whom he so dearly lov'd, must be in so great danger; and that he had told him freely, that he could not honestly move his Majesty to that purpose, whom he knew to be so possess'd of the necessity

of his going into *Ireland* with the Earl, that he should despair of the whole Enterprize, which was the most hopeful he had in his view, if he did not cheerfully submit to his part towards it: but that notwithstanding all he had said, by which he had lost out all farther opportunity to persuade himself, his Majesty must expect to be very much struggled with; and that *O Neile* would lay himself at his feet, and get all his Friends to joyn with him in a supplication for his Majesty's excuse; and that there was no more to be done, but that his Majesty, with some warmth, should Command him to desist from farther importunity, and to comply with what he should expect from him; which, he said, he knew would silence all farther opposition: for that *O Neile* had that entire resignation to his Majesty's pleasure, that he would rather dye than offend him. Upon which, and to cut off all farther Mediation, and Interposition, the King presently sent for him, and graciously conjur'd him, with as much passion as he could throw, to give over all thoughts of excuse, and to provide for his Journey within three or four days.

All things being thus dispos'd, and the King expecting every day that the Earl and *O Neile* would take their leaves, the Lord *Digby* came to him, and said, Mr *O Neile*, had an humble Suite to his Majesty at parting, which to him did not seem unreasonable, and therefore he hop'd his Majesty would raise the Spirits of the poor Man, since he did believe in his Conscience, that he desired it more for the advancement of his Majesty's Service, than to satisfy his own Ambition. He put him in mind of the long pretence he had to be Groom of his Bed-Chamber, for the which he could not choose but say, that he had the Queen's promise, at the same time when *Piercy*, and *Wilmot* had the like for their Honours, which they had since receiv'd the accomplishment of: That his Majesty had not yet reject'd the Suite, but only defer'd the granting it; not without giving him leave in due time to hope it: That there could not be so proper a Season as this, for his Majesty to confer this Grace: That Mr *O Neile* was without a Rival, and, in the Eyes of all Men, equal to his pretence; and so no Man could be offended at the Success: That he was now upon an employment of great Trust, chosen by his Majesty as the only Person who could bring an Enterprize of this vast expedition to a good end, by his Conduct and Dexterity: That it must be a Journey of great expence, besides the hazard of it; yet he asked no Money, because he knew there was none to be had; and he begged only, that he might depart with such a Character, and Testimony of his Ma-

" *Jeffy's* favour and good opinion, that he might be thereby
 " the better qualified to perform the trust that was reposit-
 " ed in him: That the conferring this Honour upon him, at this
 " time, would encrease the Credit he had with the Earl of
 " *Antrim*, at least confirm his unconstant Nature, in an ab-
 " solute confidence in him: It would make him more confi-
 " derable to the Marquis of *Ormonde*, and the Council then,
 " with whom he might have occasion often to confer about
 " his Majesty's Service; but above all, it would give him that
 " Authority over his Country-men, and would be such a
 " obligation upon the whole *Irish* Nation (there having ne-
 " ver yet been any *Irish* man admitted to a place so near the
 " Person of the King) that it might produce unexpected
 " effects, and could not fail of disposing *Owen O Neile*, the
 " General, to hearken to any thing his Nephew should say
 " of him.

How much reason never this discourse carried with it,
 with all the insinuations a very powerful Speaker could add
 to it in the delivery, the Lord *Digby* found an aversion, and
 weariness in the King all the time he was speaking; and
 therefore, as his last effort, and with a Countenance as if he
 thought his Majesty much in the wrong, he concluded, " that
 " he doubted his Majesty would too late repent his aversion
 " in this particular; and that Men ought not to be sent upon
 " such Errands, with the sharp sense of any disoblige-
 " ment: That if his Majesty pleased, he might settle this Affair in
 " such a manner as *O Neile* might go away very well pleased,
 " and his Majesty enjoy the greatest part of his resolution:
 " That *O Neile* should not be yet in so near an attendance
 " about his Person: That the Employment was full of hazard,
 " and would require a great expence of time: That he was a
 " Man of that Nature, as would not leave his business half
 " done, and would be ashamed to see his Majesty's face, be-
 " fore there were some very considerable effects of his Act-
 " ivity and Industry; and considering what was to be done in
 " *Ireland*, and the posture of Affairs in *England*, it might be
 " a very long time before *O Neile* might find himself again in
 " the King's presence, to enter upon his Office in the Bed-
 " Chamber; and therefore proposed, " that the hour he was
 " to leave *Oxford*, he might be sworn Groom of the Bed-
 " Chamber; by which he should depart only with a Title,
 " the effect whereof he should not be possessed of, before he
 " had very well deserv'd it, and return'd again to his Ma-
 " jesty's presence; which, possibly, might require more time
 " than the other had to live. This last prevail'd more than
 " all the rest, and the imagination that the other might be well
 " satisfied with a place he should never enjoy, made his Majesty
 " consent,

consent, that, in the last Article of time, he should be sworn
 before his departure; with which the other was well satisfi-
 ed, making little doubt but that he should be able to dispatch
 that part of the business which was incumbent on him, in
 short a time, as he might return to his attendance in the
 Bed-Chamber (where he longed to be) sooner than the King
 expected; which fell out accordingly, for he was again with
 his Majesty in the Summer following, which was that of
 forty four.

WHILEST this Intrigue was carrying on for *M^r O Neile*,
 there was another, as unacceptable, set on foot on the behalf
 of the Earl of *Antrim*; for whose Person the King had as
 little regard or kindness, as for any Man of his rank. The
 Duchess of *Buckingham*, his Wife, was now in *Oxford*, whom
 the King always heard with favour; his Majesty retaining a
 most gracious memory of her former Husband, whom, He
 thought, he had forgotten too soon. This Lady, being of a
 great Wit and Spirit, when she found that the King now
 thought her Husband good for somewhat, which he had ne-
 ver before done, was resolv'd he should carry with him some
 testimony of the King's esteem; which, she thought, would
 be at least some justification of the affection he had mani-
 fested for him. She told the King, " that her Husband was
 " eclipsed in *Ireland*, by the no-countenance his Majesty
 " had ever shew'd towards him, and by his preferring some
 " who were his equals, to degrees and trusts above him, and
 " by raising others, who were in all respects much inferior to
 " him, to the same Title with him, and to Authority above
 " him, that she believ'd he had not Credit and Interest enough
 " to do the Service he desired to do: That, in that Country,
 " the Lords and Greatest Men had Reputation over their Te-
 " nants and Vassals, as they were known to have Grace from
 " the King; and when they were known to be without that,
 " they had no more power than to exact their own just Ser-
 " vices. She lamented " the misfortune of her Husband,
 " which she had the more reason to do, because it proceeded
 " from Her; and that, whereas he had reason to have ex-
 " pected, that, by his Marriage with her, he might have
 " been advanced in the Court, and in his Majesty's favour,
 " he had found so little benefit from thence, that he might
 " well believe, as She did, that he suffer'd for it: Otherwise,
 " it would not have been possible for a Person of the Earl of
 " *Antrim's* Estate, and Interest, and so well qualified, as she
 " had reason to believe him to be in all respects, after the
 " expence of so much Money in attendance upon the Court,
 " to be without any mark or evidence of his Majesty's favour;
 " and to return now again in the same fortune Common unto

to Ireland, would not give his Enemies more encouragement to insult over him, and to cross any designs he had to advance his Majesty's Service. In Conclusion he desired, that the King would make her Husband a Marquis; without which, the duty is good as declare, that he should not undertake that Employment. Though his Majesty was much pleas'd with the matter, nor the manner, he did not dissent to great an inconvenience in the gratifying him, as might weigh down the benefit he expected with reference to Scotland, which the Earl of *Montrose*, every day, with great earnestness, put him in mind of. Thereupon, he gave Order for a Warrant to make the Earl of *Arbuthnot* a Marquis.

So He and *O'Neale*, being well pleas'd, began their Journey for Ireland; and at the same time the Earl of *Montrose* took his leave of the King with several Gentlemen, as if they intended to make their way together into Scotland. But the Earl of *Montrose*, after he had continued his Journey two or three days in that Equipage, which he knew could be no secret, and that it would draw the Enemies Troops together for the Guard of all Passes to meet with him, was found missing one Morning by his Company; who, after some stay and enquiry, return'd back to *Oxford*, whilst that Noble Person, with incredible Address and Fatigue, had not only quitted his Company, and his Servants, but his Horse also, and found a safe passage, for the most part, on foot, through all the Enemies Quarters, till he came to the very Borders; from whence, by the assistance of Friends whom he trusted, he found himself secure in the Highlands, where he lay quiet without undertaking any Action, until the Marquis of *Arbuthnot*, by the Countenance and Assistance of the Marquis of *Ormond*, did make good so much of his undertaking, that he sent over *Alexander Macdonnell*, a stout and an active Officer (whom they call'd by a Irish appellation *Calisto*) with a Regiment of fifteen hundred Soldiers; who Landed in the Highlands in Scotland, at, or near the place that had been agreed on, and where the Earl of *Montrose* was ready to receive them; which he did with great joy; and quickly publish'd his Commission of being General for the King over all that Kingdom. With this handful of Men brought together with these circumstances remember'd, he brought in so many of his own Country-men to join with him, as were strong enough to Arm themselves at the Charge of their Enemies; whom they first Defeated; and every day increased in power, till he Fought, and prevail'd in so many several Battles, that he made himself, upon the matter, master of the Kingdom; and did all those stupendous Acts, which deservedly are the Subject of a History by it self, excellently written in Latin by a

Learned

Learned Prelate of that Nation. And this preamble to that History was not improper for this relation, being made up of many secret passages known to few; in which the Artifices of Court were very notable, and as mysterious as the Motives in that Sphere use to be. There will be hereafter occasion, before the conclusion of our History, to mention that Noble Lord again, and his Zeal for the Crown, before he came to his sad Catastrophe.

The King now found, that, notwithstanding all the divisions in the Parliament, and the factions in the City, there would be an Army ready to march against him before he could put himself into a posture ready to receive it; and was therefore the more impatient that the Prince should leave *Oxford*, and begin his Journey to *Brighthelm*; which he did within a fortnight after the expiration of the Treaty at *Usbridge*. And since the King did at that time, within himself (for publicly he was contented that it should be otherwise believ'd) resolve that the Prince should only keep his Court in the West, that he might be separated from each other, without engaging himself in any Martial Action, or being so much as present in any Army, it had been very happy, and, to discerning Men, seem'd then a thing desirable, if his Majesty had remov'd his Court into the West too, either to *Bristol*, or, which it may be had been better, to *Exeter*. For since *Reading* and *Abingdon* were both possessed by the Parliament, and thereby *Oxford* become the head Quarter, it was not so fit that the Court should remain there; which, by the multitude of Ladies, and Persons of Quality, who resided there, would not probably encourage an Attack of the Enemy, as the Situation of the place, and the good Fortifications which inclos'd it, might very well bear. Nor would the Enemy have fate down before it, till they had done their business in all other places, if they had not pretum'd, that the Inhabitants within, would not be willing to submit to any sensible distress. If, at this time, a good Garrison had only been left there, and all the Court, and Persons of Quality, remov'd into the West with the Prince, it would probably have been a means speedily to have reduced to the King's Obedience those small Garrisons, which stood out; and the King himself might, by the Spring, have been able to have carried a good recruit of Men to his Army, and might likewise have made *Oxford* the place of Rendezvous, at the time when it should be fit for him to take the Field. But the truth is, not only the Ladies, who were very powerful in such consultations of State, but very few of the rest, of what Degree, or Quality soever, who had excellent Accommodations in the Colleges, which they could not have found any where else, would, without extreme murmuring, have been content

content to have chang'd their Quarters. Besides, the King had that Royal Affliction for the Univerfity, that he thought it well depriv'd the honour of his own Preſence; and alway reſolv'd, that it ſhould be never ſo expoſ'd to the extremity of War, as to fall into thoſe barbarous hands, without making all neceſſary Conditions for the preſervation of ſo Venerable a place from Rapine, Sacrilege, and deſtruction.

THUS that confideration of removing the Court from thence, was only ſerely enter'd upon, and laid aſide, without making it the ſubject of any Publick Debate: and ſince the other could not have been effectual, it had been well if the whole Council which was assign'd to attend the Prince, had been oblig'd to have perform'd that Service. But both the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Southampton, Men of great Reputation and Authority, excus'd themselves to the King, for not ſubmitting to that his Command, and for deſiring to continue ſtill about his Perſon; the one thinking it ſome diminution to his greatneſs to be at any diſtance from his Maſter; to whom he had adher'd with that ſignal Fidelity and Affection, when ſo many had deſerted him; the other being already Married, and engag'd in a Family, which he could not, without great inconveniences, have left behind him; nor without more have carried with him. Nor was the King difficult in admitting their excuſes, having nam'd them rather to obviate ſome jealousies, which were like to be external upon the firſt diſcourſe of ſending the Prince into the Weſt, than that he believ'd they would be willing to be engag'd in the Service. However, it was eaſy to be foreſeen, that, upon any ill accidents, which were like enough to fall out, they who were ſtill oblig'd to that duty, would not have reſponded enough to exact that general ſubmiſſion, and obedience, which ought to be paid to the Commands of the Prince; or which there was ſhortly after too manifeſt evidence.

St John Cham and his Son were at a Court of War.

THUS it was an Act of Divine Juſtice about this time executed by thoſe at Weſtmiſter, which ought not to be forgotten in the relation of the Affairs of this year; and which ought to have caus'd very uſeful reflections to be made by many who were equally engag'd; ſome of whom afterwards did undergo the ſame fate. There hath been often mention believ'd of St John Hoſham, who that the Gates of Hull againſt the King, and refus'd to give him entrance into that Town, when he came thither attend'd only by his own Servants, before the beginning of the War; and was, in truth, the immediate cauſe of the War. It was the more wonderful, that a Perſon of a full and ample Fortune, who was not diſturbed by any Fancies in Religion, had unqueſtion'd duty to the Crown, and reverence for the Government both of Church and State.

ſhould ſo ſoſtly expoſe Himſelf, and his Family, of great Augury, to comply with the humours of thoſe Men whoſe Perſons he did not much eſteem, and whoſe deſigns he perfectly deteſted. But, as his particular Animosity againſt the Earl of Straford, firſt engag'd him in that Company, ſo his Vanity and Ambition, and the Condeſcendments the King had made to their unreaſonable demands, made him concur farther with them, than his own judgement diſpoſed him to. He had taken upon him the Government of Hull, without any apprehenſion, or imagination, that it would ever make him acceſſary to Rebellions; but believ'd, that, when the King and Parliament ſhould be ſtoocled, the emence of that Charge would promote him to ſome of thoſe rewards and honours, which that Party reſolv'd to divide among themſelves. When he found himſelf more dangerously and diſperately Embusk'd than he ever ſucceed'd to be, he brought himſelf of all poſſible ways to diſentangle himſelf, and to wind himſelf out of the Labyrinth he was in. His Comportment towards the Lord Digby, and ſometimes before at large; and from that time, the entire confidence the Parliament had in his Son, and the vigilance and jealousy that he was known to have towards his Father, was that alone that preserv'd him longer in the Government. Besides that they had conſtituted the Garrifon, that they knew it could never be in the Father's power to do them hurt. But, after this, when they discover'd ſome alteration in the Son's behaviour, and that the Pride and Stubbornneſs of his Nature would not ſuffer him to ſubmit to the Command of the Lord Fairfax, and that ſuperiority over both his Father and Him, with which the Parliament had inveſted that Lord, and had ſome inkling of ſecret Meſſages between the Marquis of New-Caſtle, and young Hoſham, they cauſed both Father and Son to be ſuddenly ſeiz'd upon, and ſent up Priſoners to the Parliament; which immediately committed them to the Tower, upon a charge of High Treason.

THOUGH there was Evidence enough againſt them, yet they had ſo many Friends in both Houſes of Parliament, and ſome of that Intereſt in the Army, that they were preserv'd from farther proſecution, and remain'd long Priſoners in the Tower without being brought to any Trial; ſo that they believ'd their Punishment to be at the height. But when that Party prevail'd that reſolv'd to new Model the Army, and to make as many examples of their rigour and ſeverity, as might terrify all Men from falling from them, they call'd impudently, that the two Hoſham's might be try'd at a Court of War, for their Treachery and Treason; and they who had hitherto preserv'd them, had now loſt their Intereſt; ſo that they

they were both brought to their Trial, some little time before the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, and both condemn'd to lose their Heads. The principal Charge against the Father was, his suffering the Lord *Digby* to escape; and a Letter was produced by the Treachery of a Servant, against the Son, which he had sent to the Marquis of *New-Castle*. The vile artificer that was used both before and after their Trial, were so barbarous, as inhuman, as have been rarely practiced among Christians.

THE FATHER was first condemn'd to suffer upon a day appointed; and the Son afterwards to be executed in like manner the day following: The Night before, or the very Morning, that *St John Hotham* was to dye, a Reprieve was sent from the House of Peers to suspend his execution for three days. The Commons were highly incensed at this presumption in the Lords; and to prevent the like mischief for the future, they made an Order "to all Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, and other Ministers of Justice, that no Reprieve should be granted, or allow'd for any Person against whom the sentence of Death was pronounced, except the same had pass'd, and had the consent of both Houses of Parliament; and that it pass'd only by the House of Peers, it should be holden upon as invalid and void, and execution should not be thereupon forbore, or suspended. By this accident the Son was brought to his Execution before his Father, upon the day on which he was sentenced to suffer; who dyed with Courage, and reproaching "the ingratitude of the Parliament, and their continuance of the War; concluded, "that, as to them, he was very innocent, and had never been guilty of Treason. The Father was brought to the Scaffold the next day: For the House of Commons, to shew their Prerogative over the Lords, sent an Order to the Lieutenant of the Tower, that he should cause him to be Executed that very day, which was two days before the Reprieve granted by the House of Peers was expired. Whether he had yet some promise from *Peters*, that he should only be shew'd to the People, and so return'd life again to the Tower, which was then generally reported, and believ'd, or whether he was broken with despair (which is more probable) when he saw that his Enemies prevail'd so far, that he could not be permitted to live those two days which the Peers had granted him, certain it is that the poor Man appear'd so dispirited, that he spoke but few words after he came upon the Scaffold, and suffer'd his ungodly Confessor *Peters*, to tell the People "that he had reveal'd himself to him, and confess'd his Offences against the Parliament; and so he committed his Head to the block. This was the worst Tragedy of these two unhappy Gentlemen; in which there were so many circumstances of an unusual Nature, that the

immediate

immediate hand of Almighty God could not but appear in it to all Men who knew their Natures, Humours, and Transgressions.

SINCE the last Office of a General, with reference to the King's Quarters, which the Earl of *Essex* perform'd before he was it necessary to surrender his Commission to the Parliament, was done before the end of this year, it will be proper in this place to mention it, both in respect of the Nature of the thing it self, and the Circumstances with which it was attended, it being a Letter sign'd by the Earl of *Essex*, and sent by a Trumpet to Prince *Rupert*, but penn'd by a Committee of Parliament, and perus'd by both Houses before it was sign'd by their General; who used, in all dispatches made by himself, to observe all decency in the forms. It was a very insolent Letter, and upon a very insolent occasion. The Parliament had, some Months before, made an Ordinance granting giving Quarter to any of the *Irish* Nation which should be taken Prisoners, either at Sea or Land; which was not taken notice of, or insinuated known to the King, till long after; though the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Officers under him at Sea, had as often as he met with any *Irish* Frigats, or such Embrothers as failed under their Commission, taken all the Sea Men who became Prisoners to them of that Nation, and bound them back to back, and thrown them over board into the Sea, without distinction of their condition, if they were *Irish*. In this cruel manner very many poor Men perished daily; of which, when it was generally known, the King said nothing, because none of those Perions were in his Majesty's Service; and how barbarous however the proceedings were, his Majesty could not complain of it, without undergoing the reproach of being concern'd on the behalf, and in favour of the Rebels of *Ireland*.

BUT there had been lately, in some Service at Land, some Prisoners taken of the King's Troops, and upon pretence that they were *Irish*-men, as many as they thought to be of that Nation, were all hang'd, to the Number of ten or twelve. Whereupon, Prince *Rupert*, having about the time when he heard of that barbarity, taken an equal Number of the Parliament Soldiers, caus'd them likewise to be hang'd upon the next Tree; which the Parliament declared to be an Act of great injustice, and cruelty; and appointed the Earl of *Essex* to expostulate it with Prince *Rupert* very rudely, in the Letter they had caus'd to be penn'd for him, and to send a Copy of their Ordinance, enclosed in the said Letter, with expressions full of reproach, for his "presumption in making an Ordinance of theirs, the Argument to justify an Action of "so much inhumanity; which was the first knowledge the

King

King had of any such Declaration, with reference to the War in *England*; nor had there been, from the beginning of it, any such example made. Prince *Robert* return'd such an Answer as was reasonable, and with a sharpness equal to the provocation, and sent it to the Earl of *Bristol*; who, the day before he receiv'd it, had given up his Commission; but sent it immediately to the two Houses, who were exceedingly enraged at it; some of them saying, "that they wonder'd it was so long on the way, for that certainly it had been prepar'd at *Osbridge*."

The Prince of Wales sent by the King to the Duke of *Bristol*.

IT was upon the fourth of *March*, that the Prince parted from the King his Father; and, about a Week after, came to *Bristol*; where he was now to act a part by Himself, as the Affairs should require, or rather where he was to fit himself out acting any thing; the end being, as was said before, only that the King and the Prince might not be expos'd at the same time to the same danger; without any purpose that he should raise any more strength, than was necessary to the security of his own Person; or that indeed he should move farther Westward than that City. His Highness had not been there above two or three days, when Letters were intercept'd that discover'd a design of *Waller*, who had pass'd by the Lord *Goring*, and put relief into *Taunton*, and hoped to have surpris'd *Bristol* in his return; whereupon two or three of his Correspondents fled out of that City, and the rest were inspirited with the discovery, that they readily consented to any thing that was propos'd. So the Lord *Hopton* put all things into good a Posture, that there was no farther cause to apprehend *Waller* in his return; and he himself was required to return to *London*, to deliver up his Commission upon the Self-denying Ordinance.

Thus ended the year 1644, which shall conclude this Book.

THE END OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.

THE
History of the Rebellion, &c.

BOOK IX.

II. I. 15.

And when you spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; Yea, when you make many Prayers, I will not hear. Your hands are full of blood.

II. XXVIII. 15.

For we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid our selves.

WE are now entering upon a time, the representation and description whereof, mult needs be the most unpleasant, and ungrateful to the Reader, in respect of the Subject matter of it; which will consist of no less weakness and folly, on the one side, than of malice and wickedness, on the other; and the most unagreeable and difficult to the Writer, in regard, that he shall, probably, please very few who acted then upon the Stage of business, but must give very severe Characters of the Persons, and severely censure the Actions of many, who will'd very well, and had not the least thought of disloyalty or infidelity, as well as of those, who, with the most deliberate impiety, prosecuted their design to ruin and destroy the Crown: A time, in which the whole Stock of Affection, Loyalty, and Courage, which at first alone engag'd Men in the Quarrel, seem'd to be quite spent, and to be succeeded by negligence, laziness, inactivity, and dejection of Spirit, contrary to the Natural temper, vivacity, and consistency of the Nation: A time, in which they who pretended most publick-heartedness, and did really with

Introduction to the Ninth Book, and the year 1645.

with the King all the greatness he desired to preserve for himself, did sacrifice the publick Peace, and the security of this Matter to their own passions and appetites, to their ambition, and animosities against each other, without the least design of Treachery, or damage towards his Majesty: A time, in which want of discretion, and meer folly, produced as much mischief, as the most barefaced Villany could have done; in which the King suffer'd as much, by the irreligion, and uncharitableness of his own Councils, and by the ill humour, and factions of his Counsellors, by their not foreseeing what was evident to most other Men, and by their jealousies of what was no like to fall out; sometimes by deliberating too long without resolving, and as often resolving without any deliberation, and most of all, not executing Vigorously what was deliberated and resolv'd, as by the indefatigable industry, and irresistible power and strength of his Enemies.

ALL these things must be very particularly enlarged upon, and expoled to the naked View, in the Relation of what fell out in this year, 1645, in which we are engaged, except we will sweare from that precise Rule of ingenuity, and integrity, we profess to observe; and thereby leave the Reader not perplexed, to see the most prodigious accidents fall out, without discerning the no less prodigious causes which produced them; which would lead him into as wrong an estimate of things, and persuade him to believe, that a universal corruption of the hearts of the whole Nation had brought forth those lamentable effects; whereas they proceeded only from the folly and the forwardness, from the weakness and the falseness, the pride and the passion of particular Persons, whose Memories ought to be charged with their own evil Actions, rather than that the Infamy of them should be laid on the Age wherein they liv'd; which did produce as many Men eminent for their loyalty and incorrupt fidelity to the Crown, as any that had preceded it. Nor is it possible to discourse of all these particulars, with the clearness that is necessary to Subject them to Common understandings, without opening a door for such reflections upon the King himself, as shall seem to call both his VIGILANCE, and his Steadiness into question, as if he had wanted the one to apprehend, and discover, and the other to prevent, the Mischief which threaten'd him. All which considerations might very well discourage, and even terrify me from prosecuting this part of the Work, with less freedom and openness, as much call all my things to memory which are forgotten, or were never sufficiently understood; and rather persuade me to satisfy my self, with a bare relation of what was done, and with the known event of the miserable year (which, in truth, produced all that followeth)

in the succeeding years) without prying too strictly into the causes of those effects, and so let them seem rather to be the production of Providence, and the influences of Divine displeasure, than these how they proceed from the weakness and insensibility of Men, not totally abandon'd by God Almighty to the most unruly lusts of their own appetite, and inventions.

BUT I am too far embarked in this Sea already, and have proceeded with too much simplicity and sincerity with reference to Things, and Persons, and in the examinations of the grounds, and overights of Councils, to be now frighted with the prospect of those Materials, which must be comprehended within the relation of this year's transactions. I know my self to be very free from any of those Passions which naturally transport Men with prejudice towards the Persons whom they are obliged to mention, and whose Actions they are at liberty to censure. There is not a Man who acted the worst part, in this ensuing year, with whom I had ever the least difference, or Personal unkindness, or towards whom I had nor much inclination of kindness, or from whom I did not receive all invitations of farther endearments. There were many who were not free from very great faults, and overights in the Councils of this year, with whom I had great friendship, and which I did not discontinue upon those unhappy overights; nor did flatter them when they were pass, by excusing what they had done. I knew most of the things my self which I mention, and therefore can Answer for the Truth of them; and other most important particulars, which were transacted in places very distant from me, were transmitted to me, by the King's immediate direction and order, even after he was in the hands and power of the Enemy, out of his own Memorials, and Journals. And as he was always severe to himself, in censuring his own overights, so he could not but well foresee, that many of the misfortunes of this ensuing year, would reflect upon some want of resolution in Himself, as well as upon the gross errors, and overights, to call them no worse, of those who were trusted by him.

Wherefore as I first undertook this difficult work with His approbation, and by His encouragement, and for His vindication, so I enter upon this part of it, principally, that the world may see (at least if there be ever a fit season for such a Communication; which is not like to be in this present Age) how difficult it was for a Prince, so universally reduced to those streights his Majesty was in, to find Ministers, and Instruments, equal to the great Work that was to be done; and how unlikely it was for him to have better success under their conduct whom it was then very proper for

him to trust with it; and then, without my being over-follicitous to absolve him from those mistakes, and weakness, to which he was in truth sometimes liable, he will be found not only a Prince of admirable Virtue, and Piety, but of great parts of Knowledge and Judgement; and that the most signal of his Misfortunes proceeded chiefly from the modesty of his Nature, which kept him from trusting himself enough, and made him believe, that others discern'd better, who were much inferior to him in those faculties; and so to depend often from his own reason, to follow the opinions of more unskilful Men, whose affections he believ'd to be unquestionable to his Service. And so we proceed in our relation of matter of *Raid*.

WHAT expectation soever there was, that the *Self-denying Ordinance*, after it had, upon so long deliberation, pass'd the House of Commons, would have been rejected and cast off by the Peers; whereby the Earl of *Essex* would still have remain'd General; it did not take up so long to bare them. The Marquis of *Argyle* was now come from *Scotland*, and sat with the Commissioners of that Kingdom, over whom he had a great ascendancy. He was, in matters of Religion, and in relation to the Church, purely Presbyterian; but in matters of State, and with reference to the War, perfectly Independent. He abhorr'd all thoughts of Peace, and that the King should ever more have the Government, towards whose Person, notwithstanding the infinite obligations he had to him, he had always an inveterate malice. He had made a full Friendship with *St. Harry Jones*, during his late being in *Scotland*; and they both liked each others Principles in Government. From the time of His coming to the Town, the *Scottish* Commissioners were less vehement in obstructing the Ordinance, or the new modelling the Army; so that after it came to the House of Peers, though thereby the Earl of *Essex*, the Earl of *Manchester*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Earl of *Denbigh* (whose power and authority, that is, the power, credit, and authority, of the three first named, had absolutely govern'd and sway'd that House from the beginning) were to be oppos'd of their Commissions, and no Peer of *England* capable of any employment either Martial, or Civil; yet the Ordinance found little Opposition, and the old Arguments, that the House of Commons thought it necessary, and that it would be of mischievous Consequence to dissent from it;

The Self-denying Ordinance pass'd in the House of Lords.

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formality in which he had been invell'd with it. *Fairfax* was now named, and declared General, though the Earl of *Essex* made not his to surrender his Commission; so that some Men imagin'd, that he would yet have contended: but he was not for such enterprises, and did really believe that the Parliament would again have need of him, and his delay was only to be well advis'd, in all the circumstances of the formality. In the end it was agreed, that, at a conference of both Houses in the Painted Chamber, he should deliver his Commission; which he did. And because he had a very plausible faculty in expressing himself, he chose to do it in Writing; which he deliver'd to them; wherein he declar'd, "with what Affection and Fidelity he had serv'd them, and as he had often ventur'd his Life for them, so he would willingly have lost it in their Service; and since they believ'd, that what they had more to do would be better perform'd by another Man, he submitted to their judgement, and restor'd their Commission to them; hoping they would find an abler Servant: concluding with some expressions which made it manifest that he did not think he had been well us'd, or that they would be the better for the change; and so left them, and return'd to his own House; whither both Houses, the 7th of next day, went to attend him, and to return their thanks for the great Service he had done the Kingdom; which they acknowledg'd with all the Encumbrs, and flattering Attributes they could devise.

By this *Self-denying Ordinance*, together with the Earl of *Andover*, *Essex*, the Earl of *Manchester*, *St. William Waller*, the Earl of *Johnstone*, *Denbigh*, a Major General *Blayff*, left their Commissions; as was *Cromwell* should likewise have done. But soon as the Ordinance was pass'd, and before the Renovation of the Earl of *Essex*, the Party that fear'd, had caus'd him to be sent with a Body of Horse into the *Welsh*, to relieve *Taunton*, that he might be absent at the time when the other Officers deliver'd their Commissions; which was quickly observ'd; and thereupon Orders were given, to require his present Attendance in Parliament, and that their new General should send some other Officer to attend that Service; which was preceden't to be done; and the very day nam'd, by which, it was averr'd that he would be in the House. A Rendezvous was then appointed, for their new General to take a View of their Troops, that he might appoint Officers to succeed those who had left their Commissions by Virtue of this Ordinance; and likewise in their places who gave up their Commands, and refus'd to serve in the new Model, who were a great number of their best Commanders. From this Rendezvous, the General went to desire the Parliament, "that they would give

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1 Lieutenant

“Lieutenant General *Cromwell* leave to stay with him for some few days, for his better information, without which, he should not be able to perform what they expected from him. The request seeming so reasonable, and being for so short a time, little opposition was made to it: and shortly after, by another Letter, he desir'd with very much earnestness, “that they would allow *Cromwell* to leave for that Campaign. Thus they compass'd their whole design, in being rid of all those whose affections they knew were not agreeable to theirs, and keeping *Cromwell* in Command; who, in the Name of *Fairfax*, Model'd the Army, and placed such Officers as were well known to Him, and to no body else; and absolutely govern'd the Whole Martial Affairs; as was quickly known to all Men; many particulars whereof will be mention'd at large hereafter.

THOUGH the time spent in passing the *Self denying Ordinance*, and afterwards in new modelling their Army, had exceedingly retarded the preparations the Enemy was to make, before they could take the Field, whereby the King had more breathing time than he had reason to expect; yet all the hopes he had of Recruits against that Season, depended upon the Activity of those to whose Care the providing those Recruits was committed: so that there will be little Occasion to mention any thing that was done at *Oxford*, till the Season of the year oblig'd his Majesty to leave that place, and to march with his Army into the Field. Of all the Action that was till that time, the West was the Scene; where the Prince, as soon as he came to *Bristol*, found much more to do (and in which he could not avoid to meddle) than had been foreseen. One very great end of the Prince's Journey into the West, besides the other of more importance, which has been named before, was, that by His presence, direction, and authority, the many Factions and Animosities between particular Persons of Quality, and Interest in those Parts, equal in their affections to the King's Service (yet they miserably infested and distracted it) might be compos'd, and reconcil'd; and that the endeavours of all Men who wish'd well, might be united in the advancing and carrying on that publick Service, in which all their joynt happiness and security was concern'd. This Province, besides the Prince's immediate countenance, and interposition, required great diligence and dexterity in those about him, who were trust'd in those Affairs. But his Highness found quickly another task incumbent on him than had been expected, and a Mischief much more difficult to be mastered, and which, if unmaster'd, must inevitably produce much worse effects, than the other could, which was, the ambition, emulation, and conceits between several Officers of the Army and

Parties, which were then in those Countries, whereby their Troops were without any Discipline, and the Country as much expos'd to Rapine and Violence, as it could be under an *Enemy*, and in an Article of time when a Body of the Enemy's *Princes* was every day expected. That this may be the better understood, it will be necessary here, in the entrance upon this discourse, to set down truly the Estates of the Western Counties, at the time when the Prince first came to *Bristol*.

THE Lord *Goring* had been sent by his Majesty, before the time of the Prince's coming into the West, with such a Party of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, and a Train of Artillery, as he desir'd, into *Hampshire*, upon a design of his own, of making an Incurision into *Suffex*; where he pretended “he had com-^{mission}ed to rise, and declare for the King, and that *Kent* would “do the same. And so a Commission was granted to him, of Lieutenant General of *Hampshire*, *Suffex*, *Surrey*, and *Kent*, without the least purpose or imagination that he should ever be near the Prince. Some attempts he made, in the beginning, upon *Christ Church*, in *Hampshire*, a little unfortified Fishers-Town; yet was beaten off with loss: So that he was forced to retire to *Salisbury*; where his Horse committed the same horrid outrages, and barbarities, as they had done in *Hampshire*, without distinction of Friends or Foes; so that those Parts, which before were well devoted to the King, worried by Oppression, withheld for the access of any Forces to redeem them. Whilst the Lord *Goring* lay fruitlessly in those Parts, a Party of Horse and Dragoons, under the Command of *Franckois a German*, pass'd by him without interruption, to the relief of *Taunton*, then block'd up by Colonel *Windham*, and refused to some freight; and accordingly effected it. About the same time, *Sir Walter Hastings*, Governour of *Portland*, seconded by *Sir Lewis Dives* (who had the Command of *Dorsetshire* as Colonel General) had surpris'd *Weymouth*, and possess'd the Forts, and the upper Town, the Rebels having withdrawn themselves into the lower Town, divided from the other by an Arm of the Sea; and of no considerable strength: so that the speedy reducing that small place was not looked upon as a matter of difficulty. However, lest those Forces which had relieved *Taunton*, and were conceived to be much greater than in truth they were, should be able to disturb the work of *Weymouth*, and for the sooner expediting the business there, the Lord *Goring*, now pretending that his Friends in *Suffex* and *Kent* were not ready for him, was by Order from *Oxford*, upon his own desire, sent thither; whereby it was thought, both the work of *Weymouth*, and *Taunton*, would be speedily effected. Thereupon the Lord *Hopton*,

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whose right it was to Command in those Counties as Field-Marshal of the West, being lost down by the King to compose the disorders there, upon the relief of *Taunton*, was, by special Order, recall'd to *Bristol*, lest there might be dispute of Command between Him and the Lord *Goring*; the one being General of the Ordnance, the other General of the Horse; but the Lord *Herbert* was likewise Field-Marshal of the West, in which the Lord *Goring* had no Commission to Command.

SHORTLY after the Lord *Goring's* arrival about *Weymouth*, with his full strength of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, and Artillery, consisting of above three thousand Horse, and fifteen hundred Foot, besides what he found in those parts, that place of vast Importance, was, by most Supine Negligence at best, retaken by that contemptible Number of the Enemy, who had been beaten into the lower *Town*, and who were looked upon as Prisoners at Mercy. The myriades of which, fatal loss were never enquir'd into; but with great plainness, by the Vice of the Country, imputed to General *Goring's* natural want of Vigilance; who thereupon retir'd with his whole strength into *Somerfet-shire*. His Highness, upon his arrival at *Bristol*, found the West in this Condition; All *Dorset-shire* entirely possessed by the Rebels, save only what *St Lewis Diocess* could protect by his small Garrison at *Sherborne*, and the Island of *Portland*, which could not provide for its own Subsistence: the Garrison of *Taunton*, with that Party of Horse and Dragoons which reliev'd it, commanding a very large circuit, and disturbing other parts in *Somerfet-shire*: *Devon-shire* incient upon the blocking up of *Plymouth*, at one end, and open to incursions from *Lynce*, and preiudicial by *Taunton*, at the other end: The King's Garrisons, in all three Counties, being stronger in Fortifications (which yet were not finish'd in any place, and begun in some) than in Men, or any Provisions to endure an Enemy: whilst the Lord *Goring's* Forces equally infested the borders of *Dorset*, *Somerfet*, and *Devon*, by unheard of Rapines, without applying themselves to any Enterprize upon the Rebels. *Cornewall* indeed was entire; but being wholly assur'd of the blocking up of *Plymouth*, yielded no supply to any other Service, or to the providing its own Garrisons against the time that they might be visited by an Enemy.

SIR *William Waller* and *Comwall*, marched together about this time towards the West, and passing through *Wilt-shire*, had routed, and taken the whole Regiment of Horse of Colonel *Zang*, the High Sheriff of that County, by his great defect of Courage, and Conduct; and seem'd to intend an attempt upon General *Goring*; who was so much startled with the noise, at a great distance, that he drew his Forces so far West of *Taunton*, that *Vanderhoeke* had an opportunity to retire
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with that Body of Horse and Dragoons with which he had reliev'd *Taunton*, to his fellows; whilst the King's Forces rested themselves upon the borders of *Devon-shire*, the Lord *Goring* himself, and most of his principal Officers, taking that opportunity to retire at *Exeter*, where they stay'd three or four days in most scandalous disorder, a great part of his Horse being upon free Quarter, and plundering to the Gates of the City; which, in the beginning of the year, was an ill Prefage to that People, what they were to expect. But finding that *St William Waller* made not that halt he apprehended, having borrow'd such Horse and Foot as he could procure from *Exeter*, he return'd again towards *Taunton*, and gave his Highness an account of his Condition.

THE Prince, being attend'd at *Bristol* by the Commissioners of *Somerfet*, found no one thing provided, or one promise complied with, which had been made by them at *Oxford*: Of his Guards of Horse and Foot, which they assur'd him, for the proportion of that County, should be ready against his coming, not one Man or Horse provided: Of the hundred pound a Week, to be allow'd by them towards his Highness's support, not one penny ready-pay like to be so. So that he was forced to borrow from the Lord *Hopton's* own private store, to buy Bread. And, which was worse than all this, we found plainly, that what had been so particularly, and positively undertaken at *Oxford*, was upon the confidence only of three or four Men, who were govern'd by *St John Stuelow*, and *Mr Fountain*, without any concurrence from the rest of the Commissioners of that, or the other three Affiliated Counties; and that they who had been so confident, instead of finishing and pursuing any design for raising of Men or Money, were only busy in making Objections, and preparing Complaints, and perfusing their private Quarrels, and Animosities against others. So they brought, every day, Complaints against this and that Governour of Garrisons, for the Riots and insolencies of the Lord *Goring's* Soldiers, and, that those parts of the Country which were adjacent to *Sherborne*, and *Bridgewater*, were compell'd to work at those Fortifications; with other particulars, most of which, they well knew, in that conjuncture of time, could not be prevented; and some of which were in themselves very necessary. Yet the Prince endeavour'd to give them all encouragement; told them, that he was very sensible of all those disorders; of which they complain'd; and would redress them, as soon as they should discern it to be in his Power: that the Forces under the Lord *Goring* were an Army by themselves, come down into those Parts, before his Highness; and that they'd then there for their Protection against the power of *Waller* (which

was ready to invade them) and the Garrison of *Taunton*, which they conficd infict their whole Country; that he was very desirous that Army might move Eastward, alfoon as they should put themselves in such a posture, as might render them secure against their Enemies; without them to propose any Expedients, how the Fortifications of the Garrisons might be finished, without some extraordinary help; or to propose the most convenient one; and he would joye with them; and desired them to proceed in their Levies of Men, and Money, in the ways agreed on by themselves; and they should find all concurrence and assistance from him. But notwithstanding all he could say or do, nothing was reasonably propos'd, or admitted by them, for the advancement of the Publick Service.

By this time, towards the end of *March*, *St William Waller* having advanced with his Horse and Dragoons, by *Bath* towards *Bristol*, in hope, as hath been said before, to have surpris'd that City by some Treachery within, and being disappointed there, retired towards *Dorsetshire*, and the edge of *Somerset*, adjoining to that County; where *Cromwell* expect'd him; the Lord *Goring* having, in the mean while, take into some *Cromwell's* Quarters about *Dorchester*, and takes some Prisoners, and Horses, and disorder'd the rest. Upon a dispute between themselves, or some other Orders, *Cromwell* retir'd to joyn with *St Thomas Fairfax* towards *Reading*; *St William Waller* stay'd in those Parts, to intend the business of the West, but made no halt to advance, expecting some Supplies of Foot by Sea at *Weymouth*. So that the Lord *Goring* drew back to *Bristol*, and sent to the Prince to desire, that two of his Council might meet him at *Wilt* the next day, to consider, what course was best to be taken: accordingly the Lords *Capel* and *Colpepper*, the next day, met his Lordship at *Wilt*. Where, after long consideration of the whole State of the West, and of the great importance of reducing *Taunton*, without which no great matter could be expected from *Somersetshire*, the Lord *Goring* propos'd, and put the design in writing under his own hand, for the whole method and manner of his proceeding, that he would leave the gress of his Horse, and two hundred Foot mounted, in such convenient place, upon the skirts of *Dorsetshire*, and *Wiltshire*, as they might be able to retire to their Body, if the Enemy advanced powerfully; and that he would himself, with all his Foot, and Cannon, and such Horse as were necessary, attempt the taking or burning of *Taunton*; and to that purpose desired his Highness, to send positive Orders to *St Richard Greenwile* (who, notwithstanding his Highness's commands formerly sent to him, and some Orders from the King himself, made not that halt as

might

might reasonably be expect'd) to advance, and to direct the Commissioners of *Somerset* to give their Personal attendance upon that Service; and in the mean time to take care that sufficient Magazines of Victual, and Provisions, were made for the Soldiers: all which was exactly perform'd by his Highness, the next day after he receiv'd the desires of General *Goring*.

But, within three or four days, and before the design upon *Taunton* was ready for Execution, it appear'd by constant Intelligence, that *Waller* was advancing with a great Body of Horse, and Dragoons, and some Foot; and therefore the attempt upon *Taunton* was fir the present to be laid aside; and the Lord *Goring* very earnestly desired the Prince to Command *St Richard Greenwile*, who was now drawn near to *Taunton*, with eight hundred Horse, and above two thousand Foot, besides Pioneers, with all possible speed to march to him, that he might be able to abide the Enemy, if they came upon him; or, otherwise, to compel them to Fight, if they stay'd in those last Quarters, where they then were; which was answer'd by *St Richard Greenwile*, *Gillingham*, and those places. The Prince accordingly sent his Commands positively to *St Richard Greenwile*, to advance towards the Lord *Goring*, and to obey all such Orders, as he should receive from his Lordship. But he was positively sent his Highness's word, that his Men would not stir a foot, and that he had promised the Commissioners of *Dorset*, and *Corwall*, that he would not advance beyond *Taunton*, till *Taunton* were reduced; but that he made no question, if he were not disturb'd, speedily to give a good account of that place. In the mean time, the Lord *Goring*, very gallantly and successfully, by night, fell upon *St William Waller's* Quarters twice, in less than a Week; and kill'd and took to good a Number, that it was generally believ'd, *St William Waller* was less'n'd near a thousand Men by those Rencontres; the Lord *Goring* still declaring, that he could neither pursue his advantages upon a Party, nor engage the main of the Rebels, without the addition of *Greenwile's* Foot; and he, notwithstanding all Orders, as peremptorily refusing to stir, but professing, that, if he had an addition of six hundred Men, he would be in the Town within six days.

What so ever thing flood thus, *St William Waller*, much weaken'd with these disasters, and the time of his Command being near expired, drew back Eastward; and was, by night marches, retir'd as far as *Salisbury*, before the Lord *Goring* had notice of his Motion. Whereupon his Highness, upon consideration how impossible it was to overtake him, which General *Goring* himself confis'd by his Letters, or to engage the Forces under the Command of *Greenwile*, and the other

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Forces of those parts, in any Action, before the business of *Taunton* should be over (which indeed disappointed all as hopes both of Men, and Money, in that great County) and on the other side, considering, if that place were reduced (as *St Richard Greenwell* undertook it should be in six days, and others, who had view'd it, thought it not a week of time besides the terror it would strike into their Neighbours, that would be an Army of four thousand Horse, and five thousand Foot, ready to be applied to any service they should be directed to, and that then the *Lord Goring* might prosecute his Commission in *Staffs*, and *Kees*, with such a reasonable Recruit of Foot as should be necessary, and yet his Highness enabled, in a short time, to be in the head of a very good Army, raised out of the four Associated Counties, either for the reducing the few other places which were Garrison'd by the Rebels, or to march toward his Majesty: I lay upon these considerations, the Prince (with the privacy and advice of *Prince Rupert*, who was then at *Bristol*, and present at its whole consultation, and the principal adviser in it) writ, upon the eleventh of *April*, to the *Lord Goring*, being then about *Wills*, "that his opinion was, that the Horse and Dragoon under his Lordship's Command, should advance from the Quarters where they then were, much to the prejudice of that County, into *Darset-flure*, or *Wils-flure*, or into both of them; and that the Foot and Cannon should march directly towards *Taunton*, according to the design formerly proposed by his Lordship; and refer'd it to himself, whether his Lordship in *Perion* would stay with the Horse, or go with the Foot; and desired to receive his opinion, as to a resolution upon the whole; there being nothing proposed to be acted in two days. This Letter was sent by *Colonel Windham*, the Governour of *Brighthelm*, who came that day from before *Taunton*, from *St Richard Greenwell*; and could best inform him of the strength of the Town, and the condition of *St Richard Greenwell's* Forces.

The next day *Colonel Windham* return'd, with a full written Letter from the *Lord Goring* to the Prince, "that he had, according to his Command, sent the Foot and Cannon to *Taunton*; and the Horse, to the other places; and that since there was now nothing for him to do, he was gone to *Bath* to intend his Health: where he complain'd privately, that his Forces were taken from him at a time when he meant to pursue *Hollor*, and could utterly Defeat him; and much inveigled against the Prince's Council, for sending Orders to him for prejudicial to the King's Service: whereas it was only an Opinion, and not Orders, grounded upon what himself had formerly propos'd, and to which he was deserv'd

to return his present judgement, being within half a days Journey of the Prince, upon whom he ought to have attended in *Perion*, or have sent his advice to him, if what was then offer'd seem'd not convenient. But, after some days sollicitly spent at *Bath*, he return'd to his former temper, and waiting on the Prince at *Bristol*, was contented to be told, "that he had been more apprehensive of Discourtesies than he had caus'd; and to all misunderstandings seem'd to be fairly made up.

The *Lord Goring's* Foot and Cannon being thus suddenly sent to *Taunton*, under the Command of *St Joseph Westgaffe*; and the better preventing any Mistakes, and Contentions of Command, the Prince sent the *Lords Capel* and *Colchester* to *Taunton*, to settle all disputes that might arise, and to dispose the Country to assist that work in the best manner; which prov'd very fortunate; for the same day they came thither, *St Richard Greenwell*, having brought his Forces within Musket-shot, on one side of *Taunton*, went himself to view *Willington-House*, five Miles distant, in which the Rebels had a Garrison, and was, out of a Window, shot in the Thigh; with which he fell, the wound being then conceiv'd to be mortal: so that there was no Person who would pretend to Command; those under *Greenwell*, having no experienced Officer of Reputation equal to that Charge, yet being Superior in number to the other, would not be commanded by *St Joseph Westgaffe*; so that if the Lords had not very happily been present, it is probable, both those Bodies of Foot, each being too weak for the attempt by itself, would, if not dissuaded, at last have retired to their former Posts, and left *Willington-House* at liberty to have done what they thought best: But they being there, and *St John Berkeley* being in that instant come thither to meet them, with an Account of the size of *Dress-flure*, they perswaded him to undertake the present Charge of the whole (all the Officers of both Bodies having formerly receiv'd Orders from him) and to prosecute the former design upon the Town; all Persons submitting till the Prince's Pleasure should be farther known; those Officers under *St Richard Greenwell*, privately sending away an Express to *Bristol*, to desire the *Lord Hopton* to take the Command of them. But his Lordship had no mind to enter upon any particular Action with disjointed Forces, till upon the withdrawing of the *Lord Goring*, the whole Command might be restored according to former establishment. And for a special Injunction was sent to all the Officers, and Soldiers, to obey *St John Berkeley*, according to what had been formerly settled by the Lords. He, in few days, put the business in very good Order, and by Storm took *Willington-House*, where *Greenwell*

Greenvil had been hurt. I cannot omit here, that the Lords coming to visit *Greenvil*, in the instant that he was put in his Letter, and carrying to *Exeter*, told him, what they thought necessary to be done in the point of Command; which he seeming very well to approve, they desired him call his Officers (most of the principal being there present) and to Command them to proceed in the work in hand, cheerfully, under the Command of *St John Berkeley*; the which he promised to do, and immediately said somewhat to his Officers, at the side of his Letter, which the Lords conceiv'd to be what he had promised: but it appear'd after, that it was not so; and, very probably, was the contrary; for some Officer, nor Soldier, did his duty after he was gone, during the time *St John Berkeley* Commanded in that Action.

THE Prince, finding the Publick Service in no degree advanced by the Commissioners of *Somerset*, and that though there was no progress made in the Association offer'd, he undertaken by them, yet it serv'd to cross, and oppose all other attempts whatsoever; those who had no mind to do any thing, satisfying themselves with the visible impossibility of that design, and yet the others, who had first propos'd it, thinking themselves engag'd to consent to no alteration; and his Highness being inform'd by a Gentleman (sent by him, at his coming to *Bristol*), to the two farthest Western Counties, to press the execution of whatsoever was promised in order to the Association; that those two Counties of *Devon*, and *Cornwall*, were entirely devoted to serve the Prince, in what manner soever he should propose, he thought fit, to summon the Commissioners of all the Associated Counties, to attend upon him in some convenient place, where, upon full considerations, such conclusions might be made, as might best advance the work in hand, both for the reduction of *Taunton* and raising a marching Army; which Counsel had been before given, and had in truth been fit to be put in practice upon his first coming to *Bristol*, when he discern'd the flames, and perceiving the inactivity of the Gentlemen of *Somerset*, from whom it was evident nothing was to be expected, till, by the unanimity and strength of the two Western Counties, the County could be driven and compelled to do what was necessary, and to recede from their own fallen and positive determinations; which had been easy to do, but that *Henry* his Highness came to *Bristol*, upon what apprehensions to Man knew, there was great jealousy at *Oxford* of his going farther West; and thereupon direction given that he should not remove from *Bristol*, but upon weighty reasons, and with which his Majesty was to be first acquainted. Whence by his instructions, he was to make his residence in such

place, as by the Council should be thought most conducing to his Affairs. However, such a meeting with all the Commissioners being demonstrably necessary, and *Bristol* thought to be so great a distance from the West, besides that the Plague began to break out there very much, for the time of the year, his Highness resolv'd to go to *Bridgewater* for a few days, and to summon thither the Commissioners, the rather to give some commencement to the business of *Taunton*, then closely Besieged by *St John Berkeley*; and to that purpose, directed his Letters to the several Commissioners to attend him there, on *Wednesday* the three and twentieth of *April*; the King being then at *Oxford*, preparing for the Field, *Prince Rupert* at *Horsforth*, leaving Men, and the Rebels at *London* in some disorder and confusion about their new Model, having newly removed the *Earl of Essex*, and *Earl of Manchester*, *Earl of Denbigh*, and *William Waller* from any Command, and substituted *St Thomas Fairfax* General; who was, out of the other broken and small dispos'd Forces, to mould a new Army, which was not in no very hopeful forwardness.

UPON the day, the Prince came to *Bridgewater*, and was attended by a great body of the Commissioners of *Somerset*, that place being near the center of that great County; three appear'd for *Devonshire*, as sent from the rest, *St John Strangman*, *Mr Ancheti Grey*, and *Mr Byrnes*; for *Devonshire*, *St Peter Ball*, *St George Parry*, *Mr Saint Hill*, and *Mr Molyneux*; and for *Cornwall*, *St Henry Killebrew*, *Mr Coriton*, *Mr Lorne*, and *Mr Royter*. The whole Body waited on the Prince the next morning; and were then told, that his coming thither was to receive Their Advice, and to give His Alliance, in what might concern the peace and welfare of each particular County; and might best advance the General Service of the King; that if the Association which had been propos'd, seem'd to them, by the accidents and mutations which had happen'd since the time of that first proposal (as in truth very notable ones had happen'd) not fit now to be further prosecuted, he was ready to consent to any alteration they should propose, and to join with them in any other expedients; and desired them therefore to confer together, what was best to be done; and when they were ready to propose any thing to him, he would be ready to receive it. After two or three days consultation amongst themselves, they were unanimously of opinion (except *St John Strangman*, who, against all the rest, and against all that could be said to him, continued positive for the general rising of *Devon* and *All*, and for that alone) that That design was for the present to be laid aside; and that, instead thereof, those Counties, according to their several known proportions,

The Prince summons the Commissioners of the four adjacent counties to Bridgewater.

“ would in a very short time (as I remember a Month was the utmost) “ raise, and Arms, six thousand Foot, before “ the Prince’s Guards, which would be full two thousand “ more; not reckoning those of the Lord Goring’s, which was “ fifteen hundred, but including the Foot of Sr John Evelyn “ and Sr Richard Greenall then before Taunton; which all Men “ concluded, would be reduced in less than a Month. The “ Proposition being approv’d by the Prince, all particulars were “ agreed upon: the several days for the Rendezvous of these “ Levies, and the Officers to whom the Men were to be deli- “ ver’d, nam’d; and Warrants issued out accordingly: all things “ requisite for the speedy reduction of Taunton order’d, and dis- “ creted; so that, towards the taking that place, and the raising “ an Army speedily, all things stood fair, that more could be “ be wish’d.

As this Journey to Bridgewater wrought this good effect, so it produced one notable inconvenience, and discover’d another. The Prince, having before his coming from Oxford been very little conversant with business, had been perswaded from his coming out, to sit frequently, if not constantly, in Council, to mark, and consider the state of Affairs, and to accustom himself to a habit of speaking, and judging upon what was said; to the which he had with great ingenuity apply’d himself; but coming to Bridgewater, and having an extraordinary kindness for Mr Washham, who had been his Nephew, he was not only diverted by herfolly, and petulance, from applying himself to the serious consideration of his business, but accusom’d to hear her speak negligently and scornfully of the Council; which though at first it made no impression in Him of disrespect towards them, encouraged other People who heard it, to the like liberty; and from thence grew an irreverence towards them; which reflected upon himself, as serv’d to bring prejudice to their Councils throughout his whole course. She had many private designs of benefit: an advantage to her self, and her Children, and the qualifying her Husband to do all Acts of power without controul upon his Neighbours, and labour’d to procure Grants, or Promises of Reversions of Lands from the Prince; and finding that the Prince was not to transact any such thing, without the Advice of the Council, and that They were not like to comply in those enterprises, she contriv’d to raise jealousies and divisions between them, and kindled such a faction in the Prince’s Family, as produced many inconveniences. For from hence Sr Charles Berkeley, who had a promise to be made Contriv’d of the Prince’s Household, and Mr Long, who had the like promise to be his Secretary, when he should be created Prince of Wales (till which time these Officers were never made) be-
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gun to think they had injury done them, that they were not presently of the Prince’s Council, to which the places they were to have, gave them Title; though they knew well, that the Lords who then attended upon the Prince, were of the King’s Privy Council, and in that capacity only, waited upon his Highness; and that the other were only of the Prince’s own Council for his Revenue, and for the administration of the Duchy of Cornwall, for which his Highness had now his power.

HOWEVER, these Fancies, thus weakly grounded, and uncertain’d, made such an impression upon those Parties, that they united themselves into a Faction, and prevail’d over the weakness of the Earl of Berkshire to join with them; and by degrees, all of them join’d with all other discontented Parties, to render the Council to be much neglected and undervalued. Lastly, the being a Woman of no good breeding, and of a Country pride, *Nihil melius prater corpus gerens*, raised her self much upon the Power, and Familiarity, which her Neighbours might see she had with the Prince of Wales; and therefore, upon all occasions, in company, and when the Concourse of the People was greatest, would use great boldness towards him; and, which was worse than all this, she affected in all Companies, where she let her self out to any freedom, a very negligent and disdainful mention of the Person of the King; the knowledge of which humour of hers, was one reason that made his Majesty unwilling his Son should go farther West than Bristol; since he knew Bridgewater must be a Stage in that motion. This her ill disposition was no sooner known to the Lords, who were all absolute strangers to her before, than they took care that his Highness should make no longer residence in that Garrison.

This other inconvenience, that it discover’d, was the design of the Lord Goring to have the Command of the West. For then it grew very apparent, that, whatever had been pretended for Kent, or Suffolk, he had, from the beginning, affected that Charge; and, I fear, had some other encouragement for it, than was then avow’d. And therefore, from his first coming into those Parts, he had with great industry call’d the Commissioners of Somerset, and Devon, and especially those, whom he thought not well inclin’d to the Lord Hopton; whom, by all ill Arts, he endeavour’d to undervalue, inveighing against “ the too great Contribution, assign’d to the Garrison of Bristol; and that any should be allowed to “ the unnecessary Garrison (as he call’d it) at Lampeter; “ which had been lately settled by the Lord Hopton; and as appeared afterwards, was of vast importance: those difficulties being most Popular to the Country, though most pernicious
to

to the King; and promised "great strictness and severity of Discipline, if that Power under the Prince might be dissolved to him. To *Bridgewater* became at the same time from *Bath*, upon pretence of "visiting *Tasnton*, and seeing "whether the works were like to be soon done, that it might be worth the intending it. But, in truth, to drive on his Project for Command with the Commissioners; who were invited by *St Peter Ball* to make it one of the Propositions to the Prince. "That the Lord *Goring* might be constituted by "Lieutenant-General; which he himself had so absolutely refused, that as the matter itself had been out of question, he proposed privately to most of the Prince's Council, the Rules that should be observ'd between them in the Government of the Army, and the Administration of the Civil part. Some, of no extraordinary kindness to *Goring*, withed the agreement made, and Him settled in the Command, as the best, if not the only Expedient, for advancement of the King's Service, and for the speedy forming an Army worthy of the Prince's own Person in the Head of it; apprehending, that by dividing his Forces from the New Levies, would leave a good body of Foot without an equal Power of Horse, and without a Train, except a longer time were given for the making it, than the state of Affairs promised to permit. But when *Goring* discover'd by his discourse with several of the Council (with whom he communicated upon the Argument very freely, and expressed in plain English, "that except he might be justified in the particulars he proposed, he should have no "heart to proceed in the publick Service) that they would not consent to any Act that might reflect upon the Lord *Hopton*; and that some of them had such a prejudice to his Person, that they would make no conjunction with him, he resolv'd to compass his ends some other way; and so press'd no farther in any publick address to the Prince at that time. It is not to be omitted, that he was then offer'd, and assur'd, "that, as soon as the business of *Tasnton* should be over, he should have such a Recruit out of the New Levies, as would "make up his own Foot three thousand Men, besides Officers; with which he might well prosecute his former design; and, in the mean time, he had the absolute Command; the Lord *Hopton* not at all interrupting, or meddling with the Army.

It was now concluded by all Men who had well consider'd his carriage and behaviour from his first coming into the West, that, as he had form'd that design in his own thoughts from the first, of being about the Prince, and resolv'd never to march with the Army under Prince *Robert* (whose nature was not agreeable to him) so that he had purpos'd

and willingly suffer'd *Vandruick* to Relieve *Tasnton*, and even *Wynouth* to be again recover'd by that handful of Men who had been beaten out of it, left the business of the West might be done without him, by other Men; and that his presence there might not be thought necessary. For if *Tasnton* had not been reduced, as it must have been if that small Party had not Reliev'd it even in the last Article, he could have had no pretence to have stay'd in those Parts, but must immediately have pursued his former design upon *Suffex*, and thence either have continued his march to the King; which he had less mind to do. When he first left *Oxford*, and went into *Hampshire*, which was before the end of the Treaty at *Osbridge*, he had, in his jovial Fits, where he was always very unreluctant, declared, with great resentment, "that his Father was ill treated by the Queen in *France*, and that he hoped shortly to be in such a posture, that the King should find it reasonable to use both his Father and himself better. And yet the King had even then, upon his Suit, made his Father Captain of his Guard of Halbercers, and Created him Earl of *Norwich*, whereby himself had the Appellation of Lord, which he enough affected: and in his first debouches at *Exeter*, his brother *Porter*, who was Lieutenant General of his Horse, inform'd some Persons of Honour in confidence, "that *Goring* resolv'd to make himself Lieutenant General to the Prince, or else to be very discontented. This Advertisement was sent to some of the Council, upon his Highness's first coming to *Bristol*; and was the first hint that ever they receiv'd, that he had affected that Charge; and was not, with respect of his behaviour, like to dispose them to will that he might obtain his desire; but to do all that was in their power to prevent it.

This General business concerning the four Counties being the Commission agreed and sealed at *Bridgewater*, the Commissioners for *Devonshire* were desired to be heard in what concern'd that particular County; and then inform'd his Highness, "that upon *St Richard* *Greenvil's* first entering upon the work of *Plymouth*, he receiv'd his assistance under his hand, that he would take the "Town before *Christmas* day, and that he would forthwith raise an Army, and pay twelve hundred Horse, and six thousand Foot, they had assign'd him above one half of their whole Contribution, amounting to above eleven hundred pounds a Week; and, for the providing Ammunition and Ammunition, had assign'd him the Arrears of the Contribution due from those hundreds allotted to him; which amounted to near 6000; he having likewise the whole Contribution of *Devonshire*, being above seven hundred pound weekly; and

had receiv'd most part of the Letter and Subscription Money that County, towards the same Service: that he had, from his first entering upon the charge, quietly enjoy'd those Contributions in *Devon*, which were duly paid; and had receiv'd the greatest part of the Arrears assign'd to him for the Provision of Arms and Ammunition: Notwithstanding all which, he had never bought above twenty Barrels of Powder, or any Armes, but had receiv'd both the one and the other from Them, out of their Magazines; and had never maintain'd, or rais'd, near half the Number of Men to which he was oblig'd, till the Week before he was requir'd to march to *Taunton*; when he had call'd the *Pejorative* *Committee*, and out of Them forced almost the whole Number of Foot, which march'd with him thither, bringing them with him, as far as *Exeter*, unarm'd; and there call'd the Commissioners to supply him with Armes, and Ammunition; that having left scarce two thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse, before *Plymouth*, he continu'd still to receive the whole Contribution formerly assign'd when he was to have twelve hundred Horse, and six thousand Foot; and would not part with any of it: so that he receiv'd more out of *Devonshire* for the blocking up of *Plymouth* (having all *Cornwall* to himself likewise) than was left for the Garrisons of *Exeter*, *Dartmouth*, *Barnstable*, and the Garrisons, providing Armes and Ammunition; with which they had before not only supplied themselves, but had sent great quantities to the King's Army, to the Lord *Goring*, and to the Siege of *Taunton*: That he would not suffer them to send any Warrants to collect the Letter and Subscription Money, to settle the Excise, or meddle with Delinquents Estates in the hundreds assign'd to him for Contribution; and had those continual contentions with *St John Berkeley*, being Colonel General of the County, and the other Governour of Garrisons; pretending that He had power to Command them; that there was such an Animosity grown between them, that they very much apprehend the danger of those divisions; that there had been some blood shed, and Men kill'd, upon their private Contentions; and therefore he sought his Highness, "by his Authority, to settle the limits of their several jurisdictions, in order to the Martial Affairs; and likewise to order *St Richard Greenvil* to receive no more Contribution, than would suffice for the maintenance of those Men, who continu'd before *Plymouth*; whereby they could be only enabled to perform their parts of the Affliction.

This was press'd with so much earnestness, and reason, that

that it was thought very advisable for his Highness himself to go to *Exeter*, where both the Commissioners and *St Richard Greenvil* were; and there, upon the hearing of all that could be said, to settle the whole dispute. But, at the same time, and whilst this matter was in consideration, Letters came from his Majesty to his Highness and the Lords, expressly inhibiting his going farther Westward; upon what reasons I cannot imagine; and thereupon the Prince himself return'd to *Bristol* on *Wednesday* the thirtieth of *April*, having staid at *Bridgewater* only seven days; and sent the Lords *Cople* and *Colchester*; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to *Exeter*, with instructions "to examine all the complaints, and allegations of the Commissioners, and to settle the business of the Contribution; and upon view of the several Commissions of *St John Berkeley*, and *St Richard Greenvil*, to agree, if the matter of jurisdiction, that the publick Service might not be obstructed.

As soon as the Lords appointed by his Highness to go to *Exeter*, came thither, they went the same hour to Visit *St Richard Greenvil*, who was still bedrid of his hurt. They intended it only as a Visit, and so would not reply, at that time, to many very sharp, and bitter complaints and invectives he made against *St John Berkeley* (who was then at the Leaguer before *Taunton*) but told him, "that they would come to him again the next day, and consider of all business. Accordingly they came, when, with great bitterness, he again complain'd of the Governour, and some disrespect from his Lieutenants Governour: but when he was press'd to particulars, he mention'd principally some high and disdainful Speeches, the most of which were denied by the other, and the withholding some Prisoners from him, which he had sent his Marshal for near *Taunton*. The truth of which, was this; whilst *St Richard* was before *Taunton*, he had sent for one *Moyses*, a Justice of Peace of the County, a rich and discreet Man, who liv'd within three miles of that Town. He charged him with some inclinations to the Rebels, and of favouring their proceedings. The Gentleman stood upon his justification, and innocency, and desired to be put upon any Trial. However, *St Richard* told him, "he was a Traytor, and should redeem himself at a thousand pound, or else he would proceed in another way; and gave him three days to provide the Money. Before the time expired, *St Richard* was hurt, and carried to *Exeter*; whether he no sooner came, but he dispatch'd his Marshal to fetch *Mr Moyses* to him; who appeal'd to *St John Berkeley* (who had then the Command) and desired to be put upon any Trial; and (besides that he was of a very infirm body, and unfit for Travel) many Gen-

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tomen of the best Quality gave him a very good Testimony, and undertook for his Appearance, when ever he should be called upon. Upon this, *St John Berkeley* discharged the Marshals, and writ a very civil Letter to *St Richard Grenvill*, of the whole matter; and that he would see the Gentleman first coming upon the least warning; but that it would be an Act of great cruelty, to carry him a Prisoner, in that indisposition of health, from his House. *St Richard* look'd upon this as the robbing him of a thousand pounds, and writ such a Letter to *St John Berkeley*, full of ill Language, and reproach, as I have never seen the like From, and To a Gentleman; and complain'd to us of the Injury. We told him, that neither He, nor *St John Berkeley*, had any Authority to meddle with *M^r Syme*, or any Persons of that Quality; who could not be look'd upon as Prisoners of War; but if in truth he should prove to be a Delinquent, and guilty of those crimes objected against him, his Fine and Composition was due to the King, who had assign'd the same to the Prince for the publick Service; and that there were Commissioners, before whom he was regularly to be tried, and with whom he might only compound. He would not understand the reason of this, but insul'd upon *St John Berkeley's* prosecuting *Syme*, as a great indignity to himself. On the other hand, *St John Berkeley* complain'd by his Letter, that those Soldiers brought to *Tannton* by *Grenvill*, every day moulder'd away, and he had reason to believe it was by His direction; for that those that said, and the Officers, were very backward in performing their duties; and that, after the taking of *Willington-House*, he had commanded that nothing should be done towards the despoiling it, because it might possibly be fit to put a Garrison into it, if the Siege should be rais'd from *Tannton*; but that the Officer, who was under *Grenvill*, had, notwithstanding such Commands, burn'd it: That he proceeded in the levying Monies, and sending out extravagant Warrants throughout the County; and many other particulars. *St Richard Grenvill* denied, that the Soldiers left the Leaguer, or that *Willington-House* was burn'd, by any direction of His; though it appear'd, that all such Soldiers as left their Colours and came to him, were kindly us'd, and had Money given to them by him; and that Lieutenant Colonel *Robinson*, after he had receiv'd Orders from *St John Berkeley* not to light *Willington-House*, rode to *Exeter* to *St Richard Grenvill*, and immediately, upon his return from him, caus'd it to be burnt. *Grenvill* said, that he levied no Monies, nor issued out any Warrants, but what he had Authority to do by his Commission. In the end they shew'd him their Instructions

Instructions from the Prince, thoroughly to examine all differences between them; and, upon view of both their Commissions, to agree what limits each of them should observe. Thereupon, he shew'd them his Commission in Paper, under his Majesty's Sign Manual, scribbled by the Lord *Essex*, by which he was authorized to Command the Forces before *Plymouth*; and in order thereunto, with such clauses of latitude and power, as he might both raise the *posse*, and Command the Train'd-bands, and indeed the whole Forces of both Counties; and was to receive Orders from his Majesty, and his Lieutenant General; and was likewise at that time High Sheriff of *Devon*. *St John Berkeley's* Commission was precedent, and more formal, being under the Great Seal of *England*, of Colonel General of the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, and to Command the whole Forces of both Counties, as well Train'd-bands, as others; so that, though their Commissions were not in intention all one, yet they included clauses, and powers, so much the same, that either of them had Authority enough to disturb the other; and he that only saw his own, might reasonably think he had power over the other; which, between Persons so disinclin'd one to the other as they were grown to be, might have proved very fatal, if the remedy had not been so near by his Highness's Authority.

AFTER the perusal of their Commissions, they shew'd him their Instructions, concerning the regulating the Contributions, in proportionable assignments for the several Services; and desired his opinion, what Forces were now necessary for the blocking up of *Plymouth*, since any attempt for taking it was to be laid aside, at least for a time? And that, whereupon, such assignment might be made to that purpose, as was sufficient, and the rest otherwise dispos'd of. He told them, that the Forces then there (being about fifteen hundred Foot and four hundred Horse, of the *Devon-shire* side) were sufficient; and propos'd allowances little enough for the Service; and then said, that it troubled him to be confin'd to such an employment, as the blocking up a place, whilst there was like to be so much Action in the Field; and therefore he hop'd, his Highness would give him leave to wait on him in the Army; where he thought he might do him much better Service. They told him, they had Authority from the Prince (for some of his Friends had mention'd the same, soon after he had receiv'd his wound) if they found his health able to bear it, and his inclination led him that way, to let him know, that his Highness would be glad of his Service, in the mauling that Army which was then raising; which, allowing two thousand Foot to the recruiting the Lord *Goring*, would be in view six thousand

“ found Foot, and above two thousand Horse with the Guards; “ in which he had design’d Him the Second Place of Com-
mand. But then, they said, “ they knew not where to place
“ the Command before Plymouth. Sr Richard very cheerfully
receiv’d the Proposition for himself in the Army; and for
Plymouth, he said, “ no Man was fit to undertake the work
“ There, but Sr John Berkeley, who had the Command of both
“ Counties: that it was wifely by the differences and breaches
“ that had been between Them, how inconvenient it would
“ be to have that Charge independent; whereas, if it were
“ in one hand, the unanimous consent of both Counties, and
“ all the Forces in them, would more easily do the business.

ALL things being thus agreed upon, as far as they could
be without Sr John Berkeley’s consent, who was then before
Taunton; the Lords resolv’d to return to the Prince, and in
their way to dispose Sr John Berkeley to what had been pro-
posed; and let the Chancellor of the Exchequer at Exeter, to
agree with the Commissioners, upon the settlement of the
Contributions, and to settle some other particulars which they
had resolv’d upon. The whole Contribution of the County
of Devon amounted to two thousand pound Weekly; where-
of to many hundreds were assign’d by the Commissioners,
for the maintenance of the Forces before Plymouth, as amount-
ed to the just proportion and establishment propos’d by Sr
Richard Grenville himself; and then to many to the Garrisons
of Exeter, Dartmouth, Barnstable, and Exeter, as amount-
ed to the payment of such Forces, as, on all hands, were agreed
to be absolutely necessary for their defence, at the lowest estab-
lishment. All which being done, upon supposition that the
whole Contributions, being two thousand pound Weekly,
would be, according to the assignments, exactly paid, there
remained not a penny overplus, for the buying Ammunition
and Armes, for the finishing Fortifications, for Victualling the
Garrisons, or for blocking up of Lyme; which if it were not
done, all that part of the Country would be liable to that pre-
jare; and so, unable to pay Contribution where it was assign’d.
But it was resolv’d, the last might be done by drawing out
some Numbers from the several Garrisons, if there were no
disturbance from abroad; and the rest might be supplied out
of the Excise (the Major part whereof was by the King al-
locat’d for the Support of the Princess Henrietta left at Exeter)
and some other extraordinary ways to be thought of; the Letter
Money, and Subscription Money, being almost exhausted.

His Highness was no sooner return’d to Bristol from Bridge-
water, which was on the last day of April, than General Gor-
ring was sent for by the King, to draw his Horse and Dra-
goons towards Oxford; that thereby his Majesty might see

The Lord
Goring
sent for
by the
King as
before.

free himself from Cromwell’s, who, with a very strong Party of
Horse and Dragoons, lay in wait, to interrupt his joining with
Prince Rupert about Worcester. How unwelcome sever-
these Orders were to the Lord Goring, yet there was no resis-
tance; but he must obey them; and it was now hop’d, that the
West should be hereafter freed from him, where he was at
that time very ungracious. He march’d with that Expedition
towards the King, who was then at Woodstock, that he fell
upon a Horse Quarter of Cromwell’s, and another Party of
Fairfax’s Horse, as they were attempting a passage over the
River of Isis, so prosperously (the very Evening before he
came to the King) that he broke and defeated them with a
great slaughter, which gave him great Reputation, and made
him exceedingly welcome; and it was indeed a very reason-
able Action, to discourage, and break such a Party, in the
Infancy of their new model; and did break their present
measures, and made Fairfax to appoint a new place of Ren-
devous for his new Army, at a greater distance from the King’s
Forces.

FRANCIS RUPERT, who now met with very little opposition
in Council, had, throughout the Winter, dispos’d the King to resolve
to march Northwards, and to fall upon the Scots Army in
Yorkshire, before Fairfax should be able to proceed his new
model to that degree, as to take the Field. This design was
not unreasonable; nor the Prince to blame for desiring to
take revenge on them for what pass’d the last year; which,
now they were separated from the English, who had indeed
defeated him, he believ’d was easy to be done. That
people of marching Northward was now the more hasten’d,
that, in the way, Chester might be relieved; which was closely
bring’d; and then they might come soon enough to Pontefract-
Castle, before which the Scots Army then was; and if they
could defeat that, the King would be again, upon the march
to the North; which, by the infolence of the Scots, and the
dislike they had of the new model, was conceiv’d to be
better affected than ever. The next day after Goring came
to the King, the Army was drawn to a Rendezvous, and
consisted then of five thousand Foot, and above six thousand
Horse; an Army not to be reasonably sciz’d in the beginning
of a Campaign, when the King was to expect he should have
so much to do; and if it had been kept together, it is very
probable, that the Summer might have been crown’d with
better success.

FAIRFAX was then about Newbury, not in readiness to
march; yet reported to be much more unready than he was.
It was said, that his design was to carry his whole Army to
the relief of Taunton, brought almost to extremity; which

if he could bring to pass, would give him great Reputation, and would make the Parliament near Shavers with the King in the interest of the West. Upon this prospect, it was thought reasonable, and accordingly propos'd, ⁴ that the King himself should march with his Army into the West; and thereby, ⁵ not only prevent the relief of Taunton, but compel Fairfax ⁶ to fight, before he should be able to join with Cromwell; ⁷ who had not gathered his Troops together. This was the concurrent advice of the whole Council with which the King us'd to consult, Prince Rupert only excepted, and Sr Marmaduke Langdale, who Commanded the Northern Horse; which were impatient to be in their own Country. Now the very contrary Affections towards each other, between Prince Rupert and the Lord Goring, began to cooperate to one and the same end. The Prince found that Goring, as a Man of a ready Wit, and an excellent Speaker, was like to have most Credit with the King in all debates; and was jealous, that, by his Friendship with the Lord Digby, he would quickly get such an interest with his Majesty, that his own Credit would be much Eclipse'd. Hereupon, he did no less desire that Goring should return again into the West, than Goring did, not to remain where Prince Rupert Commanded. This produced a great Confidence and Friendship between them, and the Prince told him all that any of the Council had spoken freely to him, when his Highness's absent; nothing more than that Goring should be near the Prince of Wales; and Goring laid all of the Council, which he believ'd would most irreconcilable him to them. So they both agreed to add to all they could, to lessen the Credit and Authority of the Council. The King was desir'd to receive the Informations, and State of the West, from Goring; who upon the late good Fortune he had, and by the Arrives of the Lord Digby, was too easily believ'd. He inform'd the King with all imaginable confidence, ⁸ that if, by the positive Command of the Prince, contrary to his opinion and advice, his Forces had not been taken from him, and apply'd to the Siege of Taunton, he had doubtless totally ruin'd all Waller's Forces, ⁹ and prevented the coming of those Parties who had given his Majesty so much trouble at Oxford; that he had been ¹⁰ always us'd, upon his return to the Prince, with great respect, being not call'd into the Council, but put to an attendance without, amongst inferior Suitors; and then told many particular passages at Bridge-water, of which he rais'd advantage to himself, upon the prejudice he bore to others.
 WHEREAS the truth of the design upon Taunton is before set down, with all the circumstances; and Waller was march'd beyond Salisbury, before the Lord Goring knew where he was; and confest, there was no overtaking him; and

and he had always receiv'd as much respect from the Prince, and Council, as could be given to a Subject; being constantly call'd, and admitted to Council when he was present; and when absent, opinions and advices sent to him from the Council, upon such particulars as himself propos'd, with a full care, upon such particulars as himself propos'd, with a full reliance to his discretion, to do, upon the place, as he judg'd most meet: yet, I say, he got so much Credit, that the King, by his Letter of the tenth of May to the Prince, direct'd, ¹ that General Goring should be admitted into all consultations and Debates, and advis'd withal, as if he were one of the establish'd Council; that Prince Rupert having granted him ² Power, to give Commissions in that Army, all Commissions to be granted should pass by General Goring; and that ³ none should be granted by the Prince, in his own Name, otherwise than in such Cases as were of relation merely to the Affliction: that the Council should contribute their ⁴ opinions and advices to General Goring, but that his Highness should carefully forbear to give unto the Lord Goring ⁵ any positive or binding Orders; whereas, by his Instructions, when he came from Oxford, he was to put both his Commissions, of Generalissimo, and of General of the Affliction in execution, as he found most convenient; his Majesty himself then entertaining very little hope of the Affliction, as it was propos'd; and therefore, by his Letters to the Prince of the twentieth of April, which came to him at Bridge-water, all the assignments formerly made towards the Affliction, were directed to be dispos'd, and converted to such uses, as by the advice of his Council should be found most advantageous to the Service of those Parts; and thereupon the Letters were consented to, and direct'd as is before mention'd. With these triumphant Orders, the Lord Goring return'd into the West; where we shall now leave him, and wait upon his Majesty, in his unfortunate march, until we find cause enough to interrupt that Council, which so fatally diminish'd Goring, and his Forces, at a time, in which, if he had been born to Serve his Country, his presence might have been of great use and benefit to the King; which it was never after in any occasion.
 WHILE Goring was thus separated from the King's Army, his Majesty march'd to Epswich, and in his way, drew out his Garrison from Carlisle-House; which had brought no other benefit to the Publick, than the enriching the licentious Governour thereof; who exercised an illimited Tyranny over the whole Country, and took his leave of it, in wantonly burning the Noble Structure, where he had too long inhabited, and which, not many years before, had cost above thirty thousand pounds the building. Within few days after the King left Epswich, it was surpris'd by the Enemy,
 or

or rather storm'd and taken for want of Men to defend the Works; and the Governour, and all the little Garrison made Prisoners. The loss of this place was an ill Omen to the succeeding Summer: and, upon the matter, cut off all the intercourse between *Worcester*, and *Oxford*; nor was it at all pair'd by the taking of *Hawkeley House* in *Worcester-shire*, which the Rebels had fortified, and made strong, and which the King's Army took in two days, and therein the Governour, and one hundred and twenty Prisoners; who serv'd to redeem those who were left in *Englishton*. And so, by easy and slow marches the Army prosecuted their way towards *Chelmsford*; but, in *Stafford-shire*, the Lord *Byram*, who was Governour of *Chelms*, met the King; and inform'd him, "that the Rebels, upon the notice of his Majesty's advantage, were drawn off; and so there was no more to be done, but to prosecute the Northern design; which was now intended, and the Army upon it's march accordingly, when Intelligence was brought, "that *Fairfax* had sent a strong Party to relieve *Tannton*, and "was himself, with his Army, set down before *Oxford*. This could not but make some alteration, at least a pause in the Execution of the former Councils: and yet *Oxford* was known to be in so good a Condition, that the loss of it could not in any degree be apprehended, and nothing could more reasonably have been wish'd, that that *Fairfax* should be thoroughly engaged before it: And it was concluded, "that the best way to draw him from thence, would be to fall upon some place possessed by the Parliament.

The King had no Town so considerable near the place where the King then was, as *Leicester*; in which there was a good Garrison, upon the Command of *Sr Robert Pye*; and *Prinz Rupert*, who was always pleas'd with any brisk attempt, cheerfully entertain'd the first motion, and sent *Sr Marmaduke Langdale* forthwith to surround it (which was of great extent) with his Horse; and the next day, being the last of *May*, the whole Army was drawn about the Town, and the Prince, having taken a view of it, Commanded a Battery to be forthwith rais'd against an old high stone Wall, on the South side of the Town; which, by his own continued presence, was fill'd with admirable diligence: whereupon, he sent a Summons to the Governour; who return'd not such an Answer as was required. Thereupon, the Battery began to play; and, in the space of four hours, made such a Breach, that it was thought Counsellable, the fine Night to make a general Assault with the whole Army, in several places; but principally at the Breach; which was defended with great Courage, and Resolution; insomuch, that the King's Forces were twice repuls'd with great loss, and slaughter; and were even ready to

draw off in despair: when another Party, on the other side of the Town, under the Command of Colonel *Peter*, seconded by a Body of Horse that came but that day from *Newark*, and, joining themselves on Foot, advanced, with their Swords and Pikes, with the other, enter'd the Town; and made way for their Fellows to follow them: so that, by the break of day, the Assault having continued all the Night, all the King's Army enter'd the Line. Then the Governour, and all the Officers and Soldiers, to the Number of twelve hundred, threw down their Armes, and became Prisoners of War: whilst the Conquerors pursued their advantage, with the usual Licence of Rapins, and Plunder, and miserably sacked the whole Town, without any distinction of Persons, or Places; Churches, and Hospitals, as well as other Houses, were made a Prey to the enraged, and greedy Soldier, to the exceeding regret of the King; who well knew, that, how dissatisfied soever that Town was generally, there were yet many who had faithful hearts to him, and who he heartily wish'd might be distinguished from the rest: but those Scoundrels admitted no difference of Persons. Though the place was well gotten, because for little time had been spent in the getting it, yet it was not without very considerable loss on the King's side; there being near two hundred Soldiers dead upon the places of Assault, with many Officers; Colonel *Saint George*, and others of Name; besides many more wounded, and maim'd. The King presently made the Lord *Langshorough*, a younger Son of the Earl of *Arundel*, and one who had serv'd him eminently from the beginning of the War, Governour of *Leicester*; and *Sr Matthew Appleard*, a Soldier of known Courage and Experience, his Lieutenant Governour.

The taking of *Leicester*, the chief Town of that Province, even as soon as he came before it, and in that manner, purely by an Act of great Courage, gave the King's Army great reputation, and made a wonderful impression of terror upon the hearts of those at *Windsor*; who now revolv'd the conditions, which were offer'd at *Underidge*; whil'st they had refused. They began to curse their new model; and to reproach those who had perswaded them "so ingratulately to show off their old General, who was ready to foment all these dissensions. It was not above twenty days, that the King's Army had been in the Field, and in that short time, "it had reduced two strong Garrisons of theirs, without giving the Soldiers any conditions, *Hawkeley House*; in *Worcester-shire*, and the Town of *Leicester*: whilst their new General *Fairfax* had only faced *Oxford* at a distance, to try "whether the Ladies would prevail for the giving up of the Town, to pacify their fears; and had attempted to take a

" poor

March of
the King's
Army to
Worcester,
which
to Thomas
Fairfax
was his
down before
Oxford.

The King
before, and
after Leicester.

poor Houfe that lay near, *Berball Houfe*, and had been beaten from thence with confiderable lofs, and had drawn off from both, very little to his Honour. Thefe difcourages were fo publick in the City, and had fo much Credit in both Houfes of Parliament, that they exceedingly defired Peace, and executed their thoughts only how they might revive the old Treaty, or fet a new one on foot; when the evil Genius of the Kingdom in a moment blifted the whole Scene.

LEICESTER was a Poft, where the King might, with all poffible Convenience and Honour, have fate Ruft, till his Army might have been recruited, as well as thoroughly refreshed. Colonel *Gerrard* was upon his march towards him from *Wales*, with a Body of three thoufand Horfe and Foot, and he had reafon to expect, that the Lord *Goring* would be very floutly with him with his Horfe; for he was not departed from the King above four or five days, with thofe Orders which are mention'd before (and with which he was fo well pleas'd) but that the King, law caufic to repent his fpiration, and fent ether Orders to recal him as foon as was poffible. But the King's fate, and the natural unfeifonable, and irrefolution of thofe about him, hurried him into Councils very difagreeable to the poffure he was in. He knew not that *Fairfax* was gone from *Oxford*; and the Intelligence which fome Men pretended to have receiv'd from thence, was, "that it was in diftreff." The Duke of *Tork* remain'd there; the Council, many Lords and Ladies, who fent Intelligence to their Friends, and all the Magazines were there, and in all thefe fhould fall into the Enemies hands, *Leinfel* would appear a very poor recompence. Thefe particulars being unadvifedly, yet warmly prefid by thofe who could not be understood to mean amifs, the King resolv'd to march directly for *Oxford*; and in order therunto, within five dayes after the taking of *Leinfel*, he appointed the *Rendevous* for his Army, where he might yet very reafonably have been difcourag'd from profecuting that intention; for it then appear'd evidently, how very much it was weaken'd by, fince that Action, by the lofs of thofe who were killed and wounded in the Garrison; by the abfence of thofe who were left behind in the *Sarrin*; and by the running away of very many with their *Plunder*, who would in few days have returned.

The number of the King's Foot which remain'd, did not amount to above three thoufand five hundred; which was not a Body fufficient to Fight a Battle for a Crown. Then, all the Northern Horfe, who had promis'd themselves, and were promis'd by the King, that they fhould go into their own Country, were fo difpleas'd with this new Refolution, that they

The King
marched
back towards
Oxford.

they were with great difficulty refrain'd from Difbanding; and, though they were at laft prevail'd with to march, were none enough recover'd to be depended upon in any fuddain Action. Notwithstanding all this, the march was continu'd; the next day, at *Harborough*, the Intelligence came "that *Fairfax* was drawn off from *Oxford*, without having ever approach'd fo near it, as to discharge one Piece of Cannon *Fairfax* upon it; that he had been beaten off from *Berball Houfe* with the lofs of Officers, as well as Soldiers; and that he had been march'd with his whole Army to *Buckingham*. But this kindled a greater appetite to find him out, than there was before. Indeed there was lefs reafon to march Northward, fince they might well apprehend the *Stafford* Army in their Face, and *Fairfax* in their Rear. But there was the fame reafon fill for their retiring back to *Leinfel*, or to *Worcefter*, where they might expect, and could not fail of an Addition of Forces to the Army; and where the Enemy, who muft now be oblig'd to find them out, muft come with many difadvantages. Thefe Confiderations were all laid afide, and every body believ'd, that *Fairfax* his Army was much difpirited, by having fail'd in their two firft Enterprizes; and that it was now led out of the way, that it might recover Courage, before it fhould be brought to Fight with fo Victorious Troops, as the King's were: and therefore, that it was beft to find them out, whilst their fear was yet upon them: all Men concluding that to be true, which their own willes fuggefted to them. So the Army march'd to *Deventry* in *Northamptonfhire*; where, for want of knowing where the Enemy was, or what he intended to do, the King remain'd in a quiet pofture the fpace of five days.

Upon the thirteenth of *June*, the King receiv'd Intelligence, that *Fairfax* was advanced to *Northampton*, with a ftrong Army; much fuperior to the Numbers he had formerly been adverted of. Whereupon, his Majesty retir'd the next day to *Harborough*; and meant to have gone back to *Leinfel*, that he might draw more Foot out of *Newark*, and ftrid upon his defence, till the other Forces which he expected, could come up to him. But, that very Night, an Alarm was brought to *Harborough*, that *Fairfax* himfelf was Quarter'd within fix Miles. A Council was prefently call'd, the former Refolution of retiring prefently laid afide, and a new one as quickly taken, "to Fight; to which there was always an immoderate appetite, when the Enemy was within any diftance. They would not flay to expect his coming, but would go back to meet him. And fo, in the Morning early, being *Saturday* the fourteenth of *June*, all the Army was drawn up, upon a rifing ground of very great advantage about

about a Mile South from *Harborough* (which was left at their back) and there put in order to give or receive the Charge. The main Body of the Foot was led by the Lord *Stilley* (whom the King had lately made a Baron) consisting of about two thousand and five hundred Foot; the right Wing of Horse being about two thousand, was led by Prince *Rupert*; the left Wing, consisting of all the Northern Horse, with those five *Newarks*, which did not amount to above sixteen hundred, was Commanded by *St Marauduke Langdale*; in the Reerve were the King's Life-Guard, Commanded by the Earl of *Lisle*, and Prince *Rupert's* Regiment of Foot (both which did make very little above eight hundred) with the King's Horse-Guards, Commanded by the Lord *Bernard Stuart* (newly made Earl of *Lisfield*) which made that day about five hundred Horse.

The Army, thus disposed in good order, made a stand at that ground to expect the Enemy. About eight of the Clock in the Morning, it began to be doubtful, whether the Intelligence they had receiv'd of the Enemy was true. Upon which the Scoutmaster was sent to make farther discovery; who, it seems, went not far enough; but return'd and averr'd, that he had been three or four Miles forward, and could neither discover, nor hear any thing of them: presently a report was raised in the Army, that the Enemy was retir'd. Prince *Rupert* thereupon drew out a Party of Horse and Musketeers, both to discover, and engage them, the Army remaining still in the same place, and posture they had been in. His Highness had not march'd above a mile, when he receiv'd certain Intelligence of their advance, and in a short time after, he saw the Van of their Army, but it seems not distinctly, but that he conceiv'd they were retiring. Whereupon, he advanced nearer with his Horse, and sent back, that the Army should march up to him; and the Messenger who brought the Order, said, that the Prince desired they should make halt. Hereupon the advantage ground was quitted, and the excellent order they were in, and an advance made towards the Enemy, as well as might be. By that time they had march'd about a mile and an half, the Horse of the Enemy was discern'd to stand upon a high ground about *Nafely*; where, seeing the manner of the King's march, in a full Campaign, they had leisure and opportunity to place themselves, with all the advantages they could desire. The Prince's natural heat and impetuosity, could never endure an Enemy long in his view; nor let him believe that they had the courage to endure his Charge. Thus the Army was engaged before the Cannon was turn'd, or the ground made choice of upon which they were to Fight: so that Courage

was only to be relied upon, where all Conduct failed to much.

It was about ten of the Clock, when the Battle began: The first Charge was given by Prince *Rupert*; who, with his own, and his brother Prince *Maurice's* Troop, perform'd it with his usual vigour; and was so well seconded, that he bore down all before him, and was Master of six pieces of the Rebel's Cannon. The Lord *Stilley*, with his Foot, though against the Hill, advanced upon their Foot; who discharged their Cannon at them, but over-shot them, and so did their Musketeers too. For the Foot on either side hardly saw each other till they were within Carabine-shot, and so only gave one Volley, the King's Foot, according to their usual custom, filling in with their Swords, and the But-ends of their Muskets; with which they did very notable execution, and put the Enemy into great disorder and confusion. The right Wing of Horse and Foot being thus fortunately engaged and advanced, the left Wing, under *St Marauduke Langdale*, in five Bodies, advanced with equal resolution; and was encounter'd by *Cromwell*, who Commanded the right Wing of the Enemies Horse, with seven Bodies greater, and more numerous than either of the other; and had, besides the Odds in number, the advantage of the ground; for the King's Horse were obliged to march up the Hill, before they could Charge them: yet they did their duty, as well as the place, and great inequality of Numbers would enable them to do. But being flank'd on both sides by the Enemies Horse, and press'd hard, before they could get to the top of the Hill, they gave back, and fled farther and faster than became them. Four of the Enemies Bodies, close, and in good order, follow'd them, that they might not rally again; which they never thought of doing; and the rest Charged the King's Foot, who had till then to much the advantage over theirs; while Prince *Rupert*, with the right Wing, pursued those Horse which he had broken and defeated.

The King's Reserve of Horse, which was his own Guards, with *Humeil* in the head of them, were even ready to Charge those Horse who pursued his left Wing, when, on a sudden, such a Panic fear fell upon them, that they all run near a quarter of a mile without stopping; which happen'd upon an extraordinary accident, that hath seldom fallen out, and might well disturb and disorder very resolute Troops, as those were, and the best Horse in the Army. The King, as was said before, was even upon the point of Charging the Enemy, in the face of his Guards, when the Earl of *Carnewarthy*, who rode next to him (a Man never suspected for infidelity, nor yet one from whom the King would have receiv'd Counsel in such a case) on a sudden, laid his hand on the bridle of the King's Horse,

Horse, and swearing two or three full Mouthed *Scotish* Oaths (for of that Nation he was) said, "will you go upon your death in an instant? and before his Majesty understood what he would have, turn'd his Horse round; upon which a word run through the Troops, "that they should march to the right hand; which led them both from Charging the Enemy, and afflicting their own Men. Upon this they all turn'd their Horses, and rode upon the Spur, as if they were every Man to kill for himself.

It is very true that, upon the more Souderly word, *stand*, which was sent after them, many of them return'd to the King; though the former unlucky word carried more from him. By this time, Prince *Rupert* was return'd with a good Body of those Horse, which had attended him in his profers Charge on the right Wing; but they having, as they thought, added their parts, could never be brought to rally themselves again in order, or to Charge the Enemy. This difference was observ'd all along, in the discipline of the Kings Troops, and of those which march'd under the Command of *Fairfax*, and *Cromwell* (for it was only under Them, and had never been remarkable under *Essex*, or *Waller*) that, though the King's Troops prevail'd in the Charge, and routed those they Charged, they seldom rallied themselves again in order, they Charged, they seldom rallied themselves again in order: which was the reason, that they had not an entire Victory at *Edge-hill*: Whereas the others Troops, if they prevail'd, or though they were beaten, and routed, presently rallied again, and stood in good order, till they receiv'd new Orders. All that the King and Prince could do, could not rally their broken Troops, which stood in sufficient Number upon the Field, though they often endeavour'd it, with the manifest hazard of their own Persons. So that, in the end, the King was compell'd to quit the Field, and to leave *Fairfax* Master of all his Foes, Cannon, and Baggage; amongst which was his own Cabinet, where his most secret Papers were, and Letters between the Queen and Him; of which they shortly after made that barbarous use as was agreeable to their Nature, and publish'd them in Print; that is, to much their dishonour, and improve the prejudice they had rais'd against them; and conceal'd other parts, which would have vindicated them from many particulars with which they had affected them.

I SHALL not stay, in this place, to mention the Names of those Noble Persons who were lost in this Battle; which was the Kings, and the Kingdom were lost in it; and though there were above one hundred and fifty Officers, and Gentlemen

private Quality, dead upon the spot; whose Memories ought to be preserv'd. The Enemy led no manner of cruelty unexercis'd that day; and in the pursuit kill'd above one hundred Women, whereof some were the Wives of Officers of Quality. The King and Prince *Rupert*, with the broken Troops, march'd by *Leicester* that Night to *Ashby de la Zouch*; and the next day to *Lichfield*; and continued two days march more, till they came to *Beudley* in *Worcestershire*; where they rested one day; and then went to *Horsford*, with some disjointed imagination, that they might, with those Forces, under *Gerrard*, who was General of *South Wales*, and was indeed upon his march, with a Body of two thousand Horse and Foot, be able to have rais'd a new Army. At *Horsford*, Prince *Rupert*, before any form'd Council was agreed upon, what the King should do next, left the King, and made him retire to *Bristol*, that he might put that place into a condition to resist a Powerful and Victorious Enemy; which, he had reason to believe, would in a short time appear before it. Nothing can be here more wonder'd at, than that the King should smite himself about forming a new Army in Counties which had been vexed, and worn out with the oppressions of his own Troops, and the Licence of those Governours, whom he had put over them; and not have immediately repaired into the West, where he had an Army already form'd, and a People, generally, well devoted to his Service, which all his broken Troops, and General *Gerrard*, might have transported themselves, before *Fairfax* could have given them any interruption; who had somewhat to do, before he could bend his course that way: of which unhappy omission we shall have too much occasion to take more notice, after we have again visit'd the West.

THE Sickness which infested *Bristol*, and which was thought to be the Plague, had made it necessary for the Prince of Wales to remove from thence: and no place was thought to be convenient for his residence as *Barnstable*, a pleasant Town in the North part of *Devonshire*, well Fortified, with a good Garrison in it, under the Command of *St Allen Apley*. And as his Highness was upon his way thither, he receiv'd the Orders which the Lord *Goring*, who was now return'd, had procured from the King; which he carefully transmitted to his Highness, as soon as he arriv'd. At the same time, the Lord *Chilchopper* receiv'd another Letter from the Lord *Digby*, dated four days after the former Orders, by which he signified the King's express pleasure, that the Lord *Goring* should Command those Forces in Chief; that *St Richard Grenville* should be Major General of the whole Army; that *St John Berkeley*, as Colonel General of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, should in-

“tend the work before *Phymoth*; and that Prince *Rover* would fend his Ratification of all these; that the Lord *Hopson* should attend his Charge at the Army, as General of the Artillery. To which purpose, his Majesty with his own hand writ to the Lord *Hopson*; “and that the Prince should not be in the Army, but keep his residence in a safe Garrison; and There, by the advice of his Council, manage and improve the business of the West, and provide reserves, and reinforcements for the Army: with an Imimation, “that Mr *Smith’s* House, near *Brighthelm*, would be a convenient place for his residence.

THE Prince and Council were much amaz’d at these Orders and Resolutions, so different from those which had been made; and therefore they thought it fit to conceal them, till they might represent faithfully to his Majesty the state and condition of those parts, and their advice thereupon: well knowing, that if it were believ’d in the County, that the Prince’s Authority was in the least manner superceded, or diminished, besides other inconveniences, the hopeful Levies upon the agreement at *Brighthelm*, would be in a moment determin’d; the Gentlemen who were to raise Regiments, protesting, “that they would receive no Commissions but from his Highness. But whatever care They used to conceal the matters of those Letters, and to harken away a dispatch to the King concerning them, the Lord *Goring* took as much care to publish them; and from that time express’d all possible contempt at least of the Council attending the Prince. However, within three days, there was another change; for the Lord *Digby* (sending at the same time express Orders from the King to the Lord *Goring* to that purpose) by his Letters to the Lords of the Council, of the nineteenth of *May*, within five days after the former, signified “his Majesty’s pleasure, that the Lord *Goring* should march forthwith towards *Northamptonshire* with all the Forces could be spared; and that the Prince himself should stay at *Dunstar Castle*, and encounter the new Levies: it being (I presume) not known at Court, that the Plague, which had driven him from *Brighthelm*, was as hot in *Dunstar Town*, just under the Walls of the Castle. At the same time, a Letter to the Lord *Hopson* from the King, order’d him “to Command the Forces under the Prince. The Prince was then, as was said before, in his way to *Berrishelm*; having left five hundred of his Guards to keep the Fort in *Brighthelm*, the Garrison being then very thin there, by reason of so many drawn from thence for the Service before *Taunton*.

GENERAL *Goring*, upon his return from the King, found *Taunton* reliev’d by a strong Party of two thousand Horse, and
three

three thousand Foot, which unhappily arriv’d in the very Article of reducing the Town, and after their Line was enter’d, and a third part of the Town was burned. But this Supply rais’d the Siege, the Besiegers drawing off without any loss; and the Party that reliev’d them, having done their work, and left some of their Foot in the Town, made what shift they could, to make their Retreat Eastward; when *Goring* fell so opportunely upon their Quarters, that he did them great mischief; and believ’d that, in that disorder, he had fo that them up between narrow passes, that they could neither retire to *Taunton*, nor march Eastward: and doubtless he had them then at a great advantage, by the opinion of all Men that knew the Country. But, by the extreme ill disposing his Parties, and for want of particular Orders (of which many Men spoke with great licence) his two Parties sent out, several ways, to fall upon the Enemy at *Petherton-Bridge*, the one Commanded by Colonel *Thorow*, the other by *St William Courtney* (both diligent, and sober Officers) they fell foul on each other, to the loss of many of their Men; both the chief Officers being dangerously hurt, and one of them taken, before they knew their Error; through which the Enemy with no more loss got into, and about *Taunton*; notwithstanding which untoward accident, General *Goring* was, or seem’d, very confident that he should speedily fo distress them, that the place would be the sooner reduced, by the relief that had been put into it, and that in few days they would be at his Mercy.

THIS was before the latter end of *May*; when, upon the confidence of speedily dispatching that work, all possible and effectual care was taken to supply him with Provisions, and to feed all the new Levied Men, and his Highness’s own Guards the like. Inasmuch, as he had within few days a Body of full five thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; which he Quarter’d at the most convenient places; rather for ease, than duty; having published Orders, under pretence of preserving the Country from plunder, and with a promise of most exemplary Discipline, “that six pence a day should be collected for the payment of each Trooper; to which he got the Commissioners consent; by virtue whereof, he rais’d great Sums of Money, without the least abatement of the former disorders: yet he proceeded with such Popular circumstances, sending most precious Warrants out, and Declarations for Reformation; sometimes desiring, “that Solemn Prayers might be said in all Churches for him; and to desire God to bless some attempt he had then in hand; always using extreme Courtship to the Commissioners (whom he barefaced inform’d, “that he was to have, or rather, that he had the ab-

“folate Command of the West under the Prince, without re-
ference to his Council) that with his Promises, Proclama-
tions, and Courtship, together with laughing at those Perſons
they were angry at, he had wrought himſelf into very Popu-
lar conſideration; till they found, that he promiſed and pub-
liſhed Orders, to no other purpoſe that to deceive them; and
that, while he ſeem'd with them to laugh at other Men, he
made them Properties only to his own ends.

In this conjuncture, the King's Letter came to the Lord
Goring, to march towards *Northampton-ſhire*; to which he re-
turn'd an Answer by an Expreſs, before he deſired the Prince's
directions; though he was diligent enough to procure his
Highneſs's opinion for the relief of his march. The truth is,
the aſſurance that he gave of his reducing thoſe Forces within
very few days; the leaving all the Weſt to the Mercy of the
Rebels, if he went before they were reduced; the danger of
their marching in his Rear, and carrying as great an addition
of ſtrength to the Enemy, as General Goring could carry to the
King, except he carried with him the Forces of the ſeveral Gari-
ſons, which were then joynt to him, made it very Countable
to ſuſpend a preſent Obedience to thoſe Orders, till his
Majeſty might receive the full and true State of his Affairs in
thoſe parts; to which purpoſe, an expreſs was ſent likewiſe
by his Highneſs to the King. In the mean time, General
Goring was ſo far from making any advance upon *Taunton*,
that he grew much more negligent in it, than he had been;
ſuſſer'd Proviſions, in great quantities, to be carried into the
Town, through the midſt of his Men; neglected, and diſ-
couraged his own Foot to ſuch, that they ran away faſter
than they could be ſent up to him; and gave himſelf whole-
ly to Licence: inſomuch that ſome times he was not ſeen
abroad, in three or four days together. At this time came the
news of the fatal blow at *Neſbit*, which freed him from any
fear of being drawn out of the Weſt; yet he ſeiz'd no oppor-
tunity to attempt any thing upon the Enemy, who were ex-
ceedingly diſhearten'd; but ſuſſer'd the Guards to be more
negligently kept; inſomuch that his Quarters were often beaten
up, even in the day time; whilſt ſome Principal Officers of
his Army, as Lieutenant General *Parter*, and others, with
hiſ leave, had ſeveral Parleys with the Officers of the Rebels,
to the very great ſcandal of the reſt; who knew not what
interpretation to make of it, at a time that he uſed to mention
the Perſon of the King with great contempt, and avow'd in
all places a virulent diſlike of the Prince's Council. Thus,
after about fix Weeks lying about *Taunton*, the Forces where-
of he promiſed to conſound (I mean thoſe that marched to
the relief of it) within few days, he was forced himſelf to re-
lieve

tire, and ſuffer them to joyn with *St Thomas Raiſfax*; who in
the beginning of *July* march'd towards thoſe parts.

AFTER the Prince came to *Barnſtable*, though he very ^{the Prince}
ſeldom receiv'd any account from the Lord Goring of what ^{of Wales}
happen'd, he was inform'd by ſeveral Perſons of Credit ^{from}
that he was much discontented; and expreſs'd a great ſenſe ^{of}
of diſreſpect, and unkindneſs that he had receiv'd. There-
fore it was wiſh'd by them, “that ſome means might be
“found out, to ſettle a good underſtanding with him, where-
“by he might be encouraged to an Alacrity in ſo important
“a Seſion; and he having appointed to be at *Troverton* on ſuch
a day, the Prince ſent thither *St John Berkeley*, *St Hugh Pal-
lard*, and Colonel *Alburburnham*, to confer with him, and to
know what he deſired; the Prince having never denied to
aſſiſt him, in any one particular he had ever propoſed, or to
grant him any thing he had expreſs'd a deſire of. Upon their
meeting there, he carried himſelf very high; talk'd only of
“general neglects put upon him by the Prince's Council;
“that he had been promiſed by the King to have the Com-
“mand of the Weſt, but that they had hinder'd it; which
“ſhould be requir'd to have repair'd, before he would do any
“Service upon the Enemy; with many bitter Invektives
againſt particular Perſons; “whereof, he ſaid, *Prince Rupert*
“had told him that ſome thought him not a Man fit to be
“trulted. They had indeed ſpoke freely to his Highneſs
to that purpoſe, upon his very frankly diſcourſing of him.
In the end, theſe three Perſons preſſing him as Friends to deal
particularly with them, what would ſaſtify him; he told
them, “if he might be preſently made Lieutenant General to
“the Prince, and admitted of his Council, and be promiſed
“to be Sworn of the Privy Council, alſoon as might be, and
“to be Gentleman of the Prince's Bed-Chamber, he would
“then proceed roundly and chearfully in the buſineſs; oth-
“erwiſe, the Prince's Council ſhould do the work themſelves
“for him. All this being ſo extravagant, it cannot be thought
“any Anſwer could be given to it, eſpecially it being ſaid to
them as Friends, and not expreſsly ſent to the Prince.

WHEN the Prince firſt apprehended the advance of *St
Thomas Raiſfax* to the Weſt, he very earneſtly recommended
to the Lord Goring the ſtate of the Gariſons about *Bridgewater*,
eſpecially the Gariſon of *Lampſon*, which was of ſo great
importance, that, being well ſupplied, it had ſecur'd *Bridge-
water*, and all that part of the Country. This Gariſon had
been ſettled by the Lord *Hopton*, upon his firſt coming down
to *Taunton*, after *Vandruicke* had rais'd the Blockade that Colo-
nel *Winſtem* had laid to it; and *St Francis Mackworth* (who,
having been formerly Major-General to the Marquis of *New-
Caſtle*,

Castle, was now, that Army being dissolv'd, returning to his Command in the Low Countries by his Majesty's leave) was engaged by him, to take the Command of it still, upon the Prince's coming into those Parts; a worthier Command could he provided for him; and before the Lord *Goring's* coming to *Taunton*, he had fortify'd it to a good degree. This Garrison, from the first Establishment, had been much malign'd by Colonel *Windham*, who desired no to have another Governour so near him, who was to receive some of the fruit that he had before look'd on as his own, though never assign'd to him: and then, upon some differences between *St John Staveland*, and *St Francis Mackworth*, it was more investigated against; in such a manner as at the first coming down of the Prince to *Bristol*, most of the time was spent in complaints from *St John Staveland* of this Garrison, and of the forcing the County to work, and contribute to those Fortifications. After the Lord *Goring's* coming to *Taunton*, he had, as a compliment to *Bridgewater*, and to all the Gentlemen, who were grown angry with my Lord *Hopton*, upon their own fancies, besides the former unkindnesses he had to *St Francis Mackworth* upon some disputes they had in the North (where they were both General Officers) very much neglected, and oppos'd that Garrison; not only by countenancing all complaints against it, but by taking away all the Contribution assign'd for the support of it, for the supplying his own Army; and expressly inhibiting him by force to Levy those Rates, which the Prince himself had assign'd to him. Inasmuch as the Club men of the County assembled together in great Numbers, and, having taken some Officers and Soldiers of that Garrison Prisoners, for requiring their just Contributions in Money, or Provisions, came up to the Walls of *Lampport*, and discharged their Muskets upon the Works, and *St Francis Mackworth* the captain with his Horse Charged them, and killing one or two of them, forced the rest to run away, the Lord *Goring* sent him a very strict reprobation for so doing, and positively Commanded him "to do so no more; nor in any Case to disturb or injure those People. This brought that Garrison to love, that when it might have prefer'd that Army, it had not two days Provisions in it; *St Francis Mackworth*, having been call'd to wait on the Prince's Person, as well by his own choice (when he saw the carriage towards him, believing that some prejudice to his Person brought a disadvantage to the place) as by Prince *Rupert's* advice; who promised, when he left the Prince at *Barnsbale*, and visited *Goring*, and *Bridgewater*, "to settle that Garrison of *Lampport*, and make Colonel *Windham* Governour of it.

HERE

HERE I cannot but say somewhat of the Club-men; who began then to rise in great Numbers, in several parts of the Country, about the time that the Prince went from *Barth to Bridgewater*, in his Journey to *Barnsbale*; and that night his Highness lay at *Wills*, which was the second of *June*, a Petition was deliver'd to him, which had been agreed upon that day at *Marshalls Elme*, where there had then assembled five or six thousand Men, most in Arms; and the Petitioners were appointed to attend the next day at *Bridgewater* for an Answer. It was evident, though the avow'd ground for the rising, was the intolerable Oppression, Rapine, and Violence, exercised by the Lord *Goring's* Horle, that, in truth, they receiv'd encouragement from many Gentlemen of the County; some of them thinking, it would be a good Expedient to occasion a Reformation of the Army; others believing it would be a profitable rising for the King, and would grow into the matter of the first Association, One and All. Therefore some principal Agents of *St John Staveland* were very solicitous, active in those Meetings; and he himself was very desirous, that a very gracious Answer might be return'd to their Petition; which was follow'd by some Farmerly Men, and others of the Clergy, both which had good Reputations of affection and integrity to the King's Service. The Prince expressed a great sense of the Oppressions they suffer'd, by the disorder of the Army, which he promised to do his best to reform; to which end, he writ many earnest Letters to the Lord *Goring*. But his Highness told them, "that this unwarrantable course of assembling together, and being their own Judges, could prove very pernicious; for though many of them might mean well, yet some active Ministers would mingle with them, on the behalf of the Rebels, and having once brought them to a kind of Neutrality, and Unconcernedness for the King, would, in a moment, be able, against all their good willes, to apply them against him; and therefore mightily inhibited them to meet any more in that manner; except they first listed themselves in Regiments, and chose Gentlemen of the County to Command them; and whom his Highness offer'd to grant Commissions to that purpose. This Answer seem'd to satisfy those who attended on the behalf of the Petitioners, until they were persuaded by some Gentlemen not to submit to it; and so they continued their meetings; many inferior Officers of the Army quitting their Charges, and living amongst them, and improving their discourses. When the Prince went to *Barnsbale*, he gave General *Goring* Advertisements "of the great danger that might arise out of the licence that People took to themselves; and therefore advised him, "as on the one hand,

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to suppress and reform the crying disorders of the Army by good Discipline, and severity upon enormous Transgressors; to go on the other, seasonably to discontenance, and punish those Assemblies of Club-men, which would otherwise, in time, prove as dangerous to him, as any other strength of the Rebels. But, whether it were to their greivance, and so, Popularly to comply with what the Prince had discontenanced, or whether in truth he believ'd he should be able to make use of them, and persuade them to become a part of his Army, he did use all possible compliance with them, and would not suffer any force to be used against them. So that they grew to be so powerful, that they kept Provisions from the Army, and the Garrisons; and when he mov'd from *Taunton*, upon the coming down of *St Thomas Fairfax*, they kill'd many of his Soldiers; and did him more mischief, than all the power of the Rebels.

When the Prince came to *Barnstable*, he receiv'd the fatal news of the Battle of *Naseby*, by the noise and triumph which the Rebels made in those parts for their Victory, without any particular information, or account from *Oxford*, or any Credible Persons; which left some hope that it might not be true, at least not to that degree that dissatisfied People reported it to be. However, at the worst, it concern'd him the more to be solicitous to put the West into such a posture, that it might be able to repair any loss the King had receiv'd which he might have done, if the Jealousies and Animosities between particular Persons could have been reconciled, and a Union been made among all Men who pretended to wish, and really did wish, prosperity to the King's Affairs; which were disturbed, and even render'd desperate, by the insolent Pride of incorrigible Faction. Notwithstanding the Orders, which had been made by the Commissioners of *Devonshire*, for distributing the Contributions of that County, which have been mention'd before, and in which such a proportion was assign'd for the maintenance of the Forces before *Plymouth*, as in *St Richard Greenwils* own judgement was sufficient for them; he had still continu'd to Levy the whole Contribution, which he had done formerly, for six thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse; and said, "he could not submit to the other division and retrenchment; for that there was nothing assign'd, or left for the payment of his Men before *Taunton*. He was told by the Commissioners, "that they were now a part of the Army, and liv'd as their fellows did; "that they had receiv'd no Money from him since their going thither, but had Had free Quarter as the rest of the Army; and that it would prove of ill Consequence, and beget a Mutiny, if they should receive a Weekly pay, when none

of the rest did, nor any Army the King had in *England*; "that he could not but confels, by the State of the whole, "that the dispensation was very reasonable; and that it could not be expected that the County would be contented to pay their Contribution for the payment of other Forces, nor of their own County, when their own Garrisons, that were kept for their defence, should be compell'd for want of pay, to disorders, or to disband. But that, if he thought any thing in those Establishments unnecessary, or that he thought Provision could be otherwise made for them, they would be contented that the Overplus should be disposed as he desired. He Answer'd none of their reasons; but positively said, "He would spare none of the Contributions formerly assign'd to him; though the Commissioners had the same Authority now to take it away, as they had then to dispose it to him; and though it appear'd to be assign'd for the maintenance of so great a Force, as was before spoken of, and upon his undertaking, under his hand, "to take the Town before *Christmas* day.

When this Account was presented to the Prince, he ^{was} ^{of} ^{Barne-} ^{stable} ^{and} ^{the} ^{Commissioners} ^{found} ^{it} ^{necessary,} ^{and} ^{resolv'd,} ^{to} ^{confirm} ^{what} ^{was} ^{propos'd} ^{by} ^{the} ^{Commissioners,} ^{without} ^{which} ^{those} ^{Garrisons} ^{could} ^{not} ^{be} ^{supported;} ^{yet} ^{deserv'd} ^{the} ^{settling} ^{thereof,} ^{and} ^{he} ^{came} ^{plac'd} ^{at} ^{Barnstable,} ^{being} ^{resolv'd} ^{speedily} ^{to} ^{go} ^{thither,} ^{and,} ^{before} ^{his} ^{coming} ^{thither,} ^{had} ^{sent} ^{to} ^{the} ^{Commissioners} ^{both} ^{Greenwils} ^{of} ^{Devon} ^{and} ^{Corwall} ^{to} ^{attend} ^{him;} ^{which} ^{they} ^{did} ^{within} ^a ^{day} ^{or} ^{two} ^{after} ^{he} ^{came} ^{thither,} ^{together} ^{with} St ^{John} ^{Berkley,} ^{and} St ^{Richard} ^{Greenwils}. The Commissioners for *Devon* very earnestly pressed the settling the Contributions in the manner before propos'd, and the regulating the Exorbitant Power of *St Richard Greenwils*, who raised what Money he pleas'd, and committed what Persons he pleas'd; and the Commissioners from *Corwall* presented a very sharp complaint against him, in the Name of the whole County, for several Exorbitances, and strange Acts of Tyranny exercised upon them: "That he had committ'd very many honest substantial Men, and all the Constables of the East part of the County, to *Lysford Prison* in *Devonshire*, for no offence, but to compel them to Ranish themselves for Money; and "that his Troops had committ'd such outrages in the County, that they had been compell'd, in open Sessions, to declare against him; and to Authorize the Country, in case "that he should send his Troops in such manner, to rise, and beat them out; which Declaration was produc'd, sign'd by all the Commissioners, who were most eminently and zealously affected to his Majesty; and was indeed no other than a denouncing War against *Greenwils*; and was excus'd by them

“as an act of necessity to compose the People, who would
“otherwise in the instant have risen, and cut the Throats of
“all his Men. So that, whoever would have made a judg-
ment, upon what he heard from the Commissioners of *Devon*
and *Cornwall* at that time, must have concluded, that *St*
Richard Greenwil was the most justly odious to both Coun-
ties, that can be imagined. And no doubt he had behav’d
himself with great Pride, and Tyranny over them; though the
Discipline he exercised over his Men at *Plymouth*, in keeping
them from committing any disorder, or offering the least pre-
judice to any Man (which, considering the great affluence
of Money he had, and the small Numbers of Men, was no
hard matter to do) had rais’d him much Credit among the
Country People, who had liv’d long under the Licence of
Prince Maurice’s Army; and the fame of it had extended his
Reputation to a greater distance.

THESE hath been too much said already, to discover the
nature and temper of this Gentleman, if the current of this
discourse did not make it absolutely necessary to mention ma-
ny particulars, with which the Prince was troubled almost in
all places, and which exceedingly disorder’d the whole business
of *Devon* and *Cornwall*; and, indeed, thereby the whole Well
There was one particular that made a great noise in the Coun-
try: shortly after he was deputed to that Charge before *Ply-
mouth*, upon the hurt of Mr *Dijoy*, one *Brabant*, an Attorney
at Law (who had heretofore solicited the great Suite against
St Richard in the Star-Chamber, on the behalf of his Wife and
the Earl of *Suffolk*, living in those parts, and having always
very honestly behaved himself towards the King’s Service)
knowing, it seems, the nature of the Gentleman, resolv’d out
to venture himself within the Precincts where he Com-
manded; and therefore intended to go to some more secure
Quarters; but was taken in his Journey, having a Mounten
on his head. *St Richard Greenwil* had laid wait to apprehend
him; and he likewise had conceal’d his Name; but being now
brought before *St Richard*, was immediately, by his own di-
rection, without any Council of War, because he said he was
disguis’d, hang’d as a Spie: which seem’d so strange and in-
credible, that one of the Council asked him, “whether it was
“true? And he answer’d very unconcernedly, yes, he had
“hang’d him, for he was a Traitor, and against the King; and
“that he had taken a Brother of his, whom he might have
“hang’d too, but he had suffer’d him to be exchanged. He
said, “he knew the Country talked, that he hang’d him for
“revenge, because he had sollicit’d a cause against him; but
“that was not the cause; though having play’d the Knave with
“him, he said smiling, “he was well content to find a just
“occasion to punish him.

THE

THE Prince was very unwilling to enter so far, and par-
ticularly upon the passionate complaint of either County, as
thereby to be compell’d to censure, or to discountenance *St*
Richard Greenwil; who, he thought, might be applied very
sensibly to the Publick Service. Therefore his Highness re-
solv’d, according to the former design, to commit the business
of *Plymouth* to *St John Berkeley*; who might, without any re-
sistance to the other, discharge such from Imprisonment as
had lain long enough there, and who made no other pre-
tence to the Contribution, than according to the Assignments
made by the Commissioners; and to dispose *St Richard Green-
wil* as to the Field, according to his own Proposition; for which
there was now the more scorable opportunity, the Lord
Goring having then written to the Prince, “to desire him, this
“in regard very many of *St Richard Greenwil’s* Soldiers be-
“long to *Taunton* were run away, inasmuch that of the two thou-
“sand two hundred brought thither by him, there were not
“six hundred left, and that there could be no such expedient
“to bring them back, or to encourage the new Levies, as by
“his presence in that Army, that he would send *St Richard*
“*Greenwil* thither; where he should Command as Field-Mar-
“shal: To which purpose he had likewise written to *St Richard*
Greenwil, perswading him, “that he should fix a Quarter to-
“wards *Lynce*, and have the whole managing of that Pro-
“vince; and to a very good correspondence was begun between
them. Thereupon, his Commission of Field-Marshal of the
Afflicted Army was deliver’d to him, with direction, “in
“the mean time to abide with the Lord *Goring*; who deputed
him to Command in the same place. It is true that he then
desir’d, “to continue the Command before *Plymouth* in *Ces-
“sant*, and to execute the same by his Major General; but
“that, he was told, that it was otherwise settled by his own
“Proposition, and Advice, and therefore that it could not be
“alter’d: And indeed would have prevented the satisfaction,
which was to be given to the two Counties. Then he insist-
ed very much upon some Assignment of Contribution for the
Army; for, he said, “he neither would, nor could Command
“Men who were not paid. But after some sharp invectives
against the excess and laziness of Governours, and the negli-
gence for the Army must be provided out of *Somerset* and
Dorset, he took his leave of the Prince; and with his Com-
mission of Field-Marshal, went to the Lord *Goring* before
Taunton; *St John Berkeley* being at the same time dispatched
to *Plymouth*.

At the beginning of *July St Thomas Fairfax* enter’d *Somerset* and
Dorset; so that *General Goring* found it conveni-
ent

St Fair-
fax with hisArmy enter’d
Somerset and
Dorset.

nient to draw off from *Townton* and seem'd to advance towards him, as if he intended to Fight; fixing his Quarters between the Rivers about *Lampert*, very advantageously for defence, having a Body of Horfe and Foot very little inferior to the Enemy, although by great negligence he had suffered his Fox to moulder away before *Townton*, for want of Provisions, and Countenance; when the Horfe enjoy'd Plenty, even to Excess and Riot. He had been there very few days, when the Enemy, at Noon day, fell into his Quarters, upon a Party of Horfe of above a thousand, Commanded by Lieutenant General *Porter*, who were so surpris'd, that though they were in a bottom, and could not but discern the Enemy coming down the Hill, half a Mile at the least, yet the Enemy was upon them, before the Men could get upon their Horfes; they being then feeding in a Meadow; so that this Body was entirely routed, and very many taken; and, the next day, notwithstanding all the Advantages of Passes, and Places of Advantage; another Party of the Enemies Horfe and Dragoons fell upon the whole Army; routed it; took two peices of Cannon; and purified *Goring's* Men through *Lampert* (a place, which if it had not been with great industry discouragement, and oppressed, as it is said before, might well have secured him, and fortified their Army) and drove them to the Walls of *Bridgewater*; whither the Lord *Goring* in great disorder retir'd; and spending that Night there, and leaving with them the Cannon, Ammunition, and Carriages, and such Soldiers as were desired, in equal disorder, the next day, he retir'd into *Dowlishire*; the Club-men and Country People infesting his march, and knocking all Straglers, or wearied Soldiers, on the head. Upon that rout, which was no less than a defeat of the whole Army, the Lord *Goring* retir'd to *Barnstable*; from whence (the Prince being gone some days before to *Lewiston* in *Cornewall*) he writ to the Lord *Digby*, "that there was so great a terror, and distraction among his Men, that he was confident, at that present, they could not be brought to Fight against half their numbers. In the Letter he writ, "that he had then (being within three days after their rout, when very many Straglers were not come up) "between three and four thousand Foot (Prince *Ropers* Regiment being left in *Bridgewater*, consisting of above five hundred Men, and two hundred in *Barnston*, and five and twenty hundred Horfe, besides *St Lewis Dives's* Regiment, and all the Western Horfe) so that, by his Account, considering that there were not less than one thousand Men kill'd, and taken Prisoners, in those two unlucky days, and that very many were run to *Brill*, and others not come to him, it appears, that, when he retir'd from *Townton*, he had a strength little inferior to the Enemy.

Sir Thomas Fairfax then no more pursued them, after this running away, but left them time enough to refresh, and recover themselves; whilst he himself intended the recovery of *Bridgewater*; which was exceedingly wonder'd at; and though it was quickly discern'd, he had good reason to stop there. In the mean time General *Goring* spent his time at *Barnstable*, and those parts adjacent; his Army Quarters at *Torrington*, and over the whole North of *Devon*, and his Horfe committing such intolerable insolences and disorders, as alienated the hearts of those who were left affected to the King's Service. Instead of endeavouring to recruit his Army, or to put himself in a readines and posture to receive the Enemy, he suffer'd all, who had a mind, to depart; intomach, as he writ to the Lord *Cholmeley*, on the 27th of *July*, "that he had not above thirteen hundred Foot left. When he was at *Barnstable*, he gave himself his usual Licence of drinking; and then, inveighing against the Prince's Council, said, "he would justify that "They had been the cause of the loss of the West; inveighing likewise in an unpardonable dialect against the Person of the King, and discoursing much of the revenge he would take upon those who had affronted him: and in this manner he entertain'd himself to the end of *July*, writing Letters of discontent to the Prince, and the Lords; one day complaining for want of Money, and desiring the Prince to supply that want; when he well knew he wanted Supply for his own Table; and never receiv'd penny of the publick Collections, or Contributions: Another day, desiring, "that all Stragling Soldiers might be sent out of *Cornewall*, and drawn from the Garrisons, that he might advance upon the Enemy; and the next day proposing, "that all the Foot might be put into Garrisons, for that they could not be fit for the Field; so that before an Answer could be sent to his last Letter, another commonly arriv'd of a different temper.

St Richard Greenwell grew again no less troublesome and inconvenient, than the Lord *Goring*. He had left the Prince at *Barnstable*, well pleased with his Commission of Field-Marshal, and more that he should Command alone the blocking up of *Lyme*; which, he resolv'd, should bring him plenty of Money; and in order to that, it was agreed, that, on such a day appointed, "so many Men from the Garrisons of *Dartmouth*, *Exeter*, and *Barnstable*, should be drawn to *Tiverton*; "where they should receive Orders from *St Richard Greenwell*, "and jyn with such as he should bring from the Lord *Goring*, for making a Quarter towards *Lyme*; and Orders issued from his Highness accordingly. Those from *Exeter*, according to order, appear'd, at the time; and those from *Barnstable* and *Dartmouth*, march'd a day's Journey and more, towards

Reb Goring near Lampert.

towards *Tzertzen*; but then, hearing that the Lord *Goring* was risen from *Tonson*, made a halt; and sent back to the Prince for Orders; who conceiv'd that, upon the rising of the Lord *Goring*, the design of joining a Quarter upon *Lynn*, would be disappointed; and that it would be necessary to strengthen *Barnstable*, where his own Person was; and he call'd those Men back thither; having dispatched Letters to *Sr Richard Grenvill*, to acquaint him with the accidents that had diverted those from *Dartmouth* and *Barnstable*; but letting him know, "that, if the design held, those of *Barnstable*" should meet, where and when he would appoint.

Sr Richard Grenvill took an occasion, from the Soldiers failing to meet, at the day appointed, at *Tzertzen* (though if they had met, there could have been no progress in the former design) to exclaim against the Prince's Council; and the next day, in a Cover directed to *Mr Fanshawe*, who was Secretary of the Council, without any Letter, return'd the Commission of Field-Marshal, formerly given him by the Prince; and within two or three days after, on the fifth of *July*, he sent a very insolent Letter to the Lords of the Council, complaining of "many unbecom'g abuses offer'd to him; implying, "that the same were fallen'd on him by Them, in "the behalf of *Sr John Berkley*; told them, that when they mov'd him to give over the Command of the Forces before *Plymouth* to *Sr John Berkley*, they had promised him the "Principal Command of the Army under the Prince; whereas the truth is before set down, that the Proposition was made by Himself, both of quitting that Charge, and of *Sr John Berkley's* taking it, as the only fit Person. He said, "he had hitherto serv'd the King upon his own Charge, and upon his own Estate, without any allowance; and that, when he went from *Barnstable*, he was promised a Protection for his House and Estate; but when, after he was gone, his Service brought a Protection ready drawn, all the Clauses that comprehended any thing of favour, were left out; and that a Protection for him as he cared not for. He concluded, "that he would serve as a Volunteer, till he might "have opportunity to acquaint his Majesty with his Sufferings. Here it will be necessary, upon the mention of this Proceeding (which he took for ill to be denied) and the mention of Serving the King, without allowance, upon his own Estate, which he very often, and very insolently objected both in his Letters, and in his discourse to the Prince himself, to do somewhat of his Estate, and what small allowance, as he pretend'd, he had from the King for his Service.

When he came first into that Country, he had no Command at all; arm'd only with a Commission to raise a Regi-

ment of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot; of which, he never rais'd Hoise of Man, till long after, that he came to the Command about *Plymouth*. Estate he had none, either there, or that I have heard, any where else. It is true, his Wife had an Estate, of about five hundred Pounds a year, about *Tzertzen* and other parts of *Devon*; but it is as true, that it was convey'd before Marriage, as hath been said, in such a manner, to Friends in trust, that upon long Suits in Chancery, and in other Courts, in the time of Peace, there were several Judgements and Decrees in Chancery against him. So that he had never, since the difference with his Wife, which was many years before, receiv'd the least benefit, or advantage from it. The last thing the King granted to him, was the Sequestration of all his Wife's Estate to his own use (the living then in the Rebels Quarters) upon which Title he seized himself in her House near *Tavistock*; and, by virtue of that Grant, took all the Stock upon the Ground; and compell'd the Tenants to pay to him all the Arrears of Rent, or as much as he said was in Arrear; which amounted to a very considerable value. When Colonel *Digby* receiv'd this unfortunate hurt, which render'd him for that time incapable to exercise his Command, *Sr John Berkley* very earnestly, and He only, mov'd Prince *Maurice*, to ceter that Charge upon *Sr Richard Grenvill*, and, though it was within a County of which he himself had the principal Charge as Colonel General, procur'd a full Commission for the other to Command those Forces in Chief; and deliver'd, or sent the same to him; having, from the time of his first coming down, us'd him with much kindness. He had not then Commanded long, when the Earl of *Essex* came into those Parts; whereupon he was compell'd to retire; and after join'd with the King.

When the Earl of *Essex's* Forces were dissolv'd, he was again design'd for that Service; and before the King left the Country, he granted him the Sequestration of all the Estates of the Earl of *Bedford* in *Devonshire*, all the Estate of *Sr Francis Drake* (by which he had *Buckland Monachorum*, which was his Quarter whilst he block'd up *Plymouth*; and *Worringen* by *Lawton*) in *Devon*, and the Lord *Robert's* his Estate in *Cornwall*; all which, and his Wife's Estate, he enjoy'd by the Sequestration granted from his Majesty, and of which he made a greater Revenue than ever the owners did in time of Peace. For, besides that he suffer'd no part of these Estates to pay Contribution (whereby the Tenants very willingly paid their full Rents) he kept very much ground, about all the Houses, in his own hands; which he stocked with such Cattle as he took from Delinquents; for though he suffer'd not his Soldiers to plunder, yet he was, in truth, himself the greatest plunderer

derer of this War; for whenever any Person had disobey'd or neglected any of his Warrants, or when any Man fail'd to appear at the *Paſſe* (which he ſummon'd very frequently) as he was Sheriff of *Devon*, and for no other end but the penalty of Defaulters; he ſent preſently a Party of Horſe to apprehend their Perſons, and to drive their Grounds. If the Perſons were taken, they were very well content to remit their Stocks to redeem their Perſons. For the better diſpoſing them thereto, he would now and then hang a Conſtable, or ſome other poſſible fellow, for thoſe faults of which a hundred were as guilty; and if, out of the terror of this kind of Juſtice, Men hid themſelves from being apprehended, they durſt not ſend to require their Stock; which was from thence quietly enjoy'd: ſo that he had a greater Stock of Cattle, of all ſorts, upon his Grounds, than any perſon whatſoever in the Weſt of *England*. Beſides this, the ordering of Delinquents Eſtates in thoſe Parts being before that time not well look'd to, by virtue of theſe Sequeſtrations, he ſeiz'd upon all the Stock upon the Grounds, upon all the Furniture in the ſeveral Houſes, and compell'd the Tenants to pay to him all the Rents due from the beginning of the Rebellion. By theſe, and ſuch like means, he had not only a vaſt Stock, but received great Sums of Money, and had as great ſtore of good Houſehold-Stuff, as would Furniſh well choſe Houſes; he look'd upon as his own. This was his own Eſtate, upon which, he ſaid, he had maintain'd himſelf, without any allowance from the King; which, I am confident, beſides what he got by his Contributions, which would always pay double the Men he had, and were ſtrictly levied, and by his other Arts, and Extortions of ſeveral kinds, was more, and more worth in Money to him, than his Maſtly beſtow'd upon all his General Commanders of Armies, and upon all his Officers of State, ſince the beginning of the Rebellion to that time. This computation would ſeem too enviouſly made, if I ſhould proceed here to take any view of the Services he did; and therefore (though they that are very good Wiſdoms, ſay, that notwithstanding all the bold promiſes of taking *Phymouth* within few days, his farther Guards were never nearer the Town, than the Lord *Hoyſon's* head Quarſer was the firſt day that he came thither) I ſhall leave that to other Men to make the particular Eſtimate.

Now when *St Richard Greenvil* deſir'd at *Barrillable's* Protection for his Houſes and Eſtates, it was conceiv'd, that he apprehended there might, under pretence of Claim, ſome attempt be made upon his Stock by the *Quarſers*; or that he feared, that there might be too ſtrict an enquiry, by him that ſucceeded, for ſuch things as being deſign'd for the Publick Service, had been applied to his particular private Uſe; #

having

having, with great impertunity (as a thing upon which the Service depended) gotten from the Commiſſioners of *Devon* above a thouſand Deal-boards, to make bars for the Soldiers, he employ'd them all in the building a great riding Houſe at *Bowland*, for his own Pleaſure. However, fo ſevere and terrible a Perſon might eaſily be thought lyable to many treaſons, when he ſhould be remov'd from the place where he Govern'd ſo abſolutely. The Protection was no ſooner aſſaid by him, than promiſed by the Prince; but, after his departure, his Servant bringing ſuch a Protection drawn, as exempted all thoſe Eſtates which the King had Granted to him in Sequeſtration, from the payment of any Contributions (the which had been already ſo ſcandalous, that moſt of the principal Perſons of *Cornwall* had by that example, and with indignation at it, forborn to pay their Rates; and he was told the ill conſequence of it; and, ¹¹ that no Perſon there in Council, where ¹² of ſome had Had very much greater Commands in Armies than He, and though others thought their Services deſerv'd any reaſonable Privileges, had been ever freed from Contribution) thereupon thoſe clauiſes were ſtruck out, and the Protection in a fuller manner ſtill than ordinary, ſign'd by the Prince; and *St John Berkeley*, then preſent, declar'd (of which his Servant was advertiſed, though it was not fit, for the Example, to put it in writing) ¹³ that he would not require any Contribution for that Eſtate which was his Wife's, and ¹⁴ enjoy'd by him only by virtue of the Sequeſtration; and the denying of this Protection was his great grievance. And yet he did not only never pay a penny Contribution before, or after for all theſe Eſtates, but refus'd to pay the Excife-Money due to the King out of the Earl of *Bedford's* Eſtate, being two hundred Marks per annum, though the Auditor was ſent to him to demand it; but this was merely an Act of his own Severity.

AT this angry Letter to the Lords, and the throwing up his Commiſſion without a Letter, and ſo having no Commiſſion at all to meddle in Martial Affairs, he fix'd a Quarter, with his own Horſe and Foot, at *St Mary Otſerre*, within nine or ten Miles of *Exeter*; where he govern'd as imperiouſly as ever; raiſed what Money he would; and impriſon'd what Perſons he pleaſed. In the end, *St John Berkeley*, having appointed the Conſtables of thoſe Hundreds which were assign'd for *Phymouth*, to bring in their Accounts of what Money they had paid to *St Richard Greenvil* (which, he proteſted, he did only that thereby he might flare the *Arrears*, without the leaſt thought of reproach to the other) he cau'd a Warrant to be read in all Churches in the County (that is, order'd it to be read in all, and in ſome it was read)

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that all Persons should bring him an Account of what Monies, or Goods had been plunder'd from them by *St John Berkeley*, or any under him, with several Clauses very derogatory to his Reputation. This, as it could not otherwise, begot great resentments; inasmuch as the Commissioners of *Devon* sent an Express to the Prince, who was then in *Cornwall*, beseeching him "to call *St Richard Grenewill* "to "thence, and to take some Order for the suppressing the Furious inclinations of both sides, or else they apprehended, the "Enemy would quickly take an advantage of those Difficulties, and Invaide the Country before they otherwise intended; and, in their Letter, sent one of the Warrants that *St Richard* had caused to be read in the Churches; which indeed was the strangest I ever saw.

HEREUPON, the Prince sent for *St Richard Grenewill* to attend him; who accordingly came to him at *Liskard*; where his Highness told him "the sense he had of his disaffection "wards him, in the sending back his Commission in that manner; and of his carriage after; and asked him, "what Authority he now had either to Command Men, or to publish such Warrants? He answer'd, "that he was High Sheriff "of *Devon*, and by virtue of that Office he might possess "any Force, or enquire into any grievance his County suffer'd; and, as far as in Him lay, give them remedy. He was told, "as Sheriff he had no power to raise or lead Men, "otherwise than by the *Posse Comitatus*; which he could not "neither upon his own head raise, without Warrant from the "Justices of Peace; that, in times of War, he was to receive "Orders, upon occasions, from the Commander in Chief of the King's Forces; who had Authority to Command him "by his Commission. He was asked, "what he himself would have done, if when he commanded before *Flymouth*, the "High Sheriff of *Cornwall* should have caus'd such a Warrant "concerning Him to be read in Churches? He answer'd little to the Questions, but faintly extoll'd his Services, and enlarg'd his Sufferings. Afterwards, being reprehended with more sharpness than ever before, and being told, "that, whatsoever discourses he made of sending his Estate, it was well understood, that he had no Estate by any other Title than "the meer bounty of the King; that he had been courted by "the Prince more than he had reason to expect; and that he "had not made this return on His part, which became him; "In short, if he had inclination to serve his Highness, he "should do it in that manner he should be directed; if Not, he "should not, under the Title of being Sheriff, satisfy his own "Pride, and Passion (Upon which reprehension being become much gentler, than upon all the gracious Addresses which had

had been made to him) he answer'd, "he would serve the "Prince in such manner, as he should Command; and thereupon he was discharged, and return'd to his House to *Worington*, one of those places he had by Sequestration (It belonged to *St Francis Drake*) where he liv'd privately, for the space of a Fortnight, or thereabouts, without interposing in the Publick business. Let us now see how this Tragedy was acted in other places.

We left the King at *Hertford*, not resolv'd what course to follow; Prince *Rupert* gone to *Bristol*, from whence he had made a short visit to the Prince at *Barnstable*, to give him an account of the ill posture he had left the King in, and from thence went to *Goring* to consult with Him: and it was exceedingly wonder'd at, that when he was in what condition he was (for he was then before *Taunton*) and the Number of his Horse and Foot (which every body then thought had been his business to be inform'd of) he did not then haften advice to the King, for his speedy repair thither; but his chief care was to secure *Bristol*, which, sure, at that time he made not the least question of doing; and below'd the Winter would come seasonably for future Councils.

The King quickly left *Hertford*, and went to meet the *The King's* Commissioners for South *Hales* at *Abergreevy*, the Chief Town in *St. Asaph* in *Manowethshire*. As they were for the most part Persons of the quality of the best Quality, and the largest Fortunes of those Counties, so they had manifest'd great Loyalty and Affection, from the beginning of the War, by sending many good Regiments into the Army, and with their Sons, and Brothers, and nearest in the Kindred; many of whom had lost their lives bravely in the Field: They now made as large and ample Professions as ever, and seem'd to believe, that they should be able, in a very short time, to raise a good Army of Foot, with which the King might again look upon the Enemy; and accordingly agreed what Numbers should be levied upon each of the Counties. From thence his Majesty went to *Raglan* Castle, the Noble House of the Marquis of *Worcester*; which was well Fortify'd, and Garrison'd by him; who remain'd then in it. There he resolv'd to stay, till he should see the effect of the Commissioners mighty promises. But he found in a short time, that, either by the continued successes of the Parliament Armies in all places, the particular information whereof was every day brought to them, by Intelligence from their Friends, or the Triumphs of their Enemies in *Manoweth* and *Glostershire*, or by the renewed troubles, which the presence of their Governour, General *Gerrard*, gave them (who had been, and continued to be a passionate and unskilful manager of the seditions of the People; as having govern'd them with extraordinary rigour, and

and with as little courtship and civility towards the Gentry, as towards the Common People) these all Men grew less affected, or more frightened, which produced one and the same effect. The King itay'd at *Ragland*, till the News came "that *Fairfax*, after he had taken *Leicester* (which could not hold out longer than to make honourable conditions) "was "marched into the West, and had defeated *Goring's* Troops at " *Launport*; and at the same time, that the *Savoy* Army was "upon its march towards *Worcester*, having taken a little Garrison that lay between *Hareford* and *Worcester* by Storm; and "put all within it to the Sword. And Prince *Rupert* sent for all those Foot which were levied towards a new Army, and part of those which belonged to General *Gerrard*, to supply the Garrison of *Bristol*: so that his Majesty seem'd now to have nothing in his Choice, but to transport himself over the *Severn* to *Bristol*, and thence to have repair'd to his Army in the West; which would have been much better done Before, yet had been well done Then; and the King resolv'd to do so; and that the Horse under *Gerrard*, and *Langdale*, should find a Transportation over *Severn* (which might have been done) and then find the way to him, wherever he should be.

These 10.
Chapter 10.

This was so fully resolv'd, that his Majesty went to the Water side near *Chelmsford*, where Vessels were ready to Transport him, and where Prince *Rupert* from *Bristol* met him, very well pleas'd with the Retolition he had taken, though he had not been Privy to the Council. Here again the unhappy discord in the Court, raised new objections; they who did not love Prince *Rupert*, nor were lov'd by him, could not endure to think that the King should be so wholly within his power; and he himself was far from being importunate that his Majesty should prosecute his purpose, which he had not advis'd, though he liked it well enough; and so would not be answerable for any success. His Majesty himself being too resolute, the Council was again changed, and the King march'd to *Cardiff*; where he had been very little time, when he was inform'd, that *Bridgewater* was lost: and then they who had advis'd the King's Embarkation for *Bristol*, were much exasped, and thought themselves good Counsellors; though, in truth, the former resolution had been even Then much better pursu'd; for nothing could have hinder'd his Majesty from going to *Exeter*, and joining all his Forces which would have put him in a posture much better than he was ever afterwards. Indeed the taking *Bridgewater*, which the King had been persuad'd to believe a place impregnable, could not but make great impressions upon him, to think that he was betray'd, and consequently not to know whom to trust.

§ P. Fairfax
Exc. rate
Bridgewater.

trust. It was in truth matter of amazement to all Men, nor was it any excuse, that it was not of strength enough against so strong an Army; for it was so strongly Situated, and it might well have had all those additions which were necessary, by Fortifications, that it was inexcusable in a Governour (who had enjoy'd that Charge above three years, with all allowances he had himself desired; and had often assur'd the King, "that it was not to be Taken) that it did not resist any the greatest strength that could come before it for one Week; and within less than that time, it was Surrender'd, and put into *Fairfax's* hands.

THAT this prodigious success on the Enemies side, should break the Spirits of most Men, and even call them into despair, is not at all to be wonder'd at; but that it should raise the hopes of any that it would produce a Peace, is very strange; yet this imagination did so much harm, that Men generally neglected to make preparation against a powerful and insidious Enemy, that was in their power to have made, out of confidence that the offer of a Treaty would now prevail, and produce a Peace; and every Man abounded so much in his own sense on this point, that they were not capable of any reason that contradicted it. The Commissioners of all Counties, which were the best Gentlemen, and of best Affections, upon whom the King depended to apply the Common People to his Service, were so fully of this opinion, that they made Cabals with the principal Officers of the Army, to concert with them in this judgement, and to contrive some way how it might be brought to pass; and too many of them were weary of doing their duty, or so much alienated of not having done it, that they professed themselves to desire it, at least as much as the rest. This temper spread it self so universally, that it reach'd to Prince *Rupert* himself; who writ his Advice to that purpose to the Duke of *Richmond*, to be presented to the King; who took that occasion, to write the ensuing Letter to the Prince, with his own hand; which was so lively an expression of his own Soul, that no Pen could have written it, and deserves to be transmitted to Posterity, as a part of the Portraiture of that excellent Person, which hath been dignified by false, or erroneous Copies from the true Original; and follows in these words.

From Cardiff in the beginning of the Month of Aug. 1645.

Nephow,

"It is occasion'd by a Letter of yours, that the Duke of *Richmond* shew'd me yesterday. And first I assure you, Peace as I have been, and ever will be, very careful to advertise you
" that time,

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The King's
Letter

Prince Rupert
to the Duke of
Richmond

of my resolutions, as soon as they are taken; and if I enjoy'd silence to that which was no secret, it was not my fault; for I thought it one, and I am sure it ought to have been so now. As for the opinion of my business, and your Council thereupon, if I had any other Quarrel but the defence of my Religion, Crown, and Friends, you had full reason for your advice. For I confess, that speaking either as to meer Soldier, or States-man, I must say, there is no probability but of my ruin; but as to Christian, I must tell you, that God will not suffer Rebels to prosper, or His Cause to be overthrow; and whatsoever Personal punishment it shall please him to inflict upon me, must not make me repine, much less to give over this Quarrel; which, by the Grace of God, I am resolv'd against, whatsoever it cost me; for I know my obligations to be both in Conscience, and Honour, neither to abandon God's Cause, injure my Successors, nor forsake my Friends. Indeed I cannot flatter my self with expectation of good success, more than this, to end my days with Honour, and a good Conscience; which obliges me to continue my endeavour, as not despairing that God may in due time avenge his own Cause. Though I must avow to all my Friends, that he that will stay with me at this time, must expect, and resolve, either to dye for a good Cause, or, which is worse, to live as miserable in the maintaining it, as the violence of insubling Rebels can make him. Having thus truly and impartially stated my Case unto you, and plainly told you my positive resolutions, which, by the Grace of God, I will not alter, they being neither highly nor faddishly ground'd, I earnestly desire you not in any ways to hearken after Treaties; assuring you, as low as I am, I will not go less than what was offer'd in my Name at *Uxbridge*; confessing that it were as great a Miracle that they should agree to so much reason, as that I should be, within a Month, in the same Condition that I was immediately before the Battle of *Nashby*. Therefore, for God's sake, let us not flatter our selves with these Concoits; and, believe me, the very imagination that you are desirous of a Treaty, will lose me so much the sooner.

Wherefore, as you love me, whatsoever you have already done, apply your discourse according to my resolutions, and judgement. As for the *Irish*, I assure you they shall not cheat me; but it is possible they may cozen themselves: for be assured, what I have refused to the *English*, I will not grant to the *Irish* Rebels, never trusting to that kind of People (of what Nature soever) more than I see by their Actions; and I am sending to *Ormond* such a dispatch, as I am sure will please You, and all honest Men; a Copy

whereof,

whereof, by the next opportunity, you shall have. Lastly, be confident I would not have put you, nor my self, to the trouble of this Letter, had I not a great estimation of you, and a full confidence of your Friendship to

Your &c.

When the King came to *Cardiff*, he was enterin'd with the News, that the *Scottish* Army was set down before *Heworth*; and that, if it were not reliev'd within a Month, it must fall into their hands. To provide for this, there could be no better way found out, than to direct the Sheriffs of those *Welsh* Counties to Summon their posse Comitatus, whereby the King was persuaded to hope, that there would be Men enough to wait upon him in that expedition; who with the Horse he had, would have been equal to any attempt they could make upon the *Scotts*. But it was quickly discover'd, that this Expedient had rais'd an unruly Spirit, that could not easily be suppress'd again; for the discontented Gentlemen of those Counties, now they had gotten the People legally together, put them in mind of the Injuries they had receiv'd from General *Gerrard*, and the intolerable exactions they lay under, which would undoubtedly be increased, if he continued in that Government. So that, instead of providing Men to march with the King, they provided a long list of grievances; from all which they desired to be reliev'd before they would apply themselves towards the relief of *Heworth*. All this was so stoutly urged, that a Body of no less than four thousand Men, of those who were thus called together, continu'd together many days, and would not be separated, till the King was even compell'd to give them satisfaction in the particular they most insisted upon; which was the removal of General *Gerrard* from having any Command over them; and that Charge was presently conferr'd upon the Lord *Aspley*, the Major General of the Army; who was most acceptable to them; and they afterwards conform'd themselves as much to his directions, as from the distraction of the time, and the continual ill Successes, could be expected by him.

But it was the hard fate of the King, that he could not provide what was fit for his own Service, except he provided likewise for the satisfaction of other Men's Humours and Appetites. *Gerrard* had now, upon the matter, the Command of all the Forces the King had to trust to in those Parts; and he was of too impetuous a Nature, to submit to any thing for Conscience, or Discretion, or Duty; so that the King was compell'd to satisfy his Ambition for this present degradation, by making him a Baron; and which was an odd and a very fantastical circumstance that attend'd it, for

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no

no other reason, than because there was once an Eminent Person, called *Charles Brandon*, who was afterwards made a Duke, he would be Great Baron of *Brandon*, that there might be another *Charles Brandon*, who had no less aspiring thoughts than the former; when he had no pretence to the Lands of *Brandon*; which belonged to, and were, at that time, in the possession of a Gallant and Worthy Gentleman *St Thomas Gloucestre*; who at the same time (very unluckily upon that account) came to the King at *Cardiff*, with about two hundred Foot, which he had brought with him out of the Garrison of *Cardiffe*; which place he had defended for the space of eleventh Months against *David Lesley*, and till all the Honours of the Garrison were taken, and then had render'd, upon as honourable Conditions, as had been given upon any Surrender; *David Lesley* himself convey'd him to *Hereford*; where he joynd with the other part of that Army, and from thence *St Thomas Gloucestre* (who was by his Conditions to march to the King wherever he was) came to his Majesty at *Cardiff* at the time when the Tide of his own Land, which came to him by Inheritance, was conferr'd upon a Gentleman of another Family: who, how well extract'd soever, was of less Fortune, and, as many thought, of no greater Quality, or Merit. This unaccountable Preference more irritated the Country, from which the King then expected Assistance, that when they believ'd they had accus'd him of Crimes which deserv'd the highest Confiscure, they saw him pretend to, and rewarded in an higher degree than he could ever probably have arriv'd to, but for that Accusation. Here the King, after all his endeavours were render'd fruitless, entertain'd a new imagination, that he might get into *Scotland* to the Marquis of *Montrose*, who had done wonders there; and thereupon left *Cardiff*; and, over the Mountains of *Brecknock*, and *Radnor*, pass'd the Scottish Quarters, and came to *Ludlow*, before that Army had any notice of his march.

WHEN the King came first to *England*, he had sent an Express to the Prince, by which he wisth "that the Lord *Colchester*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, might, as soon as was possible, attend his Majesty. The danger of the way was such, and the passage so difficult, that the Messenger came not quickly to his Highness. The Chancellor being then unfit to Travel by reason of the Gout, the Lord *Colchester* made all possible halt out of *Cornewall*, where the Prince then was, and found his Majesty at *Cardiff*; when he was departing from thence; and waited on him to *Brecknock*; from whence he was again dispatched with this Letter, to the Prince; which, being the first direction the King gave of that Nature, is necessary to be here inserted in to many words.

Brecknock

Brecknock 5th August 1645.

Charles,

"It is very fit for me now to prepare for the worst, in order to which I spoke with *Colchester* this Morning concern'ding you; judging it fit to give it you under my hands, that you may give the readier Obedience to it. Wherefore I know that my Pleasure is, whensoever you find your self in apparent danger of falling into the Rebels hands, that you convey your self into *France*, and there to be under your Mother's care; who is to have the absolute full Power of your Education in all things, except Religion; and in That, 'twill not meddle at all, but leave it entirely to the care of your Tutor, the Bishop of *Salisbury*, or to whom he shall appoint to supply his place, in time of his necessitated absence. And for the performance of this, I Command you to require the Assistance and Obedience of all your Council; and, by their Advice, the service of every one whom You and They shall think fit to be employ'd in this business; which I expect should be perform'd, if need require, with all Obedience, and without grumbling: This being all at what time, from

Your loving Father, *Charles R.*

AFTER the Lord *Goring* had lain some time in the ill humour we left him at *Barnstable*, he enter'd into correspondence with *St Richard Grenville*, who, he knew well, was as much inclin'd to the Council about the Prince as himself; and finding that the Enemy troubled him not, but had given him rest, whilst the Army was employ'd upon other important Services, They two met privately; and, upon the encouragement and Money he receiv'd from *Grenville*, he writ to the Chancellor a very cheerful, and a very long Letter, bearing date the first of *August*, in which he insert'd several Propositions; which, he said, had been fram'd "upon conference with *St Richard Grenville*; which he desired might be presented to the Prince; and if they should be contented to, and confirm'd by his Highness, he said, he would engage his life, that he would in a very short time have an Army of ten or twelve thousand Men, that should march wherever they should be Commanded; and should be in as good order, as any Army in the World; and concluded his Letter with these words: "I see some light now of having a brave Army very speedily on Foot, and I am sending a Copy of this inclosed Letter to the King, with this proposition, that I will be content to lose my Life, and my Honour,

*which the
Prince
granted.*

"nour, if we do not perform our parts, if these demands be granted.

"The Letter being presented to his Highness, then *Lanncaston*, found it gracious a reception, that the next day being the second of *August*, the Prince return'd him an Answer of full content; and the same day Sign'd all the particulars propoll by him; expressing a further resolution "to add whatever else should be propoll to him, and within "his Power to grant; so that there was once more a hope of looking the Enemy in the face, and having a fair day for the West. The next day, or thereabouts, *Sr Richard Grenvil* himself attended the Prince, in a cheerful good humour; all the Propositions were immediately confirm'd; some of which were, "that *Sr Richard Grenvil* should receive such a proportion of the Contributions of *Cornwall*, and five thousand "pounds of the Arrears, for the payment of the Officers of "the Army; and thereupon *Sr Richard* would gather up all "the Stragglers, who were return'd into *Cornwall* from their "Colours; who, he said, would amount to three thousand "Foot, and he would raise three thousand Foot more in *Dorsetshire*. So he betook himself again to Action, sending out his Warrants, and Levying Men and Money; having lost two hundred pounds to the Lord *Goring* at their first meeting, and calling the *peeps* of *Devon* to meet at several places, where himself was still present; by which, he proceeded, he should speedily recruit the Army. But before the end of *August*, that Friendship grew colder; *Sr Richard* observing a better correspondence between the Lord *Goring*, and *Sr John Berkeley*, than he hoped would have been, and hearing that the Lord *Goring* us'd to mention him very slightly (which was true) he writ a very sharp Letter to him, in which he said, "he would have no more to do with him. However he continued as Active as before, being now in *Dorset*, and then in *Cornwall*, where he Commanded absolutely without any Commission, and very seasonably Suppress'd an Insurrection about *St Ives*, which might else have grown to a head; and hanged two or three fellows, who, I believe, were guilty enough, by his own order without any Council of Wars, and raised what Money he pleas'd upon others; then return'd in his Houle at *Worington*. All the Vicinity that had so lately appear'd in the Lord *Goring*, upon the news of the loss of *Stretborne*, declin'd; and then there was nothing, but complaint of want of Money, and a Proposicion to put the Arrears into Garrisons; although the Enemy gave them the same leisure, to pursue the former design, *Fairfax* being then engag'd with his Army befove *Bristol*.

AS SOON as the Prince, who was then at *Lanncaston*, had rec'd

rec'd the Letter, which the Lord *Colepepper* brought to him from the King, he return'd it to the Lord *Colepepper* to keep, and to Communicate it to the Lords *Capel*, *Hopton*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; for it was a misfortune, that there was not so good Correspondence with the Earl of *Berkshire* (though some jealousies that were infused into him) as might have been wish'd; and from the Prince's first coming into *Cornwall*, some of his Servants of the best Quality, who had from the beginning been discontented, and upon strange pretences thought themselves undervalued that they were not of the Council, and, since the King's misfortune at *Nashby*, expressed their indispositions with more Licence, and whisper'd abroad "that there was a purpose of carrying the Prince into *France*, not that they believ'd it, but thereby thought to render the Council odious and suspected, had wrought to stir upon the Earl of *Berkshire*, that He seem'd to believe it too, whereby they got so much interest in him, that he always Communicated whatsoever pass'd in Council to them; so that a Letter of so great importance was not thought fit to be Communicated to him, nor to the Earl of *Brentford*, who (though he was very kind, and just to the other four) was not without his jealousies, and was an ill treasurer of Secrets. They were very much troubled at the fight of the Letters, nor had never Communicated their thoughts to each other upon that Subject before, they found themselves unanimous in the Resolution, "that rather than he should be taken by the Rebels, they would carry him into any part of the Christian World. For the better doing whereof, from that minute, they took care that there was always a Ship ready in the Harbour of *Babouath*. But it troubled them, "that the King's Command was so positive for *France*, against which they could make to themselves many Objections. Besides that, one of the Prince's Bed-Chamber, who was newly return'd from *Paris*, brought a Letter from the Earl of *Northampton*, then the King's Embassador there, to one of the Council; in which taking notice of a report there of the Prince of *Wales*'s coming "to the Prince; of which the Messenger, by His direction, gave many instances of moment. And they were the more troubled, because the Lord *Colepepper*, who brought that Letter from the King, sav'd, "that he had Had no conference "with the King upon the Argument, but had wholly design'd it as a matter too great for him: so that they had nothing before them but that Letter. After two or three sad Debates between themselves, they agreed upon "a Letter "to be prepared in Cipher, presenting their reasons, and

“ what they had been inform’d concerning *France*; and then
 “ fore offer’d it to his Majesty, whether he would not leave
 “ the choice of the place to them, or nominate some other;
 “ against which for many exceptions might not be made; and
 “ propos’d *Ireland* if the Peace were made there) or *Scot-*
 “ *land*, the Marquis of *Montrose* was as Victorious as he
 “ was reported to be; withal assuring his Majesty, that in
 “ case of danger, they would run any hazard, or into any
 “ Country, before the Prince should fall into the hands of
 “ the Rebels. This Letter after it was Communicated with
 “ the Prince, as the Debates had been, was forthwith sent by
 “ an Express.

TOWARDS the end of *August*, the Lord *Goring*, after he
 had, in all his secret discourses, and in the hours of his jollity,
 spoken very bitterly of the Council about the Prince, as the
 Authors of all the MisCarriages, sent the Lord *Heworth* to
Launceston to his Highness, with certain demands, as he call’d
 them, on his behalf; but with direction, “ that before he
 “ present’d them to the Prince, he should Communicate them
 “ to the Lord *Cheppier*, or to the Chancellor, and be advis’d
 “ by them, in what manner to present them.

HIS Demands were, and so he styl’d them (1) To have a
 Commission to be Lieutenant-General of all the West, and to
 Command immediately under the Prince, Garrisons as well as
 the Army, and to be sworn of the Council as might be.
 (2) That all Commissions to Officers of the Army, when his
 Highness is present, be given by the Prince; but that his
 Highness should Sign none but such as he should prepare for
 him. (3) That in the Prince’s absence he should Sign, and
 grant all Commissions; and that, if any Government of Towns
 should fall vacant, he might have the absolute recommendation
 of those that are to succeed, or, at least, a Negative
 Voice. (4) That all designs of Consequence should be de-
 bated, in the Prince’s presence, by the Prince’s Council, and
 such Officers of the Army as he should choose to assist at it.
 (5) That the Number of the Prince’s Guards should be in-
 creas’d; and many other particulars, which seem’d so un-
 reasonable, and unfit to be publicly urg’d, that the Lord *Cheppier*
 perswaded the Lord *Heworth*, to suspend the present-
 ing them; “ the rather (as he said) because the Chancellor
 “ was then absent (being sent by his Highness to *Peulennis*
 “ Castle, under pretence of giving some direction in the matter
 “ of the Customs, but, in truth, to take care that the Right pro-
 “ vided for the Prince’s Transportation might be in readiness,
 “ and Victuals be privately made ready, so he pretently put at
 “ Board, when the occasion should require) “ and likewise be-
 “ cause his Highness intended to be shortly at *Exeter*, where
 “ the

“ the Lord *Goring*, being present, might better consider, and
 “ debate his own business; to the which the Lord *Heworth*
 “ consented.

FOR the Commissioners of *Devon* had besought his High-
 ness to interpose his Authority, in the regulating and disposing
 the Army to march towards the relief of *Bristol*; declaring,
 “ as the posture of it then was, (last both that County, and
 “ Garrisons, mult in a short time be so much undone, and both
 “ by *Town*, as by the Invasion of the Enemy; that all the
 “ Foot furnished by, and liv’d upon, the Magazines of the Gar-
 “ risons; and the Horse possess’d the other part of the Coun-
 “ try to themselves; and would neither suffer provisions to be
 “ brought to the Markets, for the replenishing their Stores,
 “ nor Warrants to be executed for any payments; pretending
 “ they were to defend their own Quarters; whilst themselves
 “ enjoy’d what Monies they pleas’d, and committed all sorts
 “ of Injustices and outrages. By this means both before in
 “ *Southshire*, and afterwards in *Devonshire*, when the King’s
 “ Army was forced to retire, the Enemy found great plenty of
 “ Provisions in those Quarters, where His Forces had been in
 “ danger of starving; as, all about *Taunton*, there were very
 “ great quantities of Corn, when the King’s Forces had caus’d
 “ all their Bread to be brought out of the Stores of *Bridgewater*,
 “ and *Exeter*; which proceeded partly from the negligence, and
 “ slovenliness of the Officers and Soldiers, who would not beat
 “ the trouble of threshing out the Mow, and Ricks, which were
 “ there; but principally by the Protection given by the Horse;
 “ who would not suffer any thing to be carried out of their Quar-
 “ ters; and such as sent their Provisions to Market, were sure
 “ to have their Money taken from them in their return. In-
 “ much as it was affirm’d by the Commissioners of *Exeter*, “ that
 “ before the Enemy had any Quarter within ten miles, there
 “ was not so much provision brought into that City in a Fort-
 “ night, as they spent in a day; which was only by reason of
 “ the disorder of our own Horse, General *Goring* being all this
 “ time in *Exeter*, breaking Jests, and Laughing at all People,
 “ who brought complaints to him; as, one day, when the *Filliers*
 “ complain’d to him, “ that as they came to the Market,
 “ they were robbed by his Troopers, who took all their Fill
 “ from them, he said, “ that they might by this see what great
 “ injury was done to his Men, by those who accus’d them
 “ of great Swearing; for if they did swear, you know (said
 “ he) they could catch no Fill.

UPON these reasons, and the very earnest desire of the Lord
Goring, and the Commissioners, the Prince, on *Friday* the
 29th of *August*, went from *Launceston* to *Exeter* in one day;
 leaving *Sir Richard Greenvil* (who then seem’d to be in good
 humour)

humour) to bring up the Soldiers in *Cornwall*, and to haſte his Levies in the North and Weſt parts of *Dorset*. The Army having now lain ſtill from the beginning of *July* to the end of *Auguſt*, without the leaſt Action, or Alarm from the Enemy, and fo being ſufficiently reſtored, and, as their Officers ſaid, awaken'd to a ſenſe and a ſhame of their former ambaſſements, it was unanimouſly agreed at a Council of War, his Highneſs being preſent, that the Foot ſhould preferrely advance to *Trenton*; and the Horſe to the Eaſt of *Exeter*; and that, ſoſon as Sir *Richard Greenvil* could come up with his Men, they ſhould all advance to the relief of *Bryſtol*, which was underſtood to be in a very good condition; the ſecond Meſſenger that came thence, aſſuring the Prince, as from *Prince Rupert*, that he was ſufficiently provided with all Neceſſaries for fix Months.

As deſigns to Perſuade the Prince to ſeek Conſtitution of Peace, proſecuted.

THERE had been, from the time of the firſt going of the Prince into *Cornwall*, ſeveral rumours diſperſed, as hath been ſaid, by thoſe who were diſcontented or angry with the Council, that there was an intent to carry the Prince into *France*, which begot infinite prejudice to all that was adviſed. Of this diſcourſe General *Goring* had made great uſe, to the diſadvantage of all thoſe whom he deſired to diſcredit, which was indeed one of the Motives of his Highneſs's Journey to *Exeter*, that he might diſcountenance that Report; which had wrought ſo far amongſt the Gentlemen of the ſeveral Weſtern Counties, who were retir'd thither for Safety, that there was a Reſolution among them to Petition the Prince to interpoſe between the King and the Parliament, and to ſend a Meſſage to the latter with Overtures of Peace; and to that purpose, meetings had been amongſt thoſe Gentlemen, to agree upon what Articles the Prince ſhould propoſe a Peace; every Man declaring his opinion, what conſideration ſhould be in the matter of the Church, of the Militia, and of the *Land*, upon conſideration of what had paſſed at *Uxbridge*. When my Lords of the Council heard of theſe conſultations, they apprehended great inconveniences might ariſe from thence to the King's Service, and to the Prince; who, by being preſſed by their deſires, and importunities, would loſe the honour and thanks of the good Succeſs that might attend it: Therefore that, if he ſhould ſend any Meſſage upon their Motion, they would quickly make Themſelves Judges of the matter of it, and Counſellers of what was to be done upon it: therefore they were of opinion, that all endeavours were to be uſed to divert, and prevent any Petition of ſuch nature from being preſented to his Highneſs; which, with great difficulty, was at laſt effected.

SHORTLY

SHORTLY after the Prince's coming to *Exeter*, the Lord *Goring* being not then well, but engag'd in a courſe of Phyſick, ſuſpected that he might have a free Conference with one of the Council in private; in which, he profeſſed he would diſcover his heart, and whatever had ſtuck with him. Whereupon, ſecording to appointment, the Perſon he had deſired went to him one Morning to his Lodging; when he cauſed all Perſons to withdraw; and bid his Servant not to ſuffer any Man to diſturb them. When they were by themſelves, he began with the diſcourſe of "unkindneſs he had apprehended from the Council, and from that Perſon in particular; but confeſſed he had been deceiv'd, and abuſed by wrong information; that he was now very ſenſible of the damage that had befallen the Publick by thoſe Private Jealouſies and Miſtakes; and deſired, that if any thing had indirectly or paſſionately fallen from him, it might be forgotten; and that they might all proceed vigorouſly in what concern'd the King's Service; in which he could not receive a better encouragement, than by an aſſurance of that Perſon's Friendſhip. From this, he diſcourſed at large his apprehenſions of his Brother *Porter*, of his Cowardice, and of his Treachery, with very great freedom in many particular inſtances; and concluded, that he reſolv'd to quit himſelf of him; and after two hours ſpent in thoſe diſcourſes, and in ſome what that concern'd his Father, in which he ſaid, "he was to receive this Perſon's advice by his Father's direction (it being about the Government of *Peaſdown*) as if he had ſaid all he meant to ſay, he aſked the other negligently, "what he thought of the Demands he had ſent by the Lord *Wentworth*? Proteſting, "he had no private thoughts, but only an Eye to the Publick Service; towards the doing whereof, as the exigents of Affairs then ſtood, he did not think himſelf ſufficiently qualified. The other told him, "that whatever He thought of them would not ſignify much, being but a ſingle voice in Council; by the concurrent Advice whereof, he preſumed, the Prince would govern himſelf. However, if he would have him tell him his opinion as a Friend, he would ſhew himſelf a ſincere Courtier, as to tell him frankly; which, except he reform'd him in his judgement, he ſhould declare where it ſhould be propoſ'd, and, he believ'd, it would be the opinion of moſt of the Lords, if it were not His. Thereupon he told him very freely and plainly, "that he thought his Demands not fit for the Prince to grant, nor reaſonable for Him to aſk; his Authority being the ſame, as to the Publick, all his Orders being Obedy'd, and the Prince giving Him the ſame Aſſiſtance, as if he were his Lieutenant General."

"neutral"

neral: that the Prince had not hitherto interposed his Authority in the governing that Army; and therefore, that he conceiv'd it unreasonable, at that time, for his Highness to intereit himself in the Command thereof; which he thought do by making him Lieutenant General: that the King being directed the Prince to make the Lord *Hopton* his Lieutenant General, it would not become Them to advise the Prince to alter that designation, without receiving his Majesty's Command: therefore he advised him, since the Intercession was no way necessary, and would inevitably beget much trouble, that he would defer the pressing it, till the King's Affairs should be in a better Posture. Satisfied he was not, yet he forbore to importune the Prince to that purpose at this time.

Prison Business
of
Bristol

ABOUT the middle of *September*, the Prince being still at *Exeter*, the News came of the fatal loss of *Bristol*; which, in all ill accidents at that time did, cast all Men on their Faces, and damp'd all the former Vigour and Activity for a month. However, the former Resolution continued of drawing to *Troverton*, and at least of defending those Passes, and keeping the Enemy from Invading *Devon*: for the better doing whereof, and enabling them to Fight, if *Rainfax* should advance, the Prince return'd to *Lanncoston*; whither he Summon'd all the Train'd bands of *Cornwall*, and an appearance of the whole County; which appear'd very cheerfully, and seem'd well inclin'd to march to *Troverton*. In the mean time the fine negligence and disorder continued in the Army, and the Lord *Goring*, with the same Licence and Unconcernedness, remain'd at *Exeter*, to the great Scandal of the Country, and discharging the Army. About the latter end of *September*, his Lordship writ a Letter to the Lord *Colepepper*; in which he remember'd him of the Propositions formerly sent by the Lord *Westworth* to *Lanncoston*; and recounted at large, but very unjustly, the discourse which had pass'd between the other Councillor and Him, at *Exeter*, upon that Subject; in which he charged the other with Answers very far from those he had receiv'd from him; and desir'd his Lordship, that, by His means, he might know positively what he was to treat to; concluding, that without such a Commission as he desir'd, he could not be answerable for the Murders and Disorders of the Army. Whereupon his Highness, upon full consideration of the mischiefs that would attend his Service, if he should consent to the Matter of those Demands, or comply with the Manner of the demanding; sent him word, that he would not for the present, grant any such Commission; and wish'd him to pursue the former Councils and Resolutions, in advancing towards the Enemy;

1

all things being in a good forwardness in *Cornwall* to second him. And so there was no further pressing that Overture; however, he pretend'd to slye himself, in all his Warrants, and Treaties with the Commissioners, and in some Orders which he Printed, General of the West.

THE suddain and unexpected loss of *Bristol*, was a new Earthquake in all the little Quarters the King had left, and no less broke all the Measures which had been taken, and the designs which had been contriv'd, than the loss of the Battle of *Nashby* had done. The King had made halt from *Ludlow*, that the *Scottish* Army might no more be able to interrupt him; and with very little rest pass'd through *Shropshire* and *Derbyshire*, till he came to *Widdesley*, a House of the Marquis of *Newcastle* in *Nottinghamshire*, then a Garrison for his Majesty; where he refresh'd himself, and his Troops, two days; and, as far as any resolution was fix'd in those days, the purpose was, to march directly into *Scotland*, to joyn with the Marquis of *Montrose*; who had, upon the matter, reduced that whole Kingdom. During his Majesty's short stay at *Widdesley*, the Governour of *Newark*, with the Commissioners for *Nottingham* and *Lincoln*, repaired to him, as likewise all those Gentlemen of *Yorkshire* who had been in *Pontefract* Castle (which, after a long and worthy defence, was lately, for merer want of all kind of Provisions, Surrender'd upon good conditions; whereby, all the Soldiers had liberty to repair to their own Houles, and might live quietly there) whereupon the Gentlemen assured the King, they were as ready as ever to serve him, when they should be required. Whether the wonted irresolution of those about the King, or the imagination, upon this report of the Gentlemen, that a body of Foot might be speedily gather'd together in those parts (which was enough encouraged by the civilities of all the Gentlemen of the several Counties) prevailed, or not, so it was, that the King was perswaded, that it was not best to continue his march, with that speed he intended, towards *Montrose*; but that it would be better to send an Express to him, to agree upon a fit place for their meeting; and in the mean time, his Majesty might be able to refresh his wearied Troops, and to raise a Body of Foot in those parts. To which purpose, *Duncaffer* was propos'd as a fit place to begin in; and to *Duncaffer*, thereupon, the King went; and the Gentlemen so well perform'd their undertaking, that, within three days, there was an appearance of full three thousand Foot; who undertook, within four and twenty hours, to appear well armed, and ready to march with his Majesty, what way soever he would go.

HERE again the King's froward Fortune, deprived him
Val. II. Part 2. Y y of

of this opportunity to put himself into a posture of War. That very Night, they receiv'd Intelligence, ^{That to Newcastle} "that *David Lesley* was come to *Rotteram* with all the *Scottish* Horle; which was within ten miles of *Donscaster*. The News whereof confounded them (as beaven and buffed Troops do not naturally, in a short time, recover courage enough to endure the fight of an Enemy) that they concluded "he came in pursuit of the King, and therefore that it was now too late to proceed upon their Northern Expedition, and that the King "must speedily remove to a greater distance for his own security. Whereupon, he made halt (without expecting that recruit of Foot) from *Donscaster*, back again to *Newark*; Resolving then to go directly to *Oxford*; whereas, in truth, *David Lesley* knew nothing of the King's being in those parts; but, upon instant Orders from *Scotland*, was required to march, with all possible expedition, with the Horle, to relieve his own Country from being totally overrun and subdued by the Marquis of *Montrose*; who had then actually taken *Edinburgh*. The Orders had no sooner come to the *Scottish* Army before *Heresford*, but he began his march, without the least apprehension of any Enemy in his way, till he should come into *Scotland*; and so, as he had made a very long march that day, he came tired and wearied with his Troops that Night into *Rotteram*. And he confided afterwards, "if the King "had then fallen upon him, as he might easily have done, he "had found him in a very ill posture to have made resistance, "and had absolutely prefer'd *Montrose*. But by his full march retreat, *David Lesley* was at liberty to pursue his march for *Scotland*, and came upon *Montrose*, before he expected such an Enemy; and so prevented his future triumph, that he was compell'd with great loss to retire again into the Highlands; and *Lesley* return'd time enough to relieve and support the *Scottish* Army, after they were compell'd to rise from *Heresford*.

^{Mountrose detested by David Lesley.} THE King now, with great expedition, prosecuted his Journey to *Oxford*, though not without making some Starts out of the way; by which he had opportunity to beat up some Quarters of new levied Horle for the Service of the Parliament; and, before the end of *August*, he arriv'd at *Oxford*; where he did not stay more than two days, but departed from thence again to *Heresford*, with a resolution to attempt the relief of *Heresford*, which had defended it valiantly, and very much weaken'd the *Scottish* Army by frequent Sallies. They had only a Body of eight hundred tired Horle remaining, which *David Lesley* left behind him when he march'd with the rest into *Scotland*; and therefore the raising that Siege was thought the less difficult; and with this resolution his Majesty left *Oxford*

Oxford the third day after he came thither. Upon his arrival at *Ragland*, he was certainly inform'd, "that *Fairfax* had been to *Bristol*; for which no body underwent any trouble; ^{There to Ragland.} "for all Men looked upon that place as well Fortified, Manned, and Victualled; and the King even then receiv'd a very chearful Letter from Prince *Rupert*; in which, "he undertook to defend it full four Months. So that the Siege being begun so late in the year, as the beginning of *September*, there was reasonable hope that the Army might be rais'd, before the Town taken. Therefore the King prosecuted his former resolution, at least to endeavour the relief of *Heresford*. And as he was upon his March thither, he receiv'd Intelligence, "that the *Scottish* Army, upon the notice of his Purpose, was "that Morning risen in great disorder and confusion, and resolv'd to make their retreat on the *Welsh* side of the River, ^{THE BOTS, ris from the} "and so to pass through *Gloesfer*. This news was so welcome, and his Majesty was receiv'd with full joy into the City of *Heresford*, that he seiz'd the opportunity he then had of ^{from Heresford and} "discommodating at least, if not ruining the *Scottish* Army; which now pass'd through a strange Country, where they had never been, and where the whole Nation was extremely odious to the People. Nor would the Governour of *Gloesfer* suffer them to pass through his Garrison, till they sent him word plainly "that if they might not pass through that Town, they "knew they should be very welcome to pass through *Heresford*; by which Argument he was convinc'd; so that he permitted them to go through that Town, from whence they prosecuted their march into the North. If, in all this time, they had been surpris'd by the King's Horle, considering the small Body they had of their own, there is little doubt to be made very many, if not the greater part of that Army, had been destroyed.

But the King's heart was now so wholly set upon the Relief of *Bristol*, that nothing else was thought upon, which might in any degree delay it. And so the King, from *Heresford*, advertised Prince *Rupert*, "that he had rais'd the Siege of *Heresford*, and that the *Scotts* were march'd Northward; that he intended speedily to relieve him; and in order to it, that he "had then commanded General *Goring*, to draw what force "he could out of the West; and to march to the *Somerfetshire* side of *Bristol*; and that his Majesty would himself have a Body of three thousand Foot, drawn out of the several Garrisons of those parts, which should pass over the *Severn*, "about *Berkley* Castle on *Gloesfer-shire* side; and that his Horle, "which were then above three thousand, should at the same time Ford the *Severn* not far from *Gloesfer* (as they might have done) "and so joyn with his Foot; and by this means,

"all things being well concerted, they might hopefully fall on
"Fairfax his Quarters on both sides. And the better to bring
all this to pass, the King himself sent the second time to *Reg-*
land, the Heale of the Marquis of *Worcester*; sending the
Horse to those several places, as might best facilitate the
Execution of the design that was form'd for the relief of *Bristol*.

BUT when the King came to *Regland*, he receiv'd the ter-
rible information of the Surrender of *Bristol*, which he fo
little apprehended, that if the evidence thereof had not been
unquestionable, it could not have been believ'd. With what
indignation, and dejection of mind, the King receiv'd this
Advertisement, needs no other description and enlargement,
than the setting down, in the very words of it, the Letter
which the King writ thereupon to Prince *Rupert*; which
considering the unpeakeable indulgence his Majesty had ever
shew'd towards that Prince, is sufficient evidence, how highly
he was offended and incens'd by that Act; which yet he took
some time sadly to think of, and consider, before he would
allow himself to abate so much of his natural candour towards
him. As soon as he receiv'd that surprizing Intelligence, he
presently remov'd from *Regland*, and return'd to *Hersford*,
the Post he chose wherein to consider the desperateness of
the condition he was in, and to enter upon new consultations.
To that purpose, he sent Orders "for all the Officers, and
"their Troops, which had been sent into *Sherpshire*, *War-*
chester-shire, and *South Wales*, to provide for the relief of
Bristol, to attend him there. And as soon as he came to
Hersford, he dispatch'd an Express with this Letter to Prince
Rupert.

Hersford 14th Sept. 1645.

Nephew,

"THOU art the loss of *Bristol* is a great blow to me, yet
"I am glad to see your Surrendering it as you did, is of so much affliction to
"me, that it makes me not only forget the consideration of
"that place, but is likewise the greatest Trial of my con-
"fidence that hath yet befallen me; for what is to be done,
"after one that is so near me as You are, both in Blood and
"Friendship, submits himself to be mean an Action? (I give
"it the cattest term) such -- I have so much to say, that I
"will say no more of it: only, left rashness of judgement be
"laid to my charge, I must remember you of your Letter of
"the 13th of *August*, whereby you assured me, that, if so
"Mutiny happen'd, you would keep *Bristol* for four Months.
"Did you keep it four Days? Was there any thing like
"Mutiny? More Questions might be asked, but Now, I
"consent, to little purpose: My conclusion is, to desire you
"to seek your Subfistence, until it shall please God to de-
"termine

"mine of my Condition, somewhere beyond Sea; to which
"end I send you herewith a Pass; and I Pray God to make
"you sensible of your present Condition, and give you means
"to redeem what you have lost; for I shall have no greater
"joy in a Victory, than a just occasion without blushing to
"assure you of my being

Your loving Uncle, and most faithful Friend, C. R.

WITH this Letter, the King sent a Revocation of all Com-
missions formerly granted to Prince *Rupert*, and signified his
Pleasure to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, whether Prince
Rupert was retir'd with his Troops from *Bristol*, "that they
"should require Prince *Rupert* to deliver into their hands his
"Commissiion. And whether the King had really some ap-
prehension that he might make some difficulty in giving it up,
and make some disorder in *Oxford*, or whether it was the ef-
fect of other Men's Counsels, his Majesty, at the same time,
sent a Warrant likewise for the present Imprisonment of Co-
lonel *Leg* (who was Governour of *Oxford*) as a Person much
in the Prince's favour, and therefore like to be subversive to
any of his Commands. But this circumstance of rigour, &
made the other judgement upon the Prince thought to be over
sudden, "that He should be made the first Example of
the King's Severity, when so many high Enormities, and
"Misdemeanours of others, had pass'd without being call'd in
"question. And as no body suspected the Prince's want of
Duty in submitting to the King's Pleasure, so Colonel *Leg*
was generally believ'd to be a Man of that entire Loyalty to
the King, that he was above all temptations; this circum-
stance of committing the Governour, made the other to be
likewise suspected to be more the effect of the power of some
Potent Adversaries, than of the King's own Severity.

WHEN the Prince of *Wales* came to *Launceston* from *Ex-*
eter (which was about the middle of *September*) after the loss
of *Bristol*, and the motion of the Enemy inclin'd Westward,
it was then thought fit to draw all the Train'd-bands of *Corn-*
wal to *Launceston*, and as many of them as could be per-
suaded, to march Eastward; it being agreed at *Exeter*, "that,
"if the Enemy gave time, the force of both Counties (save
"what was necessary to be continued at *Plymouth*) should be
"drawn to *Tiverton*, and, upon that Pass, to fight with the
"Rebels; for the better compassing whereof, it was Order'd,
"that *St. Richard Greenwell* should Command all the *Corn-*
"Train'd-bands, wherunto should be added his own three
"Regiments, which he had formerly carry'd to *Taunton*; who
took themselves to be so disobliged, both Officers and Soldiers
(as in truth they were) by the Lord *Goring*, that they were
absolutely

absolutely disbanded, and could by no other means be gotten together, but upon assurance that they should be Commanded by *St Richard Greenwil*. Things being thus settled, *Greenwil* seem'd well satisfied, having all the respect, and encouragement from the Prince, that was desired, or could be given; and without any other indisposition, than that, once in two or three days, he would write a Letter either to the Prince himself, the Lords, or Mr *Faulborne*, Excusing himself, and Reproaching the *Lord Goring's* plundering *Horse*, and sometimes *St John Berkeley*; in all which he used a very extraordinary Licence.

DURING the Prince's being at *Exeter*, *St John Berkeley* had desired, "that in respect his continual presence would be necessary at *Exeter*, since the Enemy apparently look'd "that way, his Highness would dispuse the Command of the "Forces before *Plymouth*, to such a Person as He thought fit; "who might diligently attend that Service. There was a general inclination to have sent back *St Richard Greenwil* to that Charge, which it was visible he look'd for; but there were three great points to be consider'd; The first, the pretence that *General Digby* had to that Command; to whom it Originally beloung'd; and both He, and the *Earl of Bristol*, expeditly it upon this alteration; he being at that time so well cover'd in his health, that he was well able to execute the Command; The next, that if it should be offer'd to *Greenwil*, he would insist upon such signification of *Comrhu* rank, as would make the subsistence of the Army, and of the Garrison impossible; and the last and the greatest, was, that the whole design being now to draw such a Body together, as might give the Rebels Battle, this could not be without the *Cornish* Train'd-bands; and thole other Soldiers, who had run from their Colours; neither of which, would march without *St Richard Greenwil*; and it was apparent, if he went to *Plymouth*, those old Soldiers would go to him. Besides, his experience and activity was then thought most necessary to the marching Army; where there was a great dearth of good Officers. Hereupon, it was resolv'd that *General Digby* should again resume the Charge about *Plymouth*, but upon any extraordinary occasion, and advance of the Enemy, he was to receive Orders from *St Richard Greenwil*, and accordingly; upon *St Richard Greenwil's* advancing into *Devon*, and fixing a Quarter at *Okington*, *Digby* was order'd to do so; which he observ'd accordingly.

In the beginning of *October*, the *Lord Goring* perswaded the Commissioners of *Devon*, upon his promise to repair and suppress all disorders in the Soldiers, and that the Markets should be free, "to double the Contribution of the
"County

"County for six Weeks, and to assign half thereof to his "Army; by vertue whereof he rais'd vast Sums of Money; but abated nothing of the former disorders, and prelores: and the Money so rais'd, instead of being regularly disburs'd amongst the Soldiers, was dispus'd to such Persons as he thought fit by his Warrants to direct. But no sooner was *St Thomas Fairfax* advanced as far as *Cullampton*, than the *Lord Goring* gave over the thought of defending *Devon*, and, by his Letter of the eleventh of *October* to the *Lord Colepeper*, said, "that he had sent all the *Horse*, but one thousand, Westward, under the Command of the Major General, to joyn "with the *Cornish*; who were to advance; and that Himself, with one thousand *Horse*, and all his Foot, resolv'd to "stay in *Exeter* to defend that Town, if the Enemy came "before it; or to be ready to attend their Rear, if they march'd "forward; and therefore desired, "that his Highness would "appoint whom he thought fit, to give Orders to the *Lord Wentworth*, his Major General, who was prepared not to "dispuse Orders sent by any Substituted by the Prince. Hereupon, the Prince had appointed *St Richard Greenwil* "to advance with the *Cornish* to *Okington*, and directed the Major General "to receive Orders from him: But, by that time they two had dispos'd themselves in Order, as they did very handsomely and cheerfully, *General Goring* changed his mind, and within four days after his former Letter, he retir'd with his thousand *Horse* out of *Exeter* to *Newton Bushell*; and then sent to the Prince, by a Letter to the *Lord Colepeper*, to know "whether *St Richard Greenwil* should receive Orders "from him; and offer'd to undertake any design with *St Richard Greenwil*, or by Himself, as the Prince should direct; or that if his Presence and Command should be "thought, on the account of any indisposition in the *Cornish* "towards him, probable to produce any inconvenience to the "Service, he would willingly, for that Expedition, resign his "Command to any Person the Prince would design for it: intimating withal, "that if the *Lord Hopton* had it, the *Lord Wentworth* would willingly receive Orders from him. His Highness, the next day, writ to him, "that he committed the management of the whole to his Lordship; and had Com-manded *St Richard Greenwil* to receive Orders from him, "who had then a good Body of *Cornish* with him, and power "to draw off the Men from *Plymouth*, if there should be "occasion.

THE King's having been in that perpetual motion, as hath been mention'd before, kept the Expreis that had been sent to him from the Councillors, upon the first signification of his Pleasure concerning the Prince's Transportation into *France*,
Y y 4

from delivering that Letter for some time. So that it was the middle of *October*, before they receiv'd his Majesty's further direction. Then this Letter to the Lord *Colepepper* was brought back by the same Express.

Colepepper,

The King's I HAVE seen and consider'd your dispatches; and for this
Letter con- leaving you must be content with Rebutts without the Reasons,
cerning the leaving you to find them; and Lord *Goring* must break through
Prince of to *Oxford* with his Horses, and from thence, if he can, find
Wales. me out, where-ever he shall understand I shall be; the
 Region about *Newark* being, as I conceive, the most likely
 place. But that which is of more necessity, indeed absolute,
 and greatest expedition, Prince *Charles* be Transported into
 France; where his Mother is to have the sole care of him,
 in all things but one, which is his Religion; and that must
 still be under the care of the Bishop of *Salisbury*; and this
 I undertake his Mother shall submit unto: concerning
 which, by my next dispatch, I will advertise Her; this is
 all; So I rest

Your most assured Friend, *Charles R.*

THOUGH this Letter was writ after the loss of *Brillat*, yet when it arriv'd, the hopes of the West were not thought desperate; and it was absolutely concluded between the Lords, and the Person of the Prince was never to be in hazard of being surpris'd, so he was not to be Transported out of the King's Dominions, but upon apparent, visible necessity, in point of safety: And the very suspicion of his going had been, both by the Lord *Goring* and others, enviously whisper'd, to the great displeasing of the People; so that besides that an unseasonable attempt of going, might have been disappointed) they saw that the loss of the whole West, both Garrisons, and Army, would immediately have attended that Action, and therefore they thought, they should be absolv'd in point of duty, by the King, if they only preserv'd themselves in a power of obeying him, without executing his Command at that time; especially since General *Goring* thought it not reasonable to observe the Orders, which were sent to him at the same time, for marching towards the King, nor so much as advis'd with his Highness, or Communicated that he had receiv'd any such Orders: and yet his Highness let him know, that he was well content, that he should break through with his Horse to the King, which he might have done.

The Enemy, having gain'd *Tewkesbury*, made no great hast to the West of *Exeter*, but spent their time in Fortifying some

Houses

Houses near the Town, on the East side, without receiving the least disturbance from the Army; the Lord *Goring* entertaining himself in his usual jollity between *Exeter*, *Tewkesbury*, and *Dartmouth*; it being publickly spoken in *Exeter*, that the Lord *Goring* intended to leave the Army, and speedily to go beyond Seas, and that Lieutenant General *Porter* resolv'd to go to the Parliament; long before the Prince underfoot General *Goring's* resolution to go into *France*, by any intimation from himself. The twentieth of *November*, his Lordship writ a Letter from *Exeter* to the Prince by the Lord *Wintworth*, that now that the Enemy and his Lordship were settled in their Winter Quarters (whereas the Enemy was then as stirring as ever) he did beg leave of his Highness to spend some time for the recovery of his health, in France; intimating, that he hoped to do his Highness some notable Service by that Journey, and desired, that his Army might remain entirely under the Command of the Lord *Wintworth* (whereas, not above a Fortnight before, he had writ, that the Lord *Wintworth* was very willing to receive Orders from the Lord *Hopton*) until his return; which, he said, should be in two Months; and for having dispatch'd the Lord *Wintworth* with this Letter to the Prince to *Wroth*, his Lordship, never attending his Highness's leave or approbation, went the same, or the next day, to *Dartmouth*; where he stay'd no longer than till he could procure a passage into *France*; whither, with the first wind, he *Goring* was Transported; Lieutenant General *Porter*, at the same time, declining the Exercise of his Command, and having receiv'd several Messages, Letters, and a Pass from the Enemy for his going to *London*. After the knowledge whereof, General *Goring* sign'd a Warrant for the Levying two hundred pounds upon the Country for the bearing his Charges. The Lord *Wintworth*, at the time of his being then at *Wroth*, told some of his confidants, that the Lord *Goring* intended to return no more to the Army, or into *England*; but rely'd upon him to preserve the Horse from being engaged, till he could procure a Licence from the Parliament to Transport them, for the Service of a Foreign Prince, which would be a fortune to the Officers. And the Major General said afterwards at *Lanncoston*, that he could not understand the Lord *Goring's* design; for that, at his going from the Army, he gave the Officers great charge to preserve their Regiments; for he had hope to get leave to Transport them; and within few days after he arriv'd at *Paris*, he sent Captain *Porridge* into *England*, to fetch all his Saddle Horses, and Horses of Service, upon pretence that he was to present them in *France*; though at the same time he assur'd his Friends, that he was
 "return-

returning speedily with Men and Money; which was the more believ'd by his sending for his Horſes.

THOUGH there had been no great Modesty uſed in the diſcourſes of the People towards General Goring, from the time of his firſt ſaſſing in the Weſt, eſpecially of the Corniſh, whom he had moſt unſkilfully irrecconcil'd to him, by his continual neglects and contempſes of them (as he was uſually before Taunton, when he view'd his Foot, clap an Irliſh-man, or one of the Soldiers who came out of Ireland, who doubtleſs were good Men, on the Shoulders, and tell him, in the hearing of the reſt, "that he was worth ten Corniſh Cowards, the greateſt part of his preſent ſtrength, and all his former hopes depending upon the Corniſh, many whereof had reaſon to believe themſelves not inferior to any who had ſerv'd the King;) yet from the time that he left the Army, and went to France, they gave themſelves a greater Licence; and declar'd "that he had, from the beginning, Combined with the Rebels; and having waſted and ruin'd all the Supplies which had been ſent him, had now left a diſſolute and odious Army to the Mercy of the Enemy, and to a County moſt juſtly incens'd, and conſequently more mercileſs than they. They compar'd the loſs of *Weymouth*, in the view of his Army, after he had been in the Town, and when the whole direction was in him, with the Counter-ſcourſe at *Petherton* Bridge, when two of his own Parties, parliſhing the Order they had receiv'd, Fought with each other, while the Enemy retir'd to their own ſtrengths; they remember'd "the voluntary, wanton, incens'd the Country; the diſcountenancing the Garrifon of *Lampport*, and diſſolving it; the eating the Proviſions of the reſt; the cheriſhing the Club-men; and the lying with his whole Army before *Taunton* full fix Weeks (after he had declared the Enemy to be in his Mercy, within fix days) and in that time (pretending that he would in few days ſtarve them) he ſuffer'd great quantities of Proviſions to be carried into them, through his own Quarters, and ſeveral Interviews, and private Meetings "be by his Brother *Parter* (whole Integrity he had before ſuſpected) and the chief Officers of the Rebels: the neglecting his Body of Foot, during the time that he lay before *Taunton*, by which he ſuffer'd above two thouſand to run away. They talk'd of the beating up his Head Quarter the day before the Rout at *Lampport* at Noon-day, for which no Man was ever call'd to a Council of War; and that too the Rout at *Lampport*, as two of the moſt ſupine, and unſoldierly Deſcarts, that were ever known; before which, or in theſe ſtreights, or upon any other occaſions of Advice, that he never call'd a Council of War to conſider what was to be done;

done; and in that laſt buſineſs of *Lampport*, himſelf was fo far from being preſent, that coming in great diſorder to *Bridge-water*, he ſaid, he had loſt his Foot, and Cannon; "which indeed were brought off entirely by the care, and diligence of the Lord *Westworth*, and Sr *Juſeph Weſtlaſſ*. They talk'd of his unheard of neglecting the Army, after that Retreat at *Bridge-water*, inſomuch as of between three and four thouſand Foot, which himſelf confeſſed he had after that buſineſs (and if his loſs had been no greater than he own'd, muſt have been a far greater Number) within ſixteen days, he had not thirteen hundred, nor ever after recover'd a Man, but what was gotten up by the Activity and Authority of the Prince. Laſtly, they remember'd his lying in *Devenſhire* from the beginning of July, which was about the time of his Retreat from *Lampport*, to the end of November, when he went to France (which was five Months) with a Body of above four thouſand Horſe and Foot; deſtroying, and irrecconciling the Country to the King, and the Cauſe, without making the leaſt attempt, or in any degree looking after the Enemy; whileſt the Rebels, by formal Sieges, took in the Garrifon of *Bridge-water*, *Sturton*, and *Briftol*, and many other important holds.

UPON the whole matter, comparing his Words, and his Actions, laying his doing and his not doing together, they concluded, "that if he had been confederate with the Enemy, and been corrupted to betray the Weſt, he could not have taken a more chriſtial way to do it; ſince he had not intereſt enough by any Overt Act to have put it into their power; and therefore they who had a greater opinion of his Wit, Courage, and Conduct, than of his Conſcience, and Integrity, preſum'd the falling was in the latter; towards which opinion they were the more inclin'd, by many diſcourſes repeatedly let fall by the Enemy in their Quarters, "that they were Sure enough of Goring; and by Sr *Thomas Fairfax's* applying himſelf to the taking thoſe ſtrong places after the Rout at *Lampport*, without ever conſidering or looking after the Lord Goring's Army; which he could not but know conſiſted of a Body of Horſe, equal in Number to his own; and had reaſon to apprehend thoſe two Populous Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, could quickly recruit the Foot; "which negligence (ſaid they) *Fairfax* could never be guilty of, if he had not been well advis'd, that thoſe Forces ſhould work them no inconvenience; beſides that, being unperſuad, Goring might eaſily have made an eſcape, and ſurviv'd with the King, and ſo have diverted all the Enemies deſigns upon the Weſt.

Others, who were not enough in love with the Lord Goring,

Goring, to desire to be joy'd with him in any Trust, yet in their opinions clearly abolv'd him from any Combination with the Enemy, or deligt of Treachery, and imputed the flow managing the buisness, at his first coming into the West, and overslipping some opportunities of advantage, to his desire of being settled in that Command, and so not making hast, lest, the work being done, he might be necessitated to leave those Parts, and be call'd to the King; for without doubt, though there was a reconciliation made between Him and Prince *Rupert* to that degree, that all the Countenance *General Goring* receiv'd from Court in prejudice of the Prince's Authority, and of his Council, was procur'd for him partly by that Prince; who in one of his Letters to him, at such time as he was before *Taunton*, used these words: "what you desire in your Letter, on the 23^d of *May*, shall be observ'd; and assure your self that Prince *Rupert* shall maintain *General Goring's* Honour and Power, and shall lose his Life, rather than *General Goring* shall suffer for Prince *Rupert*; which Letter (as he did any others, which he receiv'd from his Majesty, or the Secretaries, in Cipher) he Communicated to the Company in all his Acts of good fellowship; yes, I say, it was very evicent, he was resolv'd never to be in the same Army with Prince *Rupert* under his Command; and all his loose and scandalous Speeches, they imputed to an imbecillence he had always given himself; and his gross and unseasonable Overights, to the lazyness and unactivity of his Nature, which could better pursue, and make Advantages upon good Successes, than struggle and contend with difficulties and straghts. And they who had been nearest the Observation, found a great difference between the presentness of his Mind and Vivacity in a suddain Attempt, though never so full of Danger, and an Enterprize that requir'd more deliberation, and must be attended with patience, and a steady circumpetion; as if his Mind could not be long bent. And therefore he had been observ'd to give over a Game, sooner than Gamblers that have been thought to have less Fire. Many other passages must be attributed to his perfect hatred of all the Persons of the Council, after he found they would not comply with his desires, and to his particular Ambition; and both those Passions of Ambition, and Revenge, might transport his Nature beyond any limits. But what he meant by his discourses of parting to the Officers, for the keeping the Horke for the Service of some Forreign Prince, was never understood, except he did really believe, that he should shortly return with a Boj of Fort; and so that they should not be forward to engage with the Enemy, or else to keep such a dependence upon him from the Officers, that they should always hope for employment under him.

WHILST

WHILST *Sr Richard Greenvil* lay'd at *Osington*, he had several strange designs; which he always communicated to the Prince, or Lords, in Writing; one of which was, "to cut a deep Trench from *Barnstable* to the South Sea, for the space of near forty Miles; by which, he said, he would defend all *Corwall*, and so much of *Devon*, against the World; and many such impossible Undertakings; at which they who understood matters of that Nature, thought him besides himself. Notwithstanding the Train'd bands of *Corwall* return'd to their Homes (having lay'd out their Month; which was their first Contract) *Sr Richard Greenvil* lay'd still at *Osington*, with his three Regiments of old Soldiers, having barricadoed the Town; the Pass being of very great importance to hinder the Enemy from any Communication with *Plymouth*. And indeed the Reputation of his being there with a greater Strength than in truth he had at any time, was a great means of keeping the Rebels on the East side of *Exeter*; as appears by their suddain Advance, as soon as he remov'd from that Post; which he did about the end of *November*, without giving the least advice to the Prince of such his purpose, and contrary to the express desire of the Lords *Capel*, and *Colchester*, who were then at *Exeter*, and hearing of his Resolution, had written to him very earnestly "not to remove. He suddainly retir'd with his three Regiments from *Osington* into *Corwall*, and Muster'd his Men upon the River *Tamar*, that divides *Corwall* from *Devon*, with express Command "to Guard the Pass, and not to suffer any of the Lord *Goring's* Men, upon what pretence or warrant soever, to come into *Corwall*. For the better doing whereof, he caused the Country to come in to work at their Bridges, and Passes, as he had done before, most unreasonably, for the Fortifying of *Launceston*; and caused Proclamations, and Orders of his own, to be read throughout *Corwall*, in the Churches, "that if any of the Lord *Goring's* Forces (whom in those Writings he charg'd with all the odious Reproaches for Plundering) should offer to come into *Corwall*, they should Ring the Bells, and thereupon the whole County should Ring, and beat them out; by these unheard of, and unwarrantable means, preparing the Country to such a hatred of the Lord *Goring*, and his Forces, that they rather desir'd the Company of the Rebels; so alienating all Mens Spirits from assisting of the Enemy; and all this without so much as Communication with the Prince, till it was executed.

ABOUT the last week of *November*, he came himself to *Truro* to the Prince, on the same day that his Highness had receiv'd Letters from the Lords at *Exeter*, of the extreme ill Consequence of *Sr Richard Greenvil's* drawing off from *Osington*;

ton; upon encouragement whereof, a strong Party of the Enemy was come to *Kirton*. Whereupon his Highness sent for *St Richard Greenvil*; and, in Council, acquainted him with those Letters, and other Intelligence that he had receiv'd of the Enemy, and desired him to consider what was now in being. The next day, without attending his Highness any more, but returning to his Houle at *Warrington*, he writ a long Letter to *Mr Fanshawe* of his Advice, which he desired might be Communicated to the Lords; which was, "that his Highness should send to the Parliament for a Treaty, and should offer, if he might enjoy the Revenue of the Duchy of *Cornwall*, and that they would not advance to disturb him in that County, that he would not attempt any thing upon them, but that they should enjoy the freedom of all their Ports in *Cornwall* for Trade, without any disturbance by his Majesty's Ships: and so, in plain English, to fit still a Neuter between the King and the Parliament, at a time when there was a Body of Horse Superior to the Enemy in those Parts; and when an equal proportion of Foot might have been gotten together; and when his Majesty had not the face of an Army in any other part of *England*. The Prince was very much troubled at this Letter, and the more, because he found *St Richard Greenvil* had contracted a great friendship with such of his Highness's Servants, as he had reason to believe less zealous and intent upon the Honour, and Prosperity of the King; and because he had discover'd he labour'd very much to insinuate jealousy into the Governour of *Pendennis* Castle, "that the Prince intended to remove him from that Command; and to confer it upon the Lord *Hopton*; to which purpose he had written to the Governour from *Okeington* (where the Lord *Hopton*, and the Chancellor, were sent down thither to assist him in the Fortifying and Supplying that Castle; which if they had not done, it would not have hold out, as it did afterwards) "that the Lord *Hopton* had a Commission to take that Charge from him; but that he should not suffer such an affront to be put upon him; for He, and all his Friends, would stick to him in it: Whereas there was never the least thought or intention to make any alteration in that Government.

SHORTLY after that Letter of the 17th, *St Richard Greenvil* writ again to *Mr Fanshawe*, to know how his Propositions were approv'd; to which, by direction, he return'd, "that the Council had not been yet together since the receipt of them; the Lords *Capel*, and *Colchester*, being not then return'd from *Exeter*; and that therefore his Propositions had not been yet Debated. He proceeded in the mean time in his Fortifications there, and, about the middle of *December*,

the Prince continuing at *Truro*, he sent several Letters to the Gentlemen of the County "to meet him at *Launceston*: One of which Letters I saw, to Colonel *Richard Arundell*; in which, "He desired him to bring as many Gentlemen, and "others of Ability, as he could, as well the disaffected, as "well-affected; for that he intended to Communicate to them "some Propositions, which he had formerly prefer'd to the Prince; and though they were not hearken'd to There, he believ'd would be very acceptable to his Country men of *Cornwall*: but the Prince's suddain going to *Tarvisick* disappointed that meeting.

SHORTLY after the Lord *Goring*'s going into *France*, the Prince, being inform'd from *Exeter*, "that the Enemy, at the same time having finish'd their works, which kept the City from any Relief on the East side, were now drawing their Forces to the West side, whereby that City would be speedily Distress'd; thought it necessary to send the Lords *Bunford*, *Capel*, *Hopton*, and *Colchester*, to confer with the Lord *Wentworth*; who lay then at *Ash-Burton*, six miles from *Truro*; and with *St Richard Greenvil*, who was ready to draw some Foot into *Devon*; to the end that such an understanding might be settel'd between them two, that the Service might proceed: their Lordships being directed, by Instructions under his Highness's hand, upon consideration of the state of the Forces, and conference with the Lord *Wentworth*, and *St Richard Greenvil*, to advise what speedy course should be taken for the Relief of *Exeter* (the Prince having at the same time disburs'd a thousand pound ready Money to two Merchants of *Exeter*, for Provision of Ordnance for that City) presuming that both the one and the other would have been very ready to have receiv'd, and followed the advice which their Lordships should give.

THE place of meeting was appointed to be *Tarvisick*; where every body was, save the Lord *Wentworth*; but He falling, the Lords, having directed *St Richard Greenvil* how to dispose of himself, went themselves to *Ash-Burton*, near twenty Miles farther, to the Lord *Wentworth*'s Quarters: where they spent a day or two, but found not that respect from him they had reason to have expected. His Lordship was very jealous of diminution in his Command, which *General Goring* had devolv'd to him, and expressing himself offensive to them very unnecessarily, "that he would receive Ordnance from none but the Prince Himself; whereupon, and upon the importunate calling for Relief from *Exeter*, their Lordships "thought it absolutely necessary, that the Prince Himself should advance in Person, as well to bring up a "great Body of the *Cornish*, as was possible (which with-
out

“out his Presence was not to be hoped for) as to dispose the
 “Command of the whole Forces in such manner, as might
 “probably be for the best advantage; the best that was to be
 “hoped for being to bring the Enemy to Fight a Battle; and
 “that they might be enabled to that purpose, by joining with
 “the Foot that were in *Exeter*; which was a considerable
 “Body. For the conducting to great a design, upon which
 “no less than three Crowns depended, the Lord *Westworth*
 “could not be thought of in credit, Experience, or Reputation
 “enough; and yet there was to great regard, that he should
 “not suffer in his Honour, or the imaginary Trust devolv’d to
 “him by General *Goring*, or rather indeed that no notable ha-
 “zard might be run, by any unnecessary mutation in Com-
 “mands, at a time when the Soldier was to be led to Fight,
 “that it was resolv’d, “that he should be rather Advised, than
 “Commanded; and that if he comported himself with the
 “Temper and Modesty, as was expected, all Resolutions
 “should be form’d in Council, and all Orders thereupon should
 “issue in His Name.

The next day after *Christmas* day, the weather being very
 sharp, the Prince went from *Tysoe*, to *Badwin*; and the next
 day to *Tewkesbury*; where the Lords of the Council attended;
 the Lord *Westworth* continuing at *St. Bartons*, and his Horse
 spread over that part of the Country which was at any dis-
 tance from the Enemy. *St. Richard Greenvil*, who attend-
 ed likewise at *Tewkesbury*, had sent three Regiments of Foot to
Oakington, under the Command of Major General *Molyneux*;
 which were secured by the Brigade of Horse under Major Ge-
 neral *Wib*, who was Quarter’d near those parts, and the *Cornish*
 Train’d-bands were to come up within a week; the
 Blockade before *Plymouth* was maintain’d by General *Digby*,
 with about twelve or thirteen hundred Foot, and six hundred
 Horse; but the whole Contribution assign’d for the support
 of those Forces, was taken by the Lord *Westworth*’s Horse;
 so that the Prince was compell’d to supply those Men, out of
 the Magazines of Victual which he had provided in *Cornewall*
 for the Army when it should march; and to leave his own
 Guard of Horse upon the skirts of *Cornewall*; there being no
 Quarter to be had for them nearer his own Person.

ABOUT this time, *St. Thomas Fairfax* Quarter’d at a House
 about two miles East of *Exeter*, *St. Harveys Waller* with a Bri-
 gade of his Army at *Kirtton*, and another part of the Army
 had possess’d *Fourston* House, and the Church, *Halford*-House,
 and some other Holds on the West side; so that no Provisions
 went in, and it hath been said before, how long the Army
 under *Goring* had subsisted upon the Provisions within, and
 kept all supply from entering: the advice taken at *Tewkesbury*,

upon the Prince’s coming thither, was; “that as soon as the
 “*Cornish* Foot should be come up, his Highness should march
 “with those, his own Guards, and as many Foot as might
 “conveniently be taken from before *Plymouth*; by leaving
 “Horse in their place, to *Tewkesbury*; where a Magazine should
 “be made of Provisions for the whole Army, both by Money
 “(for which the Country would yield great store of Provi-
 “sions) and by Victuals brought out of *Cornewall* by Sea; for
 “which likewise directions were given. “From that place it
 “was concluded, that the Prince might join with the Forces
 “in *Exeter*, except the Rebels should draw their whole Body
 “between them; and then that Garrison would be able both
 “to relieve itself, and to assist the Enemy in the Rear; and
 “the Prince might retire, or Fight, as he should find it most con-
 “venient and advantageous to him. Resolutions being thus
 “made, and the *Cornish* being not expected in full Numbers
 “till the Week following, the Prince chose to go to *Tewkesbury*;
 “where all things necessary might be agreed with the Lord
 “*Westworth*, who might conveniently attend there, his Quar-
 “ters being within six miles; and where directions might be
 “given for making the Magazine, towards which Money had
 “been return’d out of *Cornewall*.

The next day after the Prince came thither, the Lord
Westworth attended him, and was inform’d in Council, what
 had been thought reasonable at *Tewkesbury*; the which he ap-
 prov’d of; the Prince then call’d to see a List of the Quarters,
 that thereupon it might be agreed how the whole Army
 should be Quarter’d when they came together; to which end
 the next day, the Lord *Westworth* brought the Quarter-Mas-
 ter General *Pinkney*, who indeed govern’d him. At the full
 Council, the Lord *Westworth* told the Prince, “that he was
 “to declare one thing to him, at the entrance into business,
 “and for the prevention of any mistakes, that he could receive
 “no Orders from any Person but his Highness; the Lord *Go-
 ring* having repel’d that trust in him; and given him “a
 “Commission and Instructions to that purpose; which he of-
 “ten repeated afterwards in Council; and, in the Debate of
 “Quartering, talk’d very imperiously, and very disrespectfully,
 “and one day, after he had been drinking, very offensively to
 “fame of the Council, in the presence of the Prince. The Prince
 “was not conceiv’d reasonable for the Prince to declare how
 “the Army should be commanded, till he had brought in agree-
 “ment, and till he had his own Guards about him; and for the
 “Prince, though he was nothing satisfied in the Lord *West-
 worth*’s carriage, only told him “that he would take the Com-
 “mand of the Army upon Himself, and issue out Orders as
 “he should think fit; and having visited the Port and Garrison

of *Dartmouth*, and taken sufficient courſe for the providing the Magazines, and ſettled the differences about Quartering, he return'd to *Trafſack*; reſolving, with all poſſible expedition, to march with the whole Body of Foot to *Trafſack*, according to former appointment.

The day before the Prince began his Journey to *Trafſack*, he receiv'd a Letter from the King his Father, dated upon the ſeventh of *November*, in theſe words:

Oxford, 7th of *November* 1645.

Charles,

A Letter
From the
King to the
Prince.

I LEAVE others to tell you the News of theſe parts, which are not fo ill, as I believe, the Rebels would make you believe: that which I think fit to tell you is, I command you, aſſoon as you think your ſelf in a probable danger of falling into the Rebels hands, to Transport your ſelf into *Denmark*; and, upon my beſeeching, not to ſtay too long upon uncertain hopes within this Iſland, in caſe of danger aſſabove. ſaid. For, if I miſtake not the preſent condition of the Weſt, you ought not to defer your Journey one hour; in this I am not abſolutely poſitive; but I am directly poſitive, that your going beyond Sea is abſolutely neceſſary for me, as I do, to command you; and I do not reſtrain you only to *Denmark*, but permit you to chooſe any other Country, rather than to ſtay here; as for *Scotland* and *Ireland* I forbid you either, until you ſhall have perfect aſſurance, that Peace be concluded in the one, or that the Earl of *Montroſe*, in the other, be in a very good condition; which, upon my word, he is not now: ſo God bleſs you.

Your loving Father *Charles* R.

THOUGH the intimations in this Letter were ſtrong for a preient remove, yet they were not being Poſitive, and the time of the year being ſuch, as that the Prince could not be block'd up by Sea, and ſo could chooſe his own time, and having one County enclav'd, and *Exeter* and *Barnstable* in the other well Garrison'd, beſides the Blockade before *Flymouth*, and the reputation of an Army, the Council were of opinion, that the time was not yet ripe; and ſo purſued the former deſign of joining the *Cornwall* to the Horſe, and to endeavour the relief of *Exeter*: for which purpoſe, the Prince undertook the Journey before mention'd to *Trafſack*, the day after *Chriſtmas* day; and, at his coming thither, receiv'd this other Letter from the King.

Oxford,

Oxford, the 7th of *December* 1645.

Charles,

I WRIT to you this day Month; of which, few days after, I ſent you a Duplicate. The caules of my Commands to You in that Letter, are now multiplied. I will name but one, which I am ſure is ſufficient for what I ſhall now add to my former: it is this; I have reſolv'd to propoſe a Perſonal Treaty to the Rebels at *London*; in order to which a Trumpet is by this time there, to demand a Paſs for my Meſſengers, who are to carry my Propoſitions; which if admitted, as I believe it will, then my real ſecurity will be, your being in another Country, as alſo a chief Argument (which ſpeaks it ſelf without an Orator) to make the Rebels hearken, and yield to Reaſon: whereas therefore I left you by my laſt to judge of the time, I abſolutely command you to look for carefully, and take the firſt opportunity of Transporting your ſelf into *Denmark*, if conveniently you can; but rather than not go out of this Kingdom, immediately after the receipt of this, I permit, and command you to repair to any other Country, as *France*, *Holland*, &c. where you may arrive with moſt convenient ſecurity as to your paſſage; for nothing elſe is to be fear'd: I need not recommend to you the leaving the *County* in the beſt poſture you may, it ſo ſpeaks it ſelf, as I ſhall always do to you.

Your loving Father *Charles* R.

HIS Highneſs, as he uſed to do, aſſoon as he had prepared the Letter, which, as theſeſt, was written in the *Lord Colepepper's* Cipher, and by him Decipher'd, deliver'd it again to his Lordſhip, to be ſecretly kept, and Communicated to the other three; for it was by no means yet faſt to let farther. They were much troubled at the receipt of this Letter, for, beſides that it found them in the Article of the moſt probable deſign had been on foot, ſince the late diſſenters, to relieve the Weſt; if they ſhould have attempt'd to have given Obedience to that Command, the ſuddain, unexpected, and unreaſonable leaving the Army, would viſibly have declar'd what the intent had been, and would probably have engag'd the People, and the Soldiers (who would have wanted neither Intelligence, nor Inſiſtigation from the Prince's own Servants; of whom the Lords could not rely upon three Men) they being full of hope in the Enterpriſe they were upon, and full of diſlike of the other they were to chooſe, to have prevented it; in which, they might reaſonably have expected aſſiſtance from the Garrison of *Pendennis*; from whoſe place his Highneſs was neceſſarily to remove Himſelf. So that if

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the Prince should attempt to go, and succeed, the Army, upon that discontinuance, must dissolve; and if he succeeded not, there might be a fatal consequence of the endeavour and disappointment. Then, though they had long kept a Ship in the Harbour in readiness, and had at that time another Frigate of Mr *Hofland's*, yet by its having been carried with so much secrecy that very few had taken notice of it, they could not be provided for so long a Voyage as to *Dunsmark*, which, with so important a Charge, would require two Months Victual at least. But that which troubled them most, was the very Argument which his Majesty was pleas'd to use for his positive Command; which, to their understanding, seem'd to conclude rather, that his Highness's Transportation (at least without an immediate absolute necessity) was at that time most unseasonable; for if, in expectation of a Treaty, his Majesty should venture his Royal Person in *London*, and should be receiv'd there, and at the same time his Highness's Person should be Transported out of the Kingdom, by his Majesty's own Commands (which could not then have been conceal'd) it was reasonable to believe, that not only the Rebels would make great advantage of it, as an Argument against his Majesty's sincere intentions, and thereby draw unpeakeable and irreparable prejudice upon him; but that his own Council, by which he was dispos'd to that Overture, and whose Assistance he must constantly use, would take themselves to be highly dishonour'd by that Act; and they would lose all confidence in their future Councils.

UPON the whole Matter, the Lords were unanimously of opinion, "that the Relief of *Exeter* was to proceed in the manner formerly agreed, and that the Prince's Person was "to be present at it; and thereupon they sent an Express to the King, with a dispatch sign'd by the Four who were trusted, a Duplicate whereof was sent by another Express the next day, in which they presented a clear State to his Majesty of his Forces, and the hopes they then had of improving their condition by the Prince's Presence; of the condition of *Exeter*, and of the Strength, as they conceiv'd, of the Enemy; and of the inconvenience, if not the impossibility of obeying his Majesty at that time. They farther inform'd his Majesty of "the great indignification, that they perceiv'd in all the Ser-vants towards his Highness's leaving the Kingdom; and "that the jealousy was to great of his going into *France*, that "they had reason to believe that many who were very faithful, and tender of his Safety, would rather with him in the hands of the Enemy, than in that Kingdom; and therefore, "when the time of Necessity should come (which they assur'd his Majesty they would with any hazard watch and

observe

"observe) they must prefer the continuing Him till within "his Majesty's own Dominions, and so to wait him to *Silly*, or "to *Jersey*, and from thence conclude what was to be done farther. They presented likewise their humble opinion to him, "that in case he should be engag'd in a Personal Treaty at "London (which they conceiv'd the Rebels would never admit, without such Acts first obtain'd from his Majesty, as "might invalidate His Power, and confirm Their) how inconvenient it might be, without the Privy of those Counsellors, whom he was then trust, to Transport the Prince, "except in danger of Surprisa, before the issue of that Treaty "might be discern'd: Affairing his Majesty, "that nothing should put his Highness's Person into the hands of the Parliament, but his Majesty's own Commands; which they should not resist in his own Dominions, nor, they conceiv'd, "any body else, if he were out of them.

THE appearance at *Windsor* answer'd the expectation; the Lord there being full two thousand four hundred of the Train'd Bands, very cheerful, and ready to march; at *Oxford* were eight hundred old Soldiers, under Major General *Ashley*; at *Abingdon* the Foot with the Lord *Wentworth* were given out to be eight hundred, with the Lord *Goring's* Guards which were in *Dartmouth*; and to be drawn thence, upon the advance to the Army; from *Barnstable*, the Governour had promis'd to send five hundred Men; and out of *Exeter*, at the least, a thousand five hundred Men were promis'd: all which, with his Highness's Guards, might well be depended upon for six thousand Foot. The Horse was very little fewer than five thousand; whereof his Highness's Guards made near seven hundred; so that, if all these could have been brought to Fight, the day seem'd not desperate. The Foot were appointed to have march'd the morrow, when the News came, "that the Enemy was advanced, and had beaten up the Lord *Wentworth's* Quarters in two several places, and shortly after the News, the Lord *Wentworth* himself came in, in great disorder, not inform'd of the particular of his loss, but conceiv'd it to be greater than in truth it was, though many Men, and more Horfes, were taken in both places. The Prince was very desirous to pursue the former resolution, and to have advanced with the whole Body to *Totness*; but the Lord *Wentworth* did not only allege, "that probably the Enemy "was possess'd by that time of *Totness*, but that he had "such no hope to rally his Horse together, in any Numbers, "till they might be allow'd three or four days rest. Whereas all that Rout had been occasion'd by small Partes of the Enemy, who, at day time, came into their Quarters, and found no Guards, but all the Horse in the Stables; and their whole

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Body moved not in two or three days after; encouraged, it was thought, by the great disorder they found those Troops to be in. Matters standing thus, and it being absolutely necessary, by reason of this disorderly retreat of the Horse, to draw off the Bockade from *Plymouth*, *Tavistock* was no longer thought a place for the Prince's Residence; his Highness by the Advice of a Council of War removed to *Lancaster*; whither all the Foot were drawn, and the Horse appointed to keep the *Devon-shire* side of the River; and from thence he hoped he should be speedily able to advance towards *Exeter*.

The King had heard at *Hertford*, as hath been said, in great perplexity, and irresolution; not knowing which way to take, but most inclined to go to *Worcester*; till he was assured, that the whole strength of the Parliament in the North was gather'd together under the Command of *Pointz*; and that he was already come between *Hertford* and *Worcester*; with a Body of above three thousand Horse and Dragons; with which he was appointed always to attend the King's motion: so that it would be very hard for his Majesty to get to *Worcester*, whither his purpose of going was, upon the new resolution he had taken again to march into *Scotland* to join with *Montrose*, who was yet unalighted to be prosperous. This being the only design, it was not thought reasonable to profess that march by *Worcester*, and thereby to run the hazard of an Engagement with *Pointz*; but rather to take a more secure passage through *North Wales* to *Chester*; and thence, through *Leicester*, and *Cumberland*, to find a way into *Scotland*, unobstructed by any Enemy that could oppose them. This Counsel plac'd; and within four days, though through very unpleasant ways, the King came within half a day's Journey of *Chester*; which he found in more danger than he suspected; for within three days before, the Enemy, out of their Neighbour Garrisons, had surpris'd both the Out-works, and Suburbs of *Chester*; and had made some attempt upon the City, to the great Terror, and Contemneration of those within; who had no apprehension of such a surpris'd. So that this unexpected coming of his Majesty, look'd like a designation of Providence for the preservation of so important a place: and the Besiegers were no less amazed, looking upon themselves as lost, and the King's Troops believ'd them to be in their power.

St. *Marmaduke Langdale* was sent with most of the Horse over *Holt*-Bridge, that he might be on the East side of the River *Dee*; and the King, with his Guards, the Lord *Gerrard*, and the rest of the Horse, march'd directly into *Chester*, with a resolution, that, early the day following, St. *Marmaduke Langdale* should have fallen upon the back of the Enemy,

Enemy, when all the force of the Town should have sallied out, and so inclos'd them. But St. *Marmaduke Langdale*, being that Night drawn on a Heath two Miles from *Chester*, had intercepted a Letter from *Pointz*, (who had march'd a much shorter way, after he was inform'd which way the King was bound) to the Commander that was before *Chester*, telling him, that he was come to their rescue, and desiring to have some Foot sent to him, to assist him against the King's Horse: and the next Morning he appear'd, and was charg'd by St. *Marmaduke Langdale*, and forced to retire with loss; but kept still at such a distance, that the Foot from before *Chester* might come to him. The Besiegers began to draw out of the Suburbs in such haste, that it was believ'd in *Chester*, they were upon their Flight; and so most of the Horse and Foot in the Town, had order to pursue them. But the others halt was to join with *Pointz*; which they quickly did; and then they charg'd St. *Marmaduke Langdale*; who, being overpowered, was Routed, and put to Flight; and pursued by *Pointz* even to the Walls of *Chester*. There the Earl of *Lichfield* with the King's Guards, and the Lord *Gerrard* with the rest of the Horse, were drawn up, and charg'd *Pointz*, and forced him to retire. But the disorder of those Horse which first fled, had so fill'd the narrow ways, which were us'd for Horse to Fight in, that at last the Enemies Musketeers compell'd the King's Horse to turn, and to Rout one another, and to overbear their own Officers, who would have restrain'd them. Here fell many Gentlemen, and Officers of Name, with the brave Earl of *Lichfield*, who was the third Brother of that Illustrious Family, that Sacrificed their Lives in this Quarrel. He was a very faultless young Man, of a most gentle, courteous, and affable Nature, and of a Spirit and Courage invincible; whose loss all Men exceedingly lamented, and the King bore it with extraordinary grief. There were many Persons of Quality taken Prisoners, amongst whom St. *Philip Musgrave*, a Gentleman of a noble Extraction, and ample Fortune in *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland*; who liv'd to engage himself again in the same Service, and with the same Affection, and, after very great Sufferings, to see the King Restor'd. This Defeat broke all the Body of Horse, which had attend'd the King from the Battle of *Norwiche*, and which now fled over all the Country to save themselves; and were as much dispers'd, as the greatest Rout could produce.

The design of marching Northward, was now at an end; and it was well it was so; for about this very time *Montrose* was Defeated by *David Lesley*; so that if the King had advanced farther, as he resolv'd to have done, the very next day after he came to *Chester*, he could never have been able to

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The King march'd to Chester, where his Horse lay Rout'd by Pointz.

The King
return'd to
Dunbligh
to rally his
Troops.

have retreated: He said in *Chesler* only one Night after this blow, but return'd, by the same way by which he had come, to *Dunbligh* Cattle in *North Wales*, being assur'd only with five hundred Horſe; and there he ſtaid three days to rally his Troop, and to rally ſuch of his Troops as had ſtopped within any diſtance. So that, in a ſhort time, he had in view four and twenty hundred Horſe; but whether to go with them was fill the difficult queſtion. Some propoſed the ſite of *Maſſy*, as a place of Safety, and an Iſland fruitful enough to ſupport his Forces; which would defend it ſelf againſt any Winter attemp, and from whence he might be eaſily Transported into *Ireland* or *Scotland*. They who objected againſt this, as very many objections might well be made, propoſed that his Maſty might Commoſtly make his Winter Quarters at *Worceſter*, and by Quartering his Troops upon the *Severn*, between *Bridgenorth* and *Worceſter*, ſtand either upon his Guard; and by the acceſs of ſome other Forces, might be able to Fight with *Prince*; who, by this time, that he might both be able the more to ſtrengthen *Chesler*, and to watch the King's motion, had drawn his Troops over the River *Dee* into *Dunbligh ſhire*; ſo that he was now nearer the King, and made the march laſt propoſed, much the more difficult; but there was ſo little choice, that it was profecuted, and with good Succes; and there being another Bridge to paſs the *Dee* ſome Miles further, and through as ill ways as any thoſe Countries have, his Maſty went over without any oppoſition; and had, by this means, left *Points* a full day's Journey behind. Here *Prince Maurice* waited on his Maſty with eight hundred Horſe, part whereof was of *Prince Rupert's* Regiment that came out of *Brifol*. And now being thus ſtrengthen'd, they leſs apprehended the Enemy; yet continued their march without reſting, till, by Forcing the *Severn*, they came to *Bridgenorth*, the place deſign'd. Now every body expected, that they ſhould forthwith go to *Worceſter*, and take up their Winter Quarters; but upon the News of the Surrender of *Berkly* Cattle in *Glouceſter ſhire*, and of the *Devizes* in *Wilſhire*, two ſtrong Garrifons of the King's, it was urg'd, that *Worceſter* would not be a good place for the King's Winter Residence, and *Newark* was propoſed as a place of more ſecurity. This advice was the more like to be embraced, becauſe it was vehemently purſued upon a private, and particular Interer.

There is
a bridge
north.

THOUGH *Prince Rupert* had ſubmitted to the King's pleaſure, in reſigning his Commiſſion, yet he reſolv'd not to make uſe of his Paſs, and to quit the Kingdom, till he might firſt ſee his Maſty, and give an account of the Reaſons which oblig'd him to deliver up *Brifol*, and was ready to begin

begin his Journey towards him, ſoon as he could be inform'd where the King intended to reſt. The Lord *Digby*, who had then the chief influence upon his Maſty's Councils, and was generally believ'd to be the ſole cauſe of revoking the Prince's Commiſſion, and of the Order ſent to him to leave the Kingdom, without being heard what He could ſay for himſelf, found that the odium of all this proceeding fell upon Him; and therefore, to prevent the breaking of that Cloud upon Him, which threaten'd his Ruin (for he had not only the indignation of *Prince Rupert*, and all his Party to contend with, but the extreme Malice of the Lord *Gerrard*; who uſed to hate heartily upon a ſuddain accident, without knowing why; over and above this, as *Prince Rupert* would have an eaſy Journey to *Worceſter*, ſo *Prince Maurice* was Governour there, who had a very tender ſenſe of the feverity his Brother had undergone, and was ready to revenge it; whereas if the King went to *Newark*, the Journey from *Oxford* thither would be much more difficult, and *Prince Maurice* would be without any Authority there) theſe Reaſons were Motives enough to the Lord *Digby*, to be very ſollicitous to direct the King from *Worceſter*, and to incline him to *Newark*; and his Credit was ſo great, that againſt the opinion of every other Man, the King reſolv'd to take that courſe; ſo having ſay'd only one day at *Bridgenorth*, and from thence ſent *ſir Thomas Glouſham* to receive the Government of *Oxford*, he made halt to *Lichfield*, and then paſſed with that ſpeed to *Newark*, *Thence* it that he was there alſo as the Governour had notice of his purpoſe. In this manner, in the greateſt perplexity of his own Affairs, was his Maſty compell'd to conſcend to the particular, and private Paſſions of other Men.

WHEN the King came to *Newark*, he betook himſelf to the regulating the diſorders of that *Garrifon*; which, by their ſtation of the great Luxury and Exceſſes, in a time of ſo general Calamity, he had given juſt cauſal to the Commiſſioners, and to all the Country. The *Garrifon* conſiſted of about two thouſand Horſe and Foot; and to thoſe there were about four and twenty Colonels and General Officers, who had all liberal Alſignments out of the Contributions, according to their Qualities; ſo that though that ſmall County paid more Contribution than any other of that bigneſs in *England*, there was very little left to pay the Common Soldiers, or to provide for any other Expences. This made ſo great a noiſe, that the King found it abſolutely neceſſary to reform it; and reduced ſome of the Officers entirely, and leſſen'd the Pay of others; which added to the number of the Diſcontented; which was very much too numerous before. Now reports were ſpread abroad with great confidence, and the advertisement ſent from
feverl

several places, though no Author named "that *Mountrose*, "after his Defeat, by an access of those Troops which were "then absent, had Fought again with *David Lesley*; and to- tally Defeated him; and that he was marched towards the "Borders with a strong Army. This News, how groundless soever, was so very good that it was easily believ'd, and believ'd to that degree, that the King himself declared a Reso- lution, the third time, "to advance, and join with *Mountrose*; and the Lord *Digby* (who knew that Prince *Rupert* was al- ready upon his way from *Oxford*, and that Prince *Maurice* al- had met him at *Banbury*) prevail'd so far, that the King resolv'd, without delay, or expecting any Confirmation of the Reports, "to move Northward to meet the News, and, if it "fell not out to his Will, he would return to *Newark*. In this Resolution, after a Weeks stay at *Newark*, he marched to *Tuxford*; and the next day to *Wilkeck*, having, in his way, met with the same general Reports of *Mountrose's* Victories; which were interpreted as so many Confirmations; and there- fore, though the King assembled his Council to consult at *Wilkeck*, he declared "that he would not have it Debated, "whether he should advance or retire; but concerning the "manner of his advancing; since he was resolv'd not to re- tire; which he was sure would be attended with more mis- chief than could accompany his advancing.

THIS Declaration, how disagreeable soever it was to the sense of much the Major part, left very little to be consulted upon; for since they must advance, it was easily agreed "that they should march the next day to *Rothenam*; and that the "Troops should be drawn to a Rendezvous, the next Morn- ing, at such an Hour; and so the Officers were rising to give Orders out for the execution of what was Resolv'd; when, in the instant, one knocked at the door, who, being call'd in, was found to be the Trumpeter formerly sent from *Cardiff* to the Scottish King, with a Letter to the Earl of *Le- wes*, General thereof, who had taken him with him as far as *Berwick*, before he would suffer him to be discharg'd. The King asked him, "what he had heard of the Marquis of *Montrose*? He answer'd, "that the last News he had heard of him, was "that he was about *Cardiff*, retreating further North; and that "David Lesley was in *Leithen*, on this side *Edenborough*; and "that the Scottish Army lay between North *Alerton* and *New- castle*. This so unexpected Relation, dashed the former purpose; and the Lord *Digby* himself declared, "that it was "by no means fit for his Majesty to advance; but to retreat "preently to *Newark*; which was, by every body, agreed to; and the Rendezvous of the Army for the next Morning to continue. When they were at the Rendezvous, the King declar'd

declar'd, "that though it was not judged fit for himself to advance Northward, yet he thought it very necessary, that "St *Marmaduke Langdale* should, with the Horse under his "Command, march that way; and endeavour to join with "Mountrose. And, having said so, his Majesty look'd upon St *Marmaduke*; who very cheerfully submitted to his Majesty's pleasure; and said, "he had only one Suit to make to his Ma- jesty; which was that the Lord *Digby* might Command in "Chief, and He under him. All who were present, stood amaz'd at what was now said; of which, no word had pass'd in Council; but when the Lord *Digby* as frankly accepted the Command, they concluded, that it had been conceived before between the King and the other Two.

No Man contradictor'd any thing that had been propos'd; and so immediately, upon the place, a short Commission was prepar'd, and Sign'd by the King, to continue the Lord *Digby* Lieutenant General of all the Forces rais'd, or to be rais'd for the King on the other side of *Trent*; and with this Com- mission he immediately departed from the King, taking with him from the Rendezvous all the Northern Horse, with St *Marmaduke Langdale*, and St *Richard Batten*, High Sheriff of *Yorkshire*, together with the Earls of *Carnarvon*, and *Nid- dale*, and several other Scottish Gentlemen: He march'd in the head of fifteen hundred Horse; and so in a moment be- came a General, as well as a Secretary of State; and march'd presently to *Doncaster*.

BECAUSE this Expedition was in a short time at an end, it will not be amiss to finish the relation in this place; there being no occasion to resume it hereafter. The Lord *Digby* was inform'd at his being at *Doncaster*, "that there was, in a "Town two or three Miles distant, and little out of the way "of the next day's march, one thousand Foot newly rais'd for "the Parliament; which he resolv'd, the next Morning, to fall upon; and did it so well, that they all threw down their Arms, and dispersed; whereupon he prosecuted his march to a Town call'd *Sherborne*, where he stay'd to refresh his Troops; and whilst he stay'd there, he had notice of the advance of some Troops of Horse towards him, under the Command of Colonel *Copley*: *Digby* presently Sounded to Horse, and hav- ing gotten some few Troops ready, march'd with them out of the Town; and finding *Copley* standing upon a convenient ground, he would not stay for his other Companies, but im- mediately Charg'd them with that Courage, that he rout'd most of their Bodies; which, after a short resistance, Flew and were pursued by his Horse through *Sherborne*; where the other Troops were refreshing themselves; who discerning the Flight of Horse, in great Confirmation, concluded, that they were

were their own Fellows, who had been Routed by the Enemy; and so with equal confusion they mounted their Horses, and Fleed as fast as the other, such ways, as they severally conceiv'd to be most for their safety. By this means, a Troop that remain'd upon the Field unbroken, fell upon the Lord Digby, and those Officers, and Gentlemen, who remain'd about him; who were compell'd to make their retreat to *Stapton*; which they did with the loss of *St Richard Hutton* (a gallant and worthy Gentleman, and the Son and Heir of a very Venerable Judge, a Man famous in his Generation) and two or three other Persons; and with the loss of the Lord Digby's Baggage; in which was his Cabinet of Papers; which, being published by the Parliament, admir'd afterwards for much occasion of discourse.

AT *Stapton*, most of the scattered Troops came together again, with which he march'd, without any other misadventures, through *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland*, as far as *Dumfriesse* in *Scotland*; and then, neither receiving directions which way to march, nor where *Mountrose* was, and less knowing how to retire without falling into the hands of the *Scottish Army* upon the Borders; in the highest despair, that Lord, *St Marmaduke Langdale*, the two *Earls*, and most of the other Officers, Embarked themselves for the Isle of *Man*; and, shortly after, for *Ireland*; where we shall leave them, all the Troops being left by them, to shift for themselves. That those fifteen hundred Horse which march'd Northward, with in very few days were brought to nothing; and the Generalship of the Lord Digby, to an end. But if it had not been for that extraordinary accident of the flying of his own Troops, because the Enemy had (as the greatest misfortunes which befall that Noble Person, throughout the whole course of his Life, usually fell out in a conjuncture when he had near attain'd to what he could wish) he had without doubt been Master of *Tork*, and of the whole *North*; the Parliament having no other Forces in all those parts, their Garrisons excepted, than those Foot which he first defeated, and those Horse which he had so near broken. The temper, and composition of his Mind was so admirable, that he was always more pleas'd and delighted that he had advanced so far, which he imputed to his own Virtue and Conduct, than broken or dejected that his Success was not answerable, which he still charg'd upon second Causes, for which he thought himself not accountable.

WHEN the Lord Digby and *St Marmaduke Langdale* left the King, his Majesty march'd back to *Newark* with eight hundred Horse of his own Guards, and the Troops belonging to the Lord *Gerrard*; and quickly heard of the misfortune that befel the Northern Adventurers; upon which He concluded

cluded that it would not be safe for him to fly longer in the place where he was, for by this time *Pointz* was come with all his Troops to *Nottingham*, and *Rushier* with all the Force of *Lincolnshire* to *Grantham*; and all the power his Majesty had, was not in any degree strong enough to oppose either of them; so that he was only to watch an opportunity by the Darkness of the Nights, and good Guides, to steal from thence to *Horseshoe*, or *Oxford*; in either of which he could only expect a little more time, and leisure to consider what was next to be done.

BUT before his Majesty can leave *Newark*, he must undergo a new kind of Mortification from his Friends, much sharper than any he had undergone from his Enemies; which, without his surmise, he suffer'd with much more grief, and perplexity of mind. Prince *Rupert* was now come to *Belvoir-Castle*, with his Brother Prince *Maurice*; and about one hundred and twenty Officers who attend'd him; with which he had finish'd a charge from *Rushier*, and look'd through without any considerable loss. When the King heard of his being so near, he writ a Letter to him, by which he requir'd him to stay at *Belvoir* till further Order; and reprehended him for not having given obedience to his former Commands. Notwithstanding this Command, he came the next day to *Newark*, and was met by the Lord *Gerard*, and *St Richard Wills*, Governour of the Town, with one hundred Horse, two miles in his way. About an hour after, with this Train, he came to the Court; and found the King in the presence; and, without Ceremony, told his Majesty, that he was come to render an account of the loss of *Bristol*, and to clear himself from those imputations which had been cast upon him. The King said very little to him; but, meat being brought up, went to Supper; and, during that time, asked some Questions of Prince *Maurice*, without saying any thing to the other. After he had Supped, he retir'd to his Chamber, without admitting any farther discourse; and the Prince return'd to the Governour's House, where he was well treated and lodged. The King, how displeas'd soever, thought it necessary to hear what Prince *Rupert* would say, that he might with the more ease provide for his own escape from thence; which it was high time to make. So he appointed the next day to hear his defence, which the Prince made with many protestations of his innocence, and how impossible it was long to defend the Fort, since the Lines were entered. His Majesty did not suspect his Nephew to have any Malicious design against his Service, and had no mind to aggravate any circumstances which had accompany'd that Action; and therefore, after a day or two's debate, caus'd a short Declaration to be

be drawn up, by which Prince *Rupert* was absolv'd and cleared from any Dilloyalty, or Treason in the rendering of *Brill*, but not of Indifferency. So that matter was settled; upon which the King expected the Prince should have departed, & himself resolv'd to prosecute the means for his own escape, without communicating it to him.

THE change of the posture of the Enemy, and *Parisi* coming to the North side of *Trent*, made his Majesty resolve begin his march on the Sunday Night, being the twentieth of *October*, which he imparted to none but two or three of his nearest trust. But the differences were grown so high between the Governour and the Commissioners (who were all the principal Gentlemen of the Country, and Who had with Courage and Fidelity adher'd to the King from the beginning, and whole interest alone had preserv'd that place) and had been so much increased by the mutual Councils which had been between them in the presence of the King, that there was no possibility of reconciling them, and very little of preserving the Garrison, but by the removal of the Governour; which was so evident to the King, that he resolv'd on that expedient; and, on the Sunday Morning, sent for *St Richard Willis* into his Bed-Chamber; and after many gracious expressions of "the Satisfaction he had receiv'd in his Service, and of the great abilities he had to serve him, he told him, "his own design to be gone that Night; and that he resolv'd to take him with him, and to make him Captain of his Horse Guards, in the place of the Earl of *Leinfild*, who had been lately kill'd before *Cheller* (which was a Command fit for any Subject)" and that he would leave the Lord *Belleisle* Governour of *Newark*, who being Allied to most of the Gentlemen of the adjacent Counties, and having a good Estate there, would be more acceptable to them. His Majesty confided so far, as to tell him, "that he did not hereby give a judgement on the Commissioners side, who he declared had been to blame in many particulars; and that he himself could not have an ample vindication, than by the honour and truth he now conferr'd upon him; but he found it would be much easier to remove him, than to reform the Commissioners; who, being many, could not be any other way united in his Service.

St Richard Willis appeared very much troubled; and excus'd the not taking the other command, "as a place of too great Honour, and that his Fortune could not maintain him in that employment; he said, that his Enemies would triumph at his removal, and he should be looked upon as cast out and disgrac'd. The King replied, "that he would take care, and provide for his Support; and that a man could

"not be looked upon as disgrac'd, who was plac'd so near his Person; which, he told him, he would find to be true, "when he had thought a little of it. So his Majesty went out of his Chamber, and presently to the Church. When he return'd from thence, he sat down to dinner; the Lords, and other of his Servants, retiring likewise to their Lodgings. Before the King had din'd, *St Richard Willis*, with both the Princes, the Lord *Gerrard*, and about twenty Officers of the Garrison, enter'd into the presence Chamber: *Willis* address'd himself to the King, and told him, "that what his Majesty had said to him in private, was now the publick Talk of the Town, and very much to his Dishonour: Prince *Rupert* said, "that *St Richard Willis* was to be remov'd from his Government, is no Fault that he had committed, but for being His Friend: the Lord *Gerrard* added, "that it was the Plot of the Lord *Digby*, who was a Traytor, and he would prove him to be so. The King was so surpris'd with this manner of behaviour, that he rose in some disorder from the Table, and would have gone into his Bed-Chamber; calling *St Richard Willis* to follow him; who answer'd aloud, "that he had receiv'd a Publick injury, and therefore that he expected a Publick satisfaction. This, with what had pass'd before, provok'd his Majesty, that, with greater indignation than he was ever before possess'd with, he commanded them to depart from his Presence, and to come no more into it; and this with such circumstances in his looks and gesture, as well as words, that they appear'd no less confounded; and departed the Room, altho' it of what they had done; yet as soon as they came to the Governour's House, they sound'd to Horse, intending to be presently gone.

THE noise of this unheard of violence, quickly brought the Lords who were absent, and all the Gentlemen in the Town, to the King, with expressions full of Duty, and a very tender sense of the usage he had endur'd. There is no doubt, he could have proceeded in what manner he would against the Offenders. But his Majesty thought it best, on many considerations, to leave them to themselves, and to be punished by their own reflections; and presently declared the Lord *Belleisle* to be Governour; who immediately betook himself to his Charge, and plac'd the Guards in such a manner as he thought reasonable. In the Afternoon, a Petition and Remonstrance was brought to the King, sign'd by the two Princes, and about four and twenty Officers; in which they desired, "that *St Richard Willis* might receive a Trial by a Court of War; and if they found him faulty, then to be dismissed from his Charge; and that, if this might not be granted, they desired Palfes for themselves, and as many

1
"Horse

“ Horle as desired to go with them. Withal, they said, “ they hoped, that his Majesty would not look upon this Action of theirs as a Mutiny. To the last, the King said, “ he would not now Christen it; but it look’d very like one; As for the Court of War, he would not make that a Judge of His Actions; but for the Peasles, they should be immediately prepared for as many as desired to have them. The next Morning the Peasles were sent to them; and in the Afternoon they left the Town, being in all about two hundred Horle; and went to *Wynton*, a small Garrison depending upon *Norwich*; where they stayed some days; and from thence went to *Belvoir* Castle; from whence they sent one of their Number to the Parliament, “ to desire leave, and Passes, to go beyond the Seas.

BESIDES the execrating trouble and vexation that this Action of his Nephews, towards whom he had always expressed such tenderness and indulgence, gave the King, it had well nigh broke the design he had for his present escape; which was not possible to be executed in that time; and *Points* and *Rollers* died every day nearer, believing they had encompassed him round, that it was not possible for him to get out of their hands. They had now besieged *Sheffield* House, a Garrison belonging to *Norwich*; and kept strong Guards between them and *Belvoir*; and stronger towards *Lichfield*; which was the way they most suspected his Majesty would incline to take; so that the truth is, nothing but Providence could conduct him out of that Labyrinth; but the King gave not himself over. He had fixed now his Resolutions to *Oxford*, and sent a trusty Messenger thither with directions, that the Horle of that Garrison should be ready, upon a day he appointed, between *Banbury* and *Deventry*.

Then, upon *Monday*, the third of *November*, early in the Morning, he sent a Gentleman to *Belvoir* Castle, to be informant of the true State of the Rebel Quarters, and to advertise *St Gerous Lucas*, the Governour of that Garrison, of his Majesty’s design to march thither that Night, with order that his Troops and Guides should be ready at such an hour; but with an express charge, “ that he should not acquaint the Princes, or any of their Company, with it. That Gentleman being return’d with very particular information, the resolution was taken “ to march that very night, but not publish’d till an hour after the shutting the Ports. Then order was given, “ that all should be ready in the Market place, at ten of the Clock; and by that time the Horle were all there, and were in number between four and five hundred, of the Guards and of every loose Regiment; they were all there put in order; and every Man was placed in some Troop

which done, about eleven of the Clock, they began to march; the King himself in the head of his own Troop, march’d in the middle of the whole Body. By three of the Clock in the Morning, they were at *Belvoir*; without the least interruption or alarm given. There *St Gerous Lucas*, and his Troop, with good Guides were ready; and attended his Majesty till the break of day; by which time he was past those Quarters he most apprehended; but he was still to march between their Garrisons; and therefore made no delay, but march’d all that day; passing near *Barlegh* upon the Hill, a Garrison of the Enemy, from whence some Horle waited upon the Rear, and took and kill’d some Men, who either negligently staid behind; or whose Horles were tired. Towards the Evening the King was so very weary, that he was even compell’d to rest and sleep for the space of four hours, in a Village within eight miles of *Northampton*. At ten of the Clock that Night, they began to march again; and were, before Day, the next Morning past *Deventry*; and before Noon, came to *Banbury*; where the *Oxford* Horle were ready, and waited upon his Majesty, and conducted him safe to *Oxford* that Day; so he finish’d the most tedious and grievous march that ever King was excused in, having been almost in perpetual motion from the loss of the Battle of *Nashby* to this hour, with such a variety of dismal accidents as mult have broken the Spirits of any Man who had not been truly magnanimous. At *Oxford*, the King found himself at rest, and ease to revive, and reflect upon what was past, and to advise and consult of what was to be done, with Persons of entire devotion to him, and steady Judgements; and precisely after his coming thither, he writ that Letter of the seventh of *December*; and, shortly after, the order of the seventh of *December*; both which are mention’d before, and set down at large.

THE Prince of *Wales* did not enjoy so much rest, and ease in his Quarters; for, upon the hurry of the Retreat of the Horle, of confusion, very many of the Train-bands of *Cambridgeshire*, and *Worcestershire*, and run to their Houses, pretending “ they fear’d that the Horle would go into that County, and plunder them; for which fear they had the greater pretence, because, upon the Retreat, many Regiments had Orders from the Lord *Westworth* to Quarter in *Camrad*; which his Highness was no sooner advertis’d, than he sent his Orders positive, “ that no one Regiment of Horle should be there, but that they were dispers’d about the County, for the space of thirty miles breadth, as if an Enemy had been within two days march of them. There were now drawn together, and to be engaged

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together in one Action against the Enemy, all the Horse and Foot of the Lord *Goring*; the Command whosoever, the Lord *Wentworth* challenged to himself by deputation; the Horse and Foot of *Sir Richard Greenvil*; and the Horse and Foot of General *Digby*, neither of which acknowledged a superiority in the other, besides the Guards, which no body pretended to Command but the Lord *Capel*. When the Prince remov'd from *Tewkesbury*, the raising the Blockade from *Plymouth* was absolutely necessary, and it was concluded, as hath been said, at a Council of War, "that it would be fit for his Highness "to remove to *Launceston*; whether the Train'd-bands, and "the rest of the Foot should likewise come, and the Horse "march on the *Dreuxshire* side, and Quarter most conveniently in that County. The care of the Retreat, and bringing the Provisions from *Tewkesbury*, was committed to *Sir Richard Greenvil*; which was perform'd by him so negligently, that besides the disorders he suffer'd in *Tewkesbury*, by the Soldiers, a great part of the Magazine of Victuals, and three or four hundred pair of Shoes, were left there; and so lost. The day after the Prince came to *Launceston*, *Sir Richard Greenvil* writ a Letter to him, wherein he reprisen'd "the impossibility of keeping that Army together, or fighting with it "as the condition it was then in; told him, "that he had, "the night before, sent directions to Major General *Harris* (who Commanded the Foot that came from about *Plymouth*) "to guard such a Bridge; but that he return'd him word, "that he would receive Orders from none but General *Digby*; "that General *Digby* said, that he would receive Orders from none but his Highness; that a Party of the Lord *Wentworth's* "Horse had the same Night come into his Quarters, where "his Troop of Guards, and his Firelocks were; that neither "submitting to the Command of the other, they had fallen "foul, and two or three Men had been kill'd; that they continued still in the same place, drawn up one against another; that it was absolutely necessary, his Highness should constitute one Superior Officer, from whom all these independent Officers might receive Orders; without which, it would not be possible for that Army to be kept together, or do Service; that for His own part, he knew his Severity and Discipline had render'd him so odious to the Lord *Goring's* Horse, that they would sooner choose to serve the Enemy, than receive Orders from Him; therefore he directed his Highness to constitute the Earl of *Brentford*, or the Lord *Hopton*, to Command in Chief, and then he hoped, some good might be done against the Enemy.

It was mischievous more visible by much than a remedy; it was evident some Action must be with the Enemy within

few days, and what inconvenience would flow from any alteration, at such a conjuncture of time, was not hard to guess, when both Officer and Soldier were desirous to take any occasion, and to find any excuse to lay down their Armes; and it was plain, though there were very few who could do good, there were enough that could do hurt; besides, whoever was fit to undertake so great a trust and charge, would be very hardly entreated to take upon him the Command of a dilapidate, undisciplin'd, wicked, beaten Army, upon which he must engage his Honour, and the hope of what was left, without having time to reform, or instruct them. That which made the resolution necessary, was, that though there was little hope of doing good by any alteration in Command, there was evident and demonstrable ruin attend'd No alteration; and they who were trust'd might be accountable to the World, for not advising the Prince to do that, which, how hopeless soever, only remain'd to be done.

THESE VIEWS, on the fifteenth of *January*, his Highness the Lord made an Order, "that the Lord *Hopton* should take the Charge of the whole Army upon him; and that the Lord *Wentworth* should Command all the Horse, and *Sir Richard Greenvil* the Foot. It was a heavy imposition, I confess, upon the Lord *Hopton* (to the which nothing but the most abstracted Duty and Obedience could have Submitted) to take charge of those Horse whom only their Friends feared, and their Enemies laugh'd at; being only terrible in Plunder, and resolute in Running away. Of all the Train'd-bands of *Cornwall*, there were not three hundred left; and those, by some insinuations from *Greenvil* and others, not so devoted to him as might have been expected. The rest of the Foot (besides those who belonged to the Lord *Goring*, which were two Regiments of about four hundred) were the three Regiments of about six hundred; which belong'd to *Sir Richard Greenvil*, and the Officers of them entirely His Creatures; and those belong'd to General *Digby*, which were not above five hundred; To these were added (and were indeed the only Men, but a small Troop of his own Horse and some Foot, upon whose attention, courage, and duty he could Rely; except some particular Gentlemen, who could only undertake for themselves) about two hundred and fifty Foot, and eight hundred Horse of the Guards; who were Commanded by the Lord *Capel*, and entirely to receive Orders from his Lordship.

THE Lord *Hopton* very generously told the Prince, "that it was a custom now, when Men were not willing to submit to what they were enjoy'd, to say, that it was against their Honour; that their Honour would not suffer them to do this or that; for His part, he could not obey his High-

ness at this time, without resolving to lose his Honour, which he knew he must, but since his Highness thought it necessary to Command him, he was ready to obey him with the loss of his Honour. Since the making of this Order was concluded an Act of absolute necessity, and the Lord *Hepton* had so worthily Submitted to it, it was positively resolv'd by his Highness, that it should be dutifully Submitted to by all other Men; or that the Refusers should be exemplarily punished. There was not the least suspicion that Sir *Richard Greenvil* would not willingly have Submitted to it, but it was believ'd that the Lord *Wentworth*, who had carried himself so high, and more insolently since his disorderly retreat than before, would have refus'd; which if he had done, it was resolv'd by the Prince secretly to have committed him, and to have deferr'd the Lord *Capel* to have taken the charge of the Horse.

His Highness sent Sir *Richard Greenvil* a Letter of thanks, for the advice which he had given; and which, he said, he had followed, as by the inclosed Order he might perceive; by which his Highness had committed the care and charge of the whole Army to the Lord *Hepton*, appointing that the Lord *Wentworth* should Command all the Horse, and Sir *Richard Greenvil* all the Foot, and both to receive Orders from the Lord *Hepton*: no Man imagining it possible that, besides that he had given the advice, he could have refus'd that Charge, by which he was to have a greater Command than ever he had before, and was to be commanded by none but by whom he had often been formerly commanded. But the next day after he receiv'd that Letter and Order, contrary to all expectation, he writ to his Highness to desire to be excus'd, in respect of his indisposition of health; expressing, that he could do him better service in getting up the Soldiers who stragled in the Country, and in suppressing Maligants; and at the same time, writ to the Lord *Cadogan*, that he could not consent to be commanded by the Lord *Hepton*. It plainly appeared now, that his drift was to stay behind, and Command *Cornwall*; with which, considering the premises, the Prince thought he had no reason to excuse his Highness, that would attend the publick Service, if he should Then, and in such a manner, quit the Charge his Highness had committed to him; that more should not be expected from him than was agreeable to his health; and that if he took the Command upon him, he should take what Adjutants he pleas'd to assist him. But notwithstanding all that the Prince could say to him, or such of his Friends who thought they had Interest in him, he continued obstinate; and positively refus'd to take the Charge, or to receive Orders from the Lord *Hepton*. WHAT

WHAT should the Prince have done? for besides the ill consequence of suffering himself to be in that manner commended, at a time when that Army was so indispos'd, it was very evident, if *Greenvil* were at liberty, and the Army once march'd out of *Cornwall*, he would have put himself in the head of all the discontented Party, and at least endeavour'd to have hinder'd their retreat back into *Cornwall*, upon what occasion soever; and for the present that he would under-hand have kept many from marching with the Army, upon the senseless pretence of defending their own Country. So that, upon full consideration, his Highness thought fit to commit him to Prison to the Governour of *Lanwisclose*; and within two or three days after, sent him to the Mount; where he remain'd till the Enemy was possess'd of the County; when his Highness, that he might by no means fall into their hands, gave him leave to Transport himself beyond the Sea.

The Lord *Wentworth*, though he seem'd much surpris'd with the Order when he heard it read at the Board, and desired time to consider of it till the next day, that he might confer with his Officers; yet, when the Prince told him, that he would not refer his Acts to be scann'd by the Officers; but that he should give his positive Answer, whether he would submit to it, or no; and then his Highness knew what he had to do; he only desired to consider till the Afternoon; when he submitted; and went that Night out of Town to his Quarters; of which most Men were not glad, but rather wilh'd (since they knew he would never obey cheerfully) that he would have put the Prince to have made further alterations; which yet would have been accompanied with hazard enough. By this time the Intelligence was certain of the loss of *Dartmouth*, which added neither Courage, nor Numbers to our Men; and the importunity was such from *Exeter* for present relief, that there seem'd even a necessity of attempting somewhat towards it, upon how great disadvantage soever; and therefore the Lord *Hepton* resolv'd to march by the way of *Chimley*; that so, being between the Enemy and *Barnstaple*, he might borrow as many Men out of the Garrison, as could be spar'd; and by strong Parties at least to attempt upon their Quarters. But it was likewise resolv'd, that in respect of the smallness of the numbers, and the general indisposition, to say no worse, both in Officer and Soldier, it would not be fit for his Highness to venture his own Person with the Army; but that he should retire to *Trar- tra*, and reside there; against which there were objections enough in view, which were however weigh'd down by greater.

WHOEVER had observ'd the temper of the Countrey of that

that County towards *St Richard Greenwell*, or the Clamour of the Common People against his Oppression, and Tyranny, would not have believ'd, that such a necessary proceeding against him, at that time, could have been any Unpopular Act; there being scarce a day, in which some Petition was not presented against him. As the Prince pass'd through *Bolton*, he receiv'd Petitions from the Wives of many substantial, and honest Men; amongst the rest, of the Mayor of *Leitchfield*, who was very eminently well affected and useful to the King's Services; all whom *Greenwell* had committed to the Common Goal, for prelaming to Fish in that River; the Royalty of which he pretended belonged to him, by Virtue of the Sequestration, granted him by the King, of the Lord *Robert's* Estate at *Lambolton*; whereas they who were committed, pretended a Title, and had always us'd the liberty of Fishing in those Waters, as Tenants to the Prince of his Highness's Mannor of *Litchfield*; there having been long Suits between the Lord *Robert's* and the Tenants of that Mannor, for that Royalty. And when his Highness came to *Leitchfield*, he was again Petition'd by many Women for the liberty of their Husbands, whom *St Richard* had committed to Prison, for refusing to grind at his Mill, "which, he said, they were bound by the Customs to do. So by his Martial Power he had Asserted whatever Civil Interest he thought fit to lay claim to; and never discharged any Man out of Prison, till he absolutely submitted to his Pleasure.

THERE were in the Goal at *Lancaster*, at this time when himself was committed, at least thirty Persons, Constables and other Men, whom he had committed, and impos'd Fines upon, some of three, four, and five hundred pounds, upon pretence of Delinquency (of which he was in no case a proper Judge) for the payment whereof they were detain'd in Prison. Amongst the rest, was the Mayor of *St Ives*, one *Hammond*, who had then the reputation of an honest Man; and was certified to be such by Colonel *Robinson* the Governour, and by all the Neighbouring Gentlemen. After the late Insurrection there, which is spoken of before, he had given his Bond to *St Richard Greenwell*, of five hundred pounds, to produce a young Man, who was then absent, and accused to be a favourer of that Mutiny, within so many days. The time expired before the Man could be found; but within three days after the expiration of the term, the Mayor sent the Fellow to *St Richard Greenwell*. That would not satisfy; but he sent his Marshall for the Mayor himself, and required fifty pound of him for having forfeited his Bond, and upon his refusal forthwith to pay it, committed him to the Goal at *Lancaster*. The Son of the Mayor presented a Petition to the Prince,

Prince, at *Truro*, for his Father's liberty, setting forth the matter of fact as it was, and annexing a very ample testimony of the good Affection of the Man. The Petition was refer'd to *St Richard Greenwell*, with direction, "that if the case were as in truth such, he should discharge him. Aftoon as the Son brought this Petition to him, he put it in his Pocket; told him, "the Prince understood not the business; and committed the Son to Goal, and caus'd Irons to be put upon him for his presumption. Upon a second Petition to the Prince, at *Lancaster*, after the time that *St Richard* himself was committed, he directed the Lord *Hopton*, "upon examination "of the truth of it, to discharge the Man; of which, when *St Richard* heard, he sent to the Goal "to forbid him, at "his peril, to discharge *Hammond*; threatening him "to "make him pay the Money; and, after that, caus'd an Action to be enter'd in the Town Court at *Lancaster* upon the forfeiture of the Bond. Yet, notwithstanding all this, he was no sooner committed by the Prince, than even those who had complain'd of him as much as any, expected great trouble; and many Officers of those Forces which he had Commanded, in a Tumultuous manner, Petition'd for his release; and others took great pains to have the indispotion of the People, and the ill accidents that follow'd, imputed to that proceeding against *St Richard Greenwell*; in which none were more forward, than some of the Prince's own Household Servants; who were so tender of Him, that they forgot their duty to their Master.

It was Friday the sixth of February, before the Lord *Hopton* could move from *Lancaster*, for want of Carriages for their Ammunition, and Provision of Victual. Neither had he then Carriages for above half their little Store, but rely'd upon the Commissioners to send the remainder after; and so went to *Birmingham*; where he resolv'd to tarry, till his Provisions could be brought up; and he might receive certain Intelligence of the Motion, and Condition of the Enemy. He had not continu'd there above four days, in which he had Barricadoed, and made some little Fallacies about the Town, when *St Thomas Fairfax* advanced to *Gloucester*, within eight Miles of *Birmingham*, with six thousand Foot, three thousand five hundred Horse, and five hundred Dragoons; of which so near advance of the Enemy (notwithstanding all the strict Orders for keeping of Guards; whereof one Guard was, or was appointed to be, within two Miles of *Gloucester*) he had not known but by a Lieutenant, who was accidentally plundering in those parts, and fell amongst them. So negligent, and unfaithful, were both Officers and Soldiers in their duty.

THE HISTORY Book IX.

THE Lord Hopton having this Intelligence of the Strength, and Neighbourhood of the Enemy, had his Election of two things, either to retire into *Cornwall*, or to abide them where he was; the first, besides the disheartning of his Men, seem'd rather a desiring, than a preventing of any mischief that could befall him; for he foresaw, if he brought that great Body of Horse into *Cornwall*, the few that remain'd of the Trainbands, would immediately dissolve, and run to their Houses; and the remainder of Horse and Foot, in a short time, be destroy'd without an Enemy. Therefore he rather chose, notwithstanding the great disadvantage of Number in Foot, to abide them in that place; where, if the Enemy should attempt him in to fall a Quarter, he might defend himself with more advantage, than he could in any other place. So he placed his Guards, and appointed all Men to their Posts, having drawn as many Horse (such as on the sudden he could get) into the Town, as he thought necessary; the rest being ordered to stand on a Common, at the East end of the Town. But the Enemy forced the Barricadoes in one place by the business of the Foot; with which the Horse in the Town more basely receiv'd such a Fright, that they could neither be made to Charge, nor Stand; but, in perfect confusion, run away; whose example all the Foot put upon the Line, and at their other Posts, followed; leaving their General (who was hurt in the Face with a Pike, and his Horse kill'd under him) with two or three Gentlemen, to shift for themselves; one of the Officers publicly reporting, tell the Soldiers should not make halt enough in running away. "that he saw their General run through the Body with a Pike. The Lord Hopton recovering a fresh Horse, was compell'd (being thus deserted by his Men) to retire; which he did, to the Borders of *Cornwall*; and stay'd at *Stratton* two or three days, till about a thousand or twelve hundred of his Foot came up to him. It was then in consultation, since there was no likelihood of making any stand against the Enemy with such Foot, and that it was wile that Body of Horse could not long subsist in *Cornwall*, whether the Horse might not break through to *Oxford*, which, in respect of their great weariness, having stood two or three Days and Nights in the Field, and the Enemies strength being drawn up within two Miles of them, was concluded to be impossible. Besides that there was at that time a confident assurance, by an Express (St. D. *Wylke*) out of *France*, "of four or five thousand Foot to come from thence within three Weeks, or a Month at farthest; those Letters, and the Messenger, averring, "that most of the Men were ready, when he came away.

THE Enemy advanced to *Stratton*, and so to *Launceston*; where

where Mr. *Edgeworth*, who had always pretended to be of the King's Party, with his Regiment of Train-bands, join'd with them; and the Lord Hopton retir'd to *Bodmin*; the Horse, Officers and Soldiers, notwithstanding all the strict Orders, very diligently performing their duty; inasmuch as the Lord Hopton procees'd, "that, from the time he undertook the Charge, to the hour of their dissolving, scarce a Party or Guard appear'd with half the Number appointed, or within two hours of the time; and *Goring's* Brigade, having the Guard upon a Down near *Bodmin*, drew off without Orders, and without sending out a Scout; inasmuch as the whole gros of the Rebels, were at day time march'd within three Miles, before the Foot in *Bodmin* had any notice. So that the Lord Hopton was instantly forc'd to draw off his Foot and Carriages Westward; and kept the Field that cold Night, being the first of *March*; but could not, by all his Orders diligently sent out, draw any considerable Body of Horse to him by the end of the next day; they having Quartered themselves at pleasure over the Country, many above twenty Miles from *Bodmin*, and many running to the Enemy; and others purposely staying in their Quarters, till the Enemy came to dispossess them.

WHEN by the disorders and distractions of the Army, which were before set down, his Highness was perswaded to make his own Residence in *Cornwall*, he came to *Trow* on the 13th day of *February*; where he receiv'd a Letter from the King, directed to those four of the Council who had Sign'd that to his Majesty at *Trafaluck*. This Letter was dat'd at *Oxford* the fifth of *February*, and contain'd these words;

"Yours from *Trafaluck* hath fully satisfied me, why my Commands concerning Prince *Charles* his going beyond Sea were not obeyed. And I likewise agree with you in opinion, that he is not to go until there be an evident necessity; also approving very much of the Steps whereby you mean to do it. But withal, I reiterate my Commands to you for the Prince's going over, whenever there shall be a visible hazard of his falling into the Rebels hands. In the mean time, I like very well that he should be at the head of the Army; and so much the rather, for what I shall now impart to you of my resolution, &c. And so proceeded in the Communication of his own design of taking the Field; which was afterwards frustrated by the defeat of my Lord *Jeffrey*, and the ill success in the West.

THE Prince having staid some days at *Trow*, went to *The Prince Penderennis*; intending only to recreate himself for two or three

three days; and to quicken the Works, which were well advanced, his Highness having issued all the Money he could procure, towards the finishing of them. But, in the very Morning that he meant to return to *Trois*, his Army being then retired, and *Bairfax* at the edge of *Cornwall*, the Lord *Hopton* and the Lord *Capel* sent Advertisements, ⁴¹ that they ⁴² had severally receiv'd Intelligence of a design to seize the ⁴³ Person of the Prince; and that many Persons of Quality of ⁴⁴ the Country were privy to it. Hereupon the Prince thought it most convenient to fly where he was, and so return'd no more to *Trois*. The time of apparent danger was now in view, and if there were in truth any design of seizing the Prince's Person, they had reason to believe that some of his own Savans were not strangers to it. The Lord *Capel* and *Hopton* being at the Army; only the Prince, the Lord *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, knew the King's Pleasure, and what was to be done. And they two had no confidence, that they should have Reputation enough to go through with it; the Earl of *Brock-hire* continuing very jealous of the design of going into *France*, whatever they laid to the contrary: The Governour of the Castle was Old and Fearful, and not resolute enough to be trusted; and his Son, though a gallant Gentleman, and worthy of any Trust, had little Credit with his Father.

THERE was no Letter from the King (though they had long before desired such a one, and propoed the Form) fit to be publicly shew'd; in which there were not some Clauses which would have been applied to his Majesty's difference; especially if he should have been at *London*, which was then confidently averr'd by some, who swore ⁴⁵ they met him at ⁴⁶ *Usbridge*. Therefore these two Counsellors concluded, ⁴⁷ that ⁴⁸ the Prince's going away must seem to be the effect of Coarced upon necessity, and the appearance of danger to his Person, without any mention of the King's Command. But how to procure this Resolution from the Council was the difficulty. They very well knew the Lords minds who were absent, but durst not own that knowledge, lest the design might be more suspected: In the end, having advised *Baldwin Waters*, to cause the Frigate belonging to *Hoffman*, and the other Ships, to be ready upon an hours warning; they proposed in Council, when the Lords *Berk-shire*, and *Brensford* were present, ⁴⁹ to send *Mr Fanshawe* to the Army, to receive the ⁵⁰ opinion and advice of the Lords that were there: what was ⁵¹ to be done with reference to the Person of the Prince, ⁵² and whether it were fit to hazard him in *Pendennis*; which was accordingly done. Their Lordships, according to the former agreement between them, return'd their advice, ⁵³ that ⁵⁴

⁵⁵ it was not fit to adventure his Highness in that Castle ⁵⁶ (which would not only not preserve his Person, but probably, by his stay there, might be lost; but by his absence ⁵⁷ might defend it self) and that he should remove to *Jersey* ⁵⁸ or *Silly*. This, upon *Mr Fanshawe's* report, was unanimously consented to by the whole Council.

BUT because *Jersey* was so near to *France*, and so might give the greater umbrage, and that *Silly* was part of *Cornwall*, and was by them all conceiv'd a place of unquestionable strength, the publick Resolution was for *Silly*, it being in their power, when they were at Sea, to go for *Jersey*, if the Wind was fair for one, and cross to the other. So the Resolution being imparted to no more than that Night, than was of absolute necessity (for we apprehended clamour from the Army, from the Country, and from that Garrison in whose Power the Prince was) the next Morning, being *Monday*, the second of *March*, after the News was come that the Army was retiring from *Bridgwater*, and the Enemy marching furiously after, and thereby Men were sufficiently awak'd with the apprehension of the Prince's Safety; the Governour and his Son were call'd into the Council, and made acquainted with the Prince's Resolution, ⁵⁹ that Night to embark himself for *Silly*, ⁶⁰ being a part of *Cornwall*; from whence, by such aids and ⁶¹ relief, as he hoped he should procure from *France* and *Foreign* parts, he should be best able to relieve them. And accordingly, that Night, about ten of the Clock, he put himself on Board; and on *Wednesday* in the Afternoon, arriv'd safe in *Silly*; from whence, within two days, the Lord *Colepepper* was sent into *France*, to acquaint the Queen ⁶² with ⁶³ his Highness's being at *Silly*; with the Wants and Incommodities of that place; and to desire supply of Men and ⁶⁴ Monies for the Defence thereof, and the Support of his ⁶⁵ own Person; it being agreed in Council, before the Lord *Colepepper's* going from *Silly*, ⁶⁶ that if, upon advancement of ⁶⁷ the Parliament Fleet, or any other apparent danger, his ⁶⁸ Highness should have cause to suspect the security of his ⁶⁹ Person there (the strength of the place in no degree answering expectation, or the fame of it) ⁷⁰ he would immediately Embark himself in the same Frigate (which attended there) ⁷¹ and go to *Jersey*.

WHEN the Lord *Hopton* found that he could put no restraint to the Licence of the Soldiers, he call'd a Council of War to consider what was to be done. The principal Officers of Horse were so far from considering any Means to put their Men in order, and heart to face the Enemy, that they declared in plain *English*, ⁷² that their Men would never be brought to Fight; and therefore propos'd positively, ⁷³

to send for a Treaty: From which not one Officer dissent'd, except only Major General *Wob*, who always profess'd against it. The Lord *Hopton* told them, "it was a thing he could not consent to without expels leave from the Prince (who was then at *Pendennis-Castle*) to whom he would immediately dispatch away an Express; hoping, that, by that delay, he should be able to recover the Officers to a better Resolution; or that, by the advance of the Enemy, they would be compell'd to Fight. But they continued their importunity, and at last (no doubt by the advice of our own Men; for many, both Officers and Soldiers, went every day in to them) a Trumpet arriv'd from *St Thomas Fairfax* with a Letter to the Lord *Hopton*, offering a Treaty, and making some Propositions to the Officers and Soldiers. His Lordship Communicated not this Letter to above one or two, of principal Trust; conceiving it not fit, in that disorder and dejection, to make it publick. Hereupon, all the principal Officers assemble together (except the Major General, *Wob*) and expressing much discontent that they might not see the Letter, declare peremptorily to the Lord *Hopton*, "that if he would not consent to it, they were resolv'd to Treat themselves. And from that time they neither kept Guards, nor perform'd any Duty; Their Horic every day mingling with those of the Enemy, without any Act of Hostility. In this freight, the Lord *Hopton* having sent his Ammunition and Foot into *Pendennis*, and the Mount, and declared, "that he would neither Treat for himself nor the Garrisons, he gave the Horic leave to Treat; and thereupon those Articles were concluded, by which that Body of Horic was dissolv'd; and Himself and the Lord *Cupel*, with the first Wind, went from the Mount to *Silly*, to attend his Highness; who, as is said, was gone thither from *Pendennis-Castle*, after the Enemies whole Army was enter'd *Cornwall*.

The Lord
Hopton's
Army dis-
solv'd.

Touching
The 15-
million Pri-
soner at
Pendennis.

HAVING left the Prince in *Silly*, so near the end of that unprosperous year 1645 (for it was upon the three and twentieth of *March*) that there will be no more occasion of mentioning him till the next year, and being now to leave *Cornwall*, it will be necessary to inform the Reader of one particular. It is at large set down, in a former Book, what proceedings had been at *Oxford* against Duke *Hamilton*; and how he had been first sent Prisoner to *Bristol*, and from thence to *Pendennis-Castle* in *Cornwall*. And since we shall hereafter find him acting a great part for the King, and General in the Head of a great Army, it would be very incongruous, after having spent so much time in *Cornwall* without so much as naming him, to leave Men ignorant what became of him, and how he obtain'd his Liberty, which he employ'd afterwards

wards with so much Zeal for the King's Service to the loss of his Life; by which he was not only vindicated, in the opinion of many Honest Men, from all those Jealousies and Apprehensions, he had long suffer'd under; but the proceeding that had been against him at *Oxford*, was looked upon by many as void of that Justice and Policy, which had been requisite; and they concluded by what he did after a long Imprisonment, how much he might have done more Successfully, if he had never been restrain'd. Without doubt, what he did afterwards, and what he Suffer'd, ought, in great measure, to free his Memory from any Reproaches for the Errors, or Weakness, of which he had before been guilty. What were the Motives, and Inducements of his Commitment, have been at large set down before in the proper place. It remains now, only to set down how he came at last to be possess'd of his Liberty, and why he obtain'd it no sooner, by other more gracious ways from the King; which might have been an obligation upon him; when it might easily have been foreseen, that he must be, in a short time, at Liberty, notwithstanding any opposition.

WHEN the Prince first visit'd *Cornwall*, to settle his own Revenue of that Ditchy; which was the only support he had, and out of which he provided for the carrying on the King's Service, upon many emergent occasions; he spent some days at *Trow*, to settle his duty upon the Tiths, by Virtue of his ancient Privilege of Preemption. And in that time, which was about the end of *July*, the Governour of *Pendennis-Castle* invited him to dine there; which his Highness willingly accepted, that he might take a full View of the Situation and Strength thereof; having it then in his view, that he might probably be compell'd to resort thither. Every Man knew well that Duke *Hamilton* was then a Prisoner there, and therefore it was to be consider'd, what the Prince was to do, if the Duke should desire, as without doubt he would, to kiss his hand. And it was resolv'd without dispute, "that the Prince was not to admit such a Person into his Presence, who should do much in his Father's displeasure, and was committed to Prison by him; and that none of "the Council, or of his Highness's Servants, should visit, or "enter into any kind of correspondence with him. Thereupon the Governour was advis'd, in regard the Accommodations in the Castle were very narrow, "that, during the "time the Prince was in the Castle, the Duke should be remov'd out of his Chamber into one of the Soldier's Houses, which was done accordingly. This the Duke took very heavily, lamenting "that he might not be admitted to see the "Prince; and had a desire to have conferr'd with the Lord

Cole-

Colepepper, or the Chancellor, which they were not then at liberty to have satisfied him in. He afterwards renew'd the same desire to them both, by his Servant Mr. *Hamilton*. Hereupon, when the Chancellor was shortly after sent to visit the Ports of *Faulfow*, the Mount, and *Pendennis*, which was about the middle of *August* (the business being, under that disguise, to provide for the Prince's Transportation, when it should be necessary) the Prince retir'd it to him, "to see if the Duke, if he was to find it convenient. When he came to *Pendennis*, and was to stay there necessarily some days, he was inform'd, "that the Duke came always abroad to Meals, and "that at that time all Men spoke freely with him: So that, either he was to be made a close Prisoner by his being there, or they were to meet at Supper and Dinner. The Governour then asked him, "whether the Duke should come a-broad. The Chancellor had neither Authority nor Reason to make any alteration; therefore he told him, "he knew "his own course, which he presumed he would observe who- "ever came; and that if the Duke pleas'd, he would wait "upon him in his Chamber, to kiss his hands before Supper; "which he did.

WHEN some Civilities to him whom he had long known, and some Reproaches to the Governour, who was present, "of his very strict usage and carriage towards "him; which, he said he believ'd he could not justify (whereas the Chancellor well knew, that the Governour was absolutely govern'd by him) spoke to him of his own condition, and "of his Misfortune to fall into his Majesty's dis- "pleasure, without having giving him any Offence. He told him, "that he had very much desired to speak with him, "that he might make a Proposition to him, which he thought "for the King's Service; and he desired, if it seem'd so to "Him, that he would find means to recommend it to his "Majesty, and to procure his acceptance of it. Then he told him, "that he was an absolute Stranger to the Affairs of both "Kingdoms, having no other Intelligence, than what he receiv'd from Gentlemen whom he met in the next Room at "Dinners; but he believ'd, by his Majesty's late loss at "Naseby, that his condition in *England* was very much worse "than his Servants hop'd it would have been; and therefore, "that it might concern him to transact his business in *Scot- "land* as soon as might be: that he knew not in what state "the Lord *Montrose* was in that Kingdom, but he was per- "suaded that he was not without opposition. He said, "he "was confident that if he himself had his liberty, he could "do the King considerable Service, and either incline that "Nation powerfully to mediate a Peace in *England*, or po- "sitively

"positively to declare for the King, and join with *Montrose*. He said, "he knew, it was believ'd by many, that the An- "imosity was so great from him to *Montrose*, who indeed "had done him very causeless injuries, that he would rather "mediate Revenge than concur with him in any Action; "but, he said, he too well understood his own danger, if the "King and Monarchy were destroy'd in this Kingdom, to "think of Private Contention and matters of Revenge, when "the Publick was so much at Stake. And he must acknow- "ledge, how unjust forever the Lord *Montrose* had been to "him, he had done the King great Service; and therefore "proceeded with many Affidavits, "he should join with "him in the King's behalf, as with a Brother; and if he could "not win his own Brother from the other Party, he would "be as much against Him. He said, he could not apprehend "that his Liberty could be any way prejudicial to the King; "for he would be a Prisoner still upon his Parole; and would "engage his Honour, that if he found he could not be able "to do his Majesty that acceptable Service, which he desired "of which he had not the least doubt) he would peacefully "return, and render himself a Prisoner again in the place "where he then was. In this discourse he made very great "professions, and expressions of his Devotion to the King's Ser- "vice, of his Obligations to him, and of the great confidence he "had, in this particular, of being useful to his Majesty.

AFTER he made some pause, in expectation of what the Chancellor would say, the Chancellor told him, "he doubted "not but he was very able to serve the King both in that and "in this Kingdom; there being very many in both who had "a principal dependence upon him: that he heard the King "was making some Propositions to the *Scottish* Army in *Eng- "land*, and that it would be a great increase of his Affection "and Fidelity to the King, if by any Message from him to "his Friends, and Dependents in the *Scottish* Army then be- "ing at *Hereford*, or to his Friends in *Scotland*, his Brother be- "ing the head or prime Person of Power there that oppos'd "Montrose, they should declare for the King, or appear wil- "ling to do him Service; and that he having free liberty to "send, through the Parliament's Army, to *London*, or into "Scotland, he might as soon do the King this Service, as re- "ceive a Warrant for his enlargement; which, he presumed, "he knew could not be granted but by the King himself.

THE Duke replied, "that he expected that Answer, but "that it was not possible for him to do any thing by Message "or Letter, or any way but by his Presence: First, that they, "in whom he had interest, would look upon any thing he "should write, or any Message he should send, as the reful- "a of

of distress and compulsion, not of his affection or judgement: Besides, he said, he look'd upon himself as very odious to that Nation, which was reconciled to him for his zeal to the King, and thought this a just judgement of God upon him for not adhering to them. And, he said, for his own Brother, who he heard indeed had the greatest influence upon their Countrey, he had no reason to be confident in him, at that distance; for, besides the extreme injury he had done him, in making an escape from Oxford, by which both their innocencies were made to be suspected, and for which he should never forgive him, he was the Heir of the House and Family; and he believ'd, would be content that himself should grow old and dye in Prison: whereas, if he were at liberty, and amongst them, he was confident some for love, and others for fear, would stick to him; and he should easily make it appear to those who were interest'd against the King, that it concern'd their own interest to support the King in his just power. However, he concluded, that the worst that could come was his returning to Prison, which he would not fail to do. So the discourse ended for that Night.

The next day the Duke enter'd again into the same Argument, with much earnestness, that the Chancellor would interpose, upon that ground, for his liberty; who told him, that he was for ill a Courtier, that he could not dissemble to him: that he was not satisfied with his Reasons, and could not but believe, he had interest enough, at that distance, to make some real demonstration of his Affection to the King, by the impression he might make upon his Dependents and Allies: and therefore that he could not offer any advice to the King, to the purpose he desired. He told him, that he had been present at the Council-Table when the King communicated that business, which concern'd him, to the Board; and that he gave his opinion fully, and earnestly, for his Commitment; being satisfied, upon the Information that was given concerning him; that his Affection to the King was very Questionable; and that it appear'd, that he had been earnestly press'd by those Persons of Honour in that Kingdom, upon whom his Majesty relied, to declare himself; and that if he could have been induced so to do, having promised the King he would, and having Authority to that purpose from him, they might very easily have suppressed that Rebellion in the bud: but that his Lordship and his Brother, were so far from opposing it, that the very proclamation which had issued out therefor the general Intercession (which Proclamation was perus'd at Council-Table, when he was committed) was not only set forth in

his Majesty's own Name, but Sealed with his Signet; which was then in the Custody of the Earl of Leinster his Brother, he being Secretary of State in that Kingdom. That those who were the principal Informers against him, and who professed that they could do no Service, if he were at liberty, now since his restraint, being arm'd with no more Authority than he had, at his last being there, when the Kingdom was in Peace, had, upon all disadvantages imaginable, when that Kingdom was totally lost to the King, reduced the greatest part of it again to his obedience; and therefore, whether it was his Lordship's Misfortune, or his Fault, since things prosper'd so well in his absence, he could not as a Counselor, advise the King, without the privacy and consent of the Lord Mountrose, or without some such Testimony of his Service, as he had before propos'd, to give him his Liberty; and that any ill success, which possibly might have no relation to that Act, would yet be imputed to that Counsel; and the Lord Mountrose have at least a just, or probable excuse, for any thing that should happen amiss.

The Duke thanked him for the freedom he had us'd towards him; and said, upon the Information which was given against him, he must acknowledge the proceedings to be very just; but he was confident, whenever he should be admitted to a fair hearing, he should appear very innocent from the Allegations which had been given. He said, he had never made the least promise to the King, which he had not exactly perform'd; that he had not Authority or Power to cross any thing that was done to the prejudice of the King; and therefore to have made any such Attempt, or Declaration, as some Lords had desired, in that constant course of time, had been to have deliv'd themselves to no purpose: and therefore, he made haste to the King with such Propositions, and Overtures, that he was confident, if he had been admitted to have spoken with his Majesty, at his coming to Oxford, he should have given good satisfaction to them; and then intended immediately to have return'd into Scotland, with such Authority and Countenance, as the King could well have given him; and doubted not but to have prevented any inconvenience from that Kingdom: but that by his Imprisonment (which he could not have prevented, for he had notice upon his Journey, what was intended, and trust'd so much in his innocence, that he would not avoid it) all those designs failed. For his Brother, he could say nothing; but he believ'd him an honest Man; and for the proceedings of the Lord Mountrose, though he had received good assistance from Ireland, which was a good Foundation, Vol. II. Part 2. Bbb he

“ he could not but say, it had been little less than miraculous: “ however, he pretended the work was not so near done “ there, but that his Assistance might be very reasonable. After this they spoke often together, but this was the substance and result of all; he insisting upon his present Liberty, and the other as pressing, that he would write to his Friends. Yet the Chancellor promised him “ so present, by the first “ convenience, his Suit and Proposition to the King; which he shortly after did in a Letter to the Lord Digby.

Upon the first news of the loss of the Battle of *Nashby*, it was enough foreseen, that the Prince himself might be pur to retreat to *Pendennis* Castle. Therefore they wisd, “ that “ it might be in the Prince’s power, upon an emergent occa- “ sion, to remove the Duke from that place. Which consideration the Lord *Colchester* presented to the King, at his being with him in *Hales*; and thereupon a Warrant was sent from the King, for the removal of the Duke to *Silly*; which was likewise foreseen that the Prince might repair to. As the Enemy drew nearer the West, many good Men were very solicitous, that the Duke should be removed from *Pendennis*, having a great jealousy of the interest he had in the Governour, of which there was too universal a suspicion, that many Letters were writ to the Council, “ that if he were not “ speedily dispos’d to some other place, they feared the Castle “ would be betrayed; and *St Richard Greenvil* writ earnestly to the Prince about it, as did *St Harry Killigrew* (a Person of entire Affections to the King, and a true Friend of the Governour) very importunately. So that about the Month of *November*, the King’s Warrant for his removal was sent to *St Arthur Basset* Governour of the Mount, who went to *Pendennis* in the Morning, and took him with him to the Mount, in order to remove him to *Silly*, when the time should require it; the Duke expressing great trouble and discontent that he should be removed, and pretending, “ that he could not ride “ for the Stone (of which he complain’d so much, that he had petition’d the King for leave to go into *France* to be cur’d) and the Governour, and all that Family and Garrison, made show of no less grief to part with him, he having begotten a great opinion in that People of his Integrity and Innocence. But when the Duke saw there was no Remedy, he mounted a Horse that was provided for him, and parted the Journey very well.

AFTER the loss of *Dartmouth*, some Persons of near trust about the Prince resumed the discourse again of enlarging the Duke, and believ’d that he would be able to do the King great Service in the business of *Scotland*; and this prevailed so far with one of the Lords of the Council, that, upon the confidence

Duke Hamilton is remov’d to the Mount.

confidence of *Dr Fraser*, the Prince’s Physician, he made a Journey with the Duke to the Mount; and did think, that he had so much prevailed with the Duke, that he had conferr’d “ to send a Servant speedily to the *Scottish Army* in *England* “ (who should likewise pass by the King, and carry any Letters to his Majesty from the Prince) to persuade them to comply with the King; and that he would likewise dispatch “ *Charles Murray* into *Scotland*, intrusted to his Brother *Leitch* “ *rick*, and that Party, to oblige them to join with *Montrose*. “ But *Dr Fraser* confest to those he trusted, that the Duke “ rather consented to it to satisfy that Lord’s vehemence and importunity, than that he had any great hope of success by it; insinuating still, that nothing but his own Liberty would “ do it: for which he gave a reason, that before had never been heard of, and was very contrary to what the Duke had said to the Chancellor, which was, “ that the State of *Scotland* “ was so sensible of the injury done to the Duke by his imprisonment (which he had said before that they were very glad “ of) that they had made an Order, that there should never be “ a Treaty with the King, or agreeing with *Montrose*, till he “ was at Liberty, or brought to a legal Trial. And when “ *Charles Murray* went to him for his instructions, though he said much for him to say again to his Friends, and his Brother, towards their declaring for the King, he discouraged him much as to the Journey, representing to him “ his own danger, and the strict Orders that were in *Scotland* against dissenting Movings; of which, he said, he feared this would be “ taken for one.

THIS made the Council to have no mind to be engaged in any Treaty with him, and less in proposing or consenting to his Liberty; not only upon the former knowledge they had of his disposition and nature, but also that they believ’d, if he were not sincere, he would do much mischief; and the more for being in any degree trusted; if he were sincere, that he would be able to do more good for the King, by being redempt out of Prison by the Enemy, than by being released by the King or Prince. And therefore, when the Prince remov’d in that hast and disorder from *Pendennis* to *Silly*, there was no possibility of removing him; so that, at the surrender of the Mount, which was, by his advice, much sooner than they had reason to do it, when they were able to defend themselves for many Months, he was enlarg’d, and remov’d himself to *London* by speedy Journeys on Horseback; and did never after complain of the Stone; which he before protest’d “ would kill him, if he were not cur’d with “ in a year.

The King's
transformation
at Oxford.

THE HISTORY Book IX.
We left the King in Oxford, free from the trouble and unquietness of those perpetual and wandering Marches, in which he had been so many Months exercised; and quiet from all rude and insolent provocations. He was now amongst his true and faithful Councillors and Servants, whose Affection and Loyalty had first engaged them in his Service, and made them stick to him to the end; and who, if they were not able to give him assistance, to stee that mighty Torrent that overbore both Him and Them, paid him full the Duty that was due to him, and gave him no vexation when they could not give him comfort. There were yet some Garrisons remaining, to be preserved from any attempt of the Enemy. But upon the Approach of Spring, if the King should be without an Army in the Field, the Face of those few places was eadie to be discern'd. And which way an Army could possibly be brought together, or where it should be raised, was not without the compass of the wisest Man's comprehension. However, the more difficult was, the more vigour was to be applied in the attempt. *Worcester*, as it was Neighbouring to *Wales*, had the greatest Outlet and Elbow-room; and the Parliament party that had gotten any Footing there, behaved themselves with that Insolence and Tyranny, that even they who had called them thither, were weary of them, and ready to enter into any combination to destroy them. Upon which to some of the better sort, the King sent the Lord *Abbley* profeet, and some invitations, in his being at *Cardiff*, constituted Governor of those Parts, in the place of the Lord *Gerrard*) to *Worcester*, to order ^{to} proceed, as he should find himself able, towards the gathering a Body of Horse together, against the Springs, from those Garrisons which were left, and from *Wales*; and what progress he made towards it will be soon known.

When a full profeet, upon the most mature deliberation, was taken of all the hopes which might with any reason be conceiv'd, all that occur'd, appear'd so hopeless and desperate, that it was thought fit to resort to an old expedient, that had been found as desperate as any; which was a new Overture for a Treaty of Peace: for which the King advis'd it, had no other reason, but that they could not tell what else to do. *Cromwell* had left *Fairfax* in the north, with a Party Selected had set down before *Basing*, *Wells*, and with a Party Selected having been rejected, he soon d gain the and the Place and took it, and put most of the Garrison to the Sword: and a little before *Worcester* had Surrender'd upon easy conditions. The lesser Garrisons in the North, which had stood out till now, were render'd every day; and

Scottish

Scottish Army, which had march'd as far as their own Borders, was called back, and required to Besiege *Newark*. So that whoever thought the sending to the Parliament (pass'd up and down with so many Successes) for a Peace, would prove to no purpose, was not yet able to tell, what was like to prove to better purpose. This reflection alone prevail'd with the King, who had enough experienced those inclinations, to refer entirely to the Council, ^{to} choose any expedient, ^{they} thought most probable to succeed, and to prepare any Message they would advise his Majesty to send to the Parliament. And when they had consider'd it, the Overtures he had already made, by two several Messages, to which he had receiv'd no Answer, were so ample, that they knew not what addition to make to them; but concluded, that this Message should contain nothing but a reinment of That, and a demand of an Answer to the Messages his Majesty had formerly sent for a Treaty of Peace.

This Message had the same entertainment which the former had receiv'd. It was receiv'd, read, and then laid aside without any Debate; which they who will'd well to it, had not credit or courage to advance; yet still find means to convey their advice to Oxford, that the King should not give over that opportunity; and they who had little hopes of better effects from it, were yet of opinion, that the neglecting those gracious invitations, made by his Majesty for Peace, would shortly make the Parliament so odious, that they would not dare long to continue in the same obstinacy. The Sort were griev'd and enrag'd, to see their Idol Presbytery so undervalued, and slighted, that besides the Independents power in the City, their very Assembly of Divines every day lost Credit and Authority to support it; and desired nothing more than a Treaty for Peace; and many others who had contributed most to the suppression of the King's Power; were now much more afraid of their own Army, than ever they had been of His Authority; and believ'd, that if a Treaty were once set on foot, it would not be in the power of the most violent to render it ineffectual; or whatever they believ'd themselves, they convey'd this to some about the King, as the concurrent advice of all who pretended to will well: And some Men took upon them to send the subject of what Message the King should send, and cloath'd in such expressions, as they conceiv'd were like to gain ground; which his Majesty could not but graciously accept; though he very seldom unarm'd their Style.

AFTER the King had long expected an Answer to his last Message, induc'd by those and the like reasons above mention'd, he sent again to the Parliament, that they they would

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The King
in his answer
his Message for
had sent, which
was not
sent by the
House.

his Majesty
and such
sent for a soft
Council for
the Duke of
Richmond
and others.

send a Safe Conduct for the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Southampton, Mr John Albarrans, and Mr Geoffrey Palmer; by whom he would make such particular Propositions to them as he hoped would produce a Peace. To this they return'd an Answer, such as it was, "that it would be inconvenient, and might be of dangerous consequence, to admit those Lords and Gentlemen to come into their Quarters; but that they were preparing some Propositions, which, when finish'd, should be sent to his Majesty in Bills, to be Sign'd by him; which would be the only way to produce a Peace. The King understood well what such Bills would contain, and which when he had granted, he should have nothing left to deny; and therefore liked not, that such conclusions should be made without a Treaty. He refus'd once more to try another way, which having been sever yet try'd, he believ'd they could not deny; and if granted, what hazard forever his Person should be in, he should discover, whether he had so many Friends in the Parliament, and the City, as many Men would persuade him to conclude; and whether the Scots had ever a thought of doing him Service. He sent to them, towards the end of December, "that since all other Overtures had prov'd ineffectual. He desired to enter into a Personal Treaty with the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland, upon all matters which might conduce to the Peace and Happiness of the distracted Kingdoms; and to that purpose his Majesty would come to London, or Westminster, with such of his Servants as most attended him, and their followers, not exceeding in the whole the Number of three hundred Persons, if he might have the engagement of the two Houses of Parliament, the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland, of the Chief Commanders in St Thomas Water's Army, and of those of the Scotch Army, for his Free and Safe coming to, and abode in London, or Westminster, for the space of forty days; and after that time, for his Free and Safe repair to Oxford, Worcester, or Newcastle, if a Peace should not be concluded. For their better encouragement to hope well from this Treaty, his Majesty offer'd to settle the Militia in such Provinces as should be acceptable to them.

This Message indeed awaken'd them, and made them believe that the Gamesters who were to play this Game, look'd into their hands, and hoped to find a Party in their own Quarters; and that if they should neglect to send an Answer to this Message, their Silence might be taken for consent, and that they should quickly hear the King was in London; which they did not will. They made thereupon more than ordinary

ordinary hall, to let his Majesty know, "that there had been no delay on their part; but for the Personal Treaty desired by his Majesty, after so much Innocent Blood shed in the War by his Commands, and Commissions (with the mention of many other odious particulars) "they conceiv'd, "that until Satisfaction and Security were first given to both Kingdoms, his Majesty's coming thither could not be convenient, nor by them consented to; nor did they apprehend "it a means conducing to Peace, to accept of a Treaty for few days, with any thoughts or intentions of returning to Hostility again. They observ'd, "that his Majesty desired the engagement, not only of the Parliament, but of the Chief Commanders in St Thomas Water's Army, and those of the Scotch Army; which, they said, was against the Privilege and Honour of Parliament, to have those joys'd with them, who were Subject and Subordinate to their Authority. They renew'd what they had said in their last Answer, "that they would shortly send some Bills to his Majesty, the signing of which would be the best way to procure a good, and a safe Peace.

THOUGH the King was not willing to acquiesce with this stubborn rejection, but sent Message upon Message full to push them for a better Answer, and at last offer'd "to dismisse all his Garrisons, and so come to and reside with his Parliament, if all they who had adhered to him, might be at liberty to live in their own Houses, and to enjoy their own Estates, without being oblig'd to take any Oaths, but "what were enjoyn'd by the Law; he could never procure any other Answer from them. And left all this should not appear Assured enough, they publish'd an Ordinance, as their Ordinance says, "that if the King should, contrary to the advice of the Parliament already given to him, come, or attempt to come, within the Lines of Communication, the Committee of the Militia should raise such Forces as they should think fit, to prevent any Tumult that might arise by his coming, "and to suppress any that should happen; and to apprehend any who should come with him, or resort to him; and to secure his Person from Danger: which was an expression they were not sham'd always to use, when there was no Danger that threaten'd him, but what themselves contriv'd, and design'd against him. To this their Ordinance, they added another Injunction, "that all who had ever borne Arms for his Majesty (whereof very many upon the Surrender of Garrisons, and liberty granted to them, by their Articles upon those Surrenders, were come thither) "should immediately depart, and go out of London, upon penalty of being proceeded against as Spies. So that all doors being

in this obdurate manner, that against a Treaty, all thoughts of That, at least with reference to the Parliament, were laid aside; and all endeavours used to get such a power together, as might make them see that his Majesty was not out of all possibility of being yet able to defend himself.

The King was to deal with the Independent dependents:

What it is all hopes, as I said, were desperate of any Treaty with the Parliament, and consequently many hazards were to be run, in the contriving a Peace any other way; the sustaining the War, with any probability of Success, was the next desirable thing to a Peace, and preferable before any such Peace, as was probably to be hoped for from the Party that govern'd the Army, which govern'd the Parliament. The King therefore used all the means which occur'd to him, or which were advised and propoed by others, to divide the Independent Party; and to prevail with some principal Persons of them, to find their Content and Satisfaction in advancing his Interest. That Party comprehended many who were not so much Enemies to the State, or to the Church, as not to desire heartily that a Peace might be establish'd upon the foundations of Both, so their own particular Ambitions might be comply'd with. To them the King thought he might be able to propose very valuable Compensations for any Service they could do Him; and the power of the Presbyterians, as they were in conjunction with the Scots, seem'd so unnatural Argument to work upon those, who profess'd to be sway'd by matter of Liberty of Conscience in Religion: since it was out of all question, that they should never find the least satisfaction in their Scruples and their Principles in Church Government, from those who pretend to Erect the Kingdom of *Jesus Christ*. And it was thought to be no ill Preface towards the repairing of the Fabrick of the Church of *England*, that it's two Mortal Enemies, who had expos'd it to so much Persecution and Oppression, hated each other as mortally, and labour'd each others Destruction, with the same Fury and Zeal they had both profic'd towards Her. This reasonable imagination very much dispos'd the King, who was well acquainted with the univ'rsal Spirit and Malice of the Presbyterians, to think it possible that he might receive some benefit from the Independents; a Faction newly grown up, and with which he was utterly unacquainted: and his Majesty's extraordinary Affection for the Church made him the less weigh and consider the incompatibility, and irreconcilableness of that Faction with the Government of the State; of which, it may be, he was the less sensible, because he thought nothing more impossible, than that the *English* Nation should submit to any other than Monarchical Government. There were besides an over-active and busy kind of Men, who still undertook

undertook to make Overtures as agreeable to the will of some principal Leaders of that Party, and as with their Authority, and so prevail'd with the King, to suffer some Persons of Credit near him, to make some Propositions, in his Name, to particular Persons. And it is very probable, that as the same Men, made the expectations of those People appear to the King much more reasonable and moderate, than in truth they were, so they persuad'd the others to believe, that his Majesty would yield to many more important Concessions, than he would ever be induc'd to grant. So either side had, in a short time, a clear view into each others intentions, and quickly gave over any expectation of benefit that way; save that the Independents were willing, that the King should cherish the hopes of their compliance, and the King as willing that they should believe that his Majesty might be prevail'd with to grant more, than at first he appear'd resolv'd to do.

THE truth is, though that Party was most prevalent in the Parliament; and comprehended all the Superior Officers of the Army (the General only excepted; who thought himself a Presbyterian) yet there were only three Men, *Pease*, *Cromwell*, and *Irwin*, who govern'd and dispos'd all the rest according to their Sentiments; and without doubt they had not yet published their dark designs to many of their own Party, nor would their Party, at that time, have been so numerous and considerable, if they had known, or but imagin'd, that they had enter'd those thoughts of Heart, which they grew every day less tender to conceal, and forward enough to discover.

THERE was another Intrigue now set on foot, with much more probability of Success, both in respect of the thing it *seem'd* self, and the circumstances with which it came accompanied; *the Scots*; and that was a Treaty with the Scots, by the Interposition and Mediation of the Crown of *France*; which, to that purpose at this time, sent an Envoy, one *Montrevil*, to London, with some of his former formal Address to the Parliament, but intentionally to negotiate between the King and the Scots, whose Agent at *Paris* had given encouragement to the Queen of *England*, then *in France* there, to hope that That Nation would return to their Duty; and the Queen Regent, in the great generosity of her Heart, did really desire to contribute all that was in Her Power to the King's recovery. To that purpose, she sent *Montrevil* at this time with Credentials to the King, as well as to the Parliament; by which the Queen had opportunity to Communicate her Advice to the King her Husband; and the Envoy had Authority to engage the Faith of *France*, for the performance of whatsoever the King should promise to the Scots.

THE

THIS was the first Inſult, and it will appear a very forry one, that a Foreign Sovereign Prince gave, of willing a Reconciliation, or to put a period to the Civil War in his Majesty's Dominions; towards the contrivance whereof, and the frequent fomenting it, too many of them contributed too much. The old Maxim, "that the Crown of England could Balance the Differences which fell out between the Princes of Europe, by it's inclining to either Party, had made the Ministers of our State too negligent in cultivating the Affections of their Neighbours; by any real Obligations; as if they were to be Ambassadors only in the Differences which fell out between others, without being themselves liable to any impression of adverse Fortune. This made the unexpected Calamity that befel this Kingdom not ingrateful to it's Neighbours on all sides; who were willing to see it weaken'd and chastis'd by it's own strokes.

CARDINAL Richelieu, out of the haughtiness of his own nature, and immoderate appetite of revenge, under the disguise of being jealous of the Honour of his Master, had discover'd an implacable hatred against the English, ever since that unhappy provocation by the Invasion of the Isle of Re, and the declared Protection of *Richelieu*; and took the first opportunity, from the indispofition and manners of *Scotland*, to warm that People into Rebellion, and saw the Poyſon thereof prosper, and spread to his own will; which he fomented by the French Embaſſador in the Parliament, when all the Venome of his Heart; as hath been mention'd before. As he had not unwiſely deſign'd the Queen Mother out of *France*, or rather kept her from returning, when she had unwiſedly withdrawn her ſelf from thence, fo he was as vigilant to keep her Daughter, the Queen of England, from coming thither; which she reſolv'd to have done, when the carried the Princess Royal into *Holland*; in hope to work upon the King her Brother, to make ſuch a reaſonable Declaration againſt the Rebels of England, and Scotland, as might terrify them from the farther prosecution of their wicked purposes. But it was made known to her, "that her Preſence would not be acceptable in France; and ſo, for the preſent, that enterprize was declin'd.

BUT that great Cardinal being now dead, and the King himſelf dying within a ſhort time after, the Administration of the Affairs of that Kingdom, in the Infancy of the King, and under his Mother, the Queen Regent, was committed to Cardinal *Maſcarin*, an Italian by Birth, and rais'd by *Richelieu* to the degree of a Cardinal, for his great dexterity in putting *Cajul* into the hands of France, when the *Spaniard* had given it up to him, as the Nuncio of the Pope, and in truſt that ſhould

ſhould remain in the Poſſeſſion of his Holmeſe, till the Title of the Duke of *Montau* ſhould be determin'd. This Cardinal was a Man rather of diſcretion, than contrary Parts from his Predeceſſor; and fitter to build upon the Foundations which he had laid, than to have laid thoſe Foundations; and to cultivate, by Aſſiſe, Dexterity, and Dilimulation (in which his Nature and Parts excell'd) what the other had begun with great Reſolution and Vigour, and even gone through with invincible Countenance and Courage. So that, the one having broken the heart of all oppoſition and contradiction to the Crown, by the cutting off the Head of the Duke of *Montmarſany*, and reducing *Montaur*, the Brother of the King, to the moſt tame ſubmiſſion, and incapacity of fomenting another Rebellion, it was very eaſy for the other, to find a compliance from all Men, now ſufficiently terrify'd from any contradiction. And how great things ſoever this laſt Miniſter perform'd for the Service of that Crown, during the Minority of the King, they may all, in juſtice, be imputed to the prudence and providence of Cardinal *Richelieu*; who had reduced and diſpoſed the whole Nation to an entire Subjection and ſubmiſſion to what ſhould be impoſed upon them.

CARDINAL *Maſcarin*, when he came fiſt to that great Miniſtry, was without any Perſonal Animosity againſt our King, or the English Nation; and was no otherwiſe delighted with the diſtraction and confuſion they were both involv'd in, than as it diſabled the whole People from making ſuch a conjunction with the *Spaniard*, as might make the prosecution of that War (upon which his whole Heart was ſet) the more diſcult to him: which he had the more reaſon to apprehend by the Reſidence of *Don Alojo de Cardeſnas*, Embaſſador from the King of Spain, ſtill at London, making all Addreſſes to the Parliament. When the Queen had been compell'd in the laſt year, upon the advance of the Earl of *Effex* into the Weſt, to Tranſport her ſelf out of Cornwall into France, ſhe had found there as good a reception, as she could expect; and receiv'd as many expreſſions of kindneſs from the Queen Regent, and as ample promiſes from the Cardinal, as she could wiſh. So that ſhe promiſed her ſelf a very good effect from her Journey; and did procure from him ſuch a plentiful ſupply of Armes and Ammunition, as, though of no great value in it ſelf, ſhe was willing to interpret, as a good evidence of the reality of his intentions. But the Cardinal did not yet think the King's Condition low enough; and rather deſir'd, by admitting little ordinary Supplies, to enable him to continue the ſtruggle, than to ſee him Victorious over his Enemies; when he might more remember, how ſtender Aid he had receiv'd, than that he had been aſſiſted; and might here-
after

after make himself Arbitrer of the Peace between the two Crowns. Wherefore he was more solicitous to keep a good correspondence with the Parliament, and to profess a Neutrality between the King and them, than inclined to give them any jealousy, by appearing much concern'd for the King.

BUT after the Battle of *Nassay* was lost, and that the King seem'd so totally defeated, that he had very little hope of appearing again in the head of an Army, that might be able to resist the Enemy, the Cardinal was Awakened to new Apprehensions; and saw more cause to fear the Monstrous power of the Parliament, after they had totally subdued the King, than ever he had to apprehend the excess of greatness in the Crown: and therefore, besides the frequent incitements he receiv'd from the generosity of the Queen Regent, who really desired to supply some Substantial relief to the King, he was himself willing to receive any Propositions from the Queen of *England*, by which she thought that the King her Husband's Service might be advanced; and had always the Dexterity and Artifice, by letting things fall in discourse, in the presence of those, who, he knew, would observe and report what they heard or conceiv'd, to cause that to be proposed to him, which he had most mind to do, or to engage himself in. So he had Application enough from the Governing Party of *Scotland* (who from the beginning had depended upon *France*, by the encouragement and promises of Cardinal *Richelieu*) to know how to direct them, to apply themselves to the Queen of *England*, that they might come recommended by her Majesty to him, as a good Expedient for the King's Service. For they were not now receiv'd in their Complaints of the Treatment they receiv'd from the Parliaments, and of the terrible apprehension they had of being disappointed of all their hopes, by the prevalence of the Independent Army, and of their Faction in both Houses; and therefore without nothing more, than a good opportunity to make a firm conjunct on with the King; towards which they had all encouragement from the Cardinal, if they made their address to the Queen, and if her Majesty would desire the Cardinal to conduct it. And because many things must be promised, on the King's behalf, to the *Scots* upon this their engagement, the Crown of *France* should give credit and engage, as well that the *Scots* should perform all that they should promise, as that the King should make good what he should be oblig'd to undertake by Him, or by the Queen on his behalf.

THIS was the occasion and ground of sending Monsieur *Montreuil* into *England*, as is mention'd before. He arriv'd there in *January*, with as much credit as the Queen Regent could give him to the *Scots*, and as the Queen of *England* could

Montreuil's State
papers with
the King.

could give him to the King; who likewise perswaded his Majesty, to believe, that *France* was now become really kind to him, and would engage all it's power to serve him; and have themselves henceforward very honestly; which his Majesty was willing to believe, when all other hopes had failed; and all the Overtures made by him for a Treaty had been rejected. But it was not long before he was undeceiv'd; and discern'd that this Treaty was not like to produce better fruit, than his former Overtures had done. For the first Information he receiv'd from *Montreuil*, after his arrival in *England*, and after he had conferred with the *Scottish* Commissioners, was, that they peremptorily insinued upon his Majesty's Condescension, and Promise, for the Establishment of the Presbyterian Government in *England*, as it was in *Scotland*; without which, he said, there was no hope, that they would ever joy with his Majesty; and therefore the Envoy press'd his Majesty to give them satisfaction therein, as the advice of the Queen Regent and the Cardinal, and likewise of the Queen of his Wife; which exceedingly troubled the King. And the *Scots* alledged conscientiously, that the Queen had expressly promised to *St Robert Moray* (a cunning and a detestable Man, who had been employ'd by them to her Majesty) that his Majesty should consent thereto. They produced a Writing sign'd by the Queen, and deliver'd to *St Robert Moray*, wherein there were such expressions concerning Religion, as nothing pleased the King; and made him look upon that Negotiation, as rather a Conspiracy against the Church, between the Roman Catholics and Presbyterians, than as an Expedient for his Restoration, or Preservation; and he was very much displeas'd with some Persons, of near trust about the Queen, to whose information, and advice, he imputed what her Majesty had done in that particular.

THESE THINGS he discern'd not, to let Monsieur *Montreuil* know, that the alteration of his Conscience; and that he would never consent to it; that what the Queen his Wife had seem'd to promise, proceeded from her not being well inform'd of the constitution of the Government of *England*; which could not consist with the change that was propos'd. But his Majesty offer'd, to give all the assurance imaginable, and hoped that the Queen Regent would engage her Royal word on his behalf in that particular, that the Maintenance and Support of the Episcopal Government in *England* should be not in any degree shake, or bring the least prejudice to that Government that was then sett'd in *Scotland*; and, farther he offer'd, that, if the *Scots* should desire to have the

free exercise of their Religion, according to their own practice and custom; whilst they should be at any time in England, he would assign them convenient places to that purpose in London, or any other part of the Kingdom, where they should desire it. Nor could all the Importunity or Arguments, used by *Montreuil*, prevail with his Majesty to enlarge those Concessions, or in the least to recede from the constancy of his resolution; though he intreated him of the distinction both the *Scottish* Commissioners, and the Presbyterians in London had in his Majesty's resolution, and averresence from gratifying them in that, which they always had, and always would insist upon; and that the *Scotts* were resolv'd to have no more to do with his Majesty; but to agree with the Independents; from whom they could have better conditions than from Him; and he fear'd such an Agreement was too far advanced already.

MANY Answers and Replies pass'd between the King and *Montreuil* in Cipher, and with all imaginable Secrecy; in which, whatever proposals were cast upon him afterwards, he always gave the King very clear and impartial information of the temper, and of the discourses of those People with whom he was to transact. And though he did, upon all occasions, with much exactness, advise his Majesty to consent to the unreasonable demands of the *Scotts*, which, he did believe, he would be at last compell'd to do, yet it is as certain, that he did use all the Arguments the Talent of his Understanding, which was a very good one, could suggest to him, to persuade the *Scotts* to be contented with what the King had to frankly offer'd and granted to them; and did all he could to persuade and convince them, that their own preservation, and that of their Nation depended upon the preservation of the King, and the support of his Regal Authority. And it is very memorable, that, in Answer to a Letter which *Montreuil* writ to the King, and in which he persuaded his Majesty to agree with the *Scotts* upon their own demands, and amongst other Arguments, assur'd his Majesty, that the *English* Presbyterians were fully agreed with the *Scotts* (which his Majesty believ'd they would never be) the *Scotts* having declared, that they would never insist upon the setting any other Government than was at that time practiced in London; urging many other successes, which they had at that time obtain'd; the King, after some expressions of his adhering to what he had formerly declared, used these words in his Letter of the 21st of January to Monsieur *Montreuil*, "Let them never flatter themselves to wish their good successes; without pretending to Prophecy, I will foretell their ruin; except they agree with Me; however it shall please God to dispose of

Me; which they had great reason to remember after. But because, though this Treaty was begun, and proceeded to far as is reciev'd, before the end of the present Year, yet it was carried on, and did not conclude, till some Months after the next Year was begun, we shall put an end to our Relation of it at present, and resume what remains, in it's place of the Year ensuing: Only, before we finish our Account of the Adversities of this unfortunate Year forty five, we must mention one more, which happen'd on the two and twentieth of *March*, just as the Year was expiring.

THE King had hoped to draw out of the few Garrisons still in his possession, such a Body of Horse and Foot, as might enable Him to take the Field early in the Spring, though without any fixed design. But this was dashed in the very beginning, by the total Rout and Defeat the Lord *Ashley* underwent; who being upon his March from *Worcester* towards *Oxford*, with two thousand Horse and Foot, and the King having appointed to meet him, with another Body of fifteen hundred Horse and Foot, Letters and Orders miscarried, and were intercepted, whereby the Enemy came to have notice of the Resolution, and drew a much greater strength from their several Garrisons of *Gloster, Warwick, Coventry, and Evesham*. So that the Lord *Ashley* was no sooner upon his March, but they follow'd him; and the second day, after he had march'd all night, when he thought he had escap'd all their Quarters, they fell upon his wearied Troops; which, though a bold and stout Resistance was made, were at last totally Defeated; and the Lord *Ashley* himself, Sir *Charles Lucas*, who was Lieutenant General of the Horse, and most of the other Officers, who were not kill'd, were taken Prisoners. The few who escap'd, were so scatter'd and dispers'd, that they never came together again; nor did there remain, from that time, any possibility for the King to draw any other Troops together in the Field.

THE END OF THE NINTH BOOK.

The Year 1645 concludes with the Defeat of the Lord Ashley's Army.

