

And so, there being no alternative but war, the Parliament, on the 9th of September, published a declaration to the whole kingdom, setting forth the causes of the war. On that day, the earl of Essex marched in great state out of London to join the army in the midland counties with the trained bands. A few weeks later the Parliament ordered London to be fortified; and the population, one and all, men, women, and children, turned out, day by day, to dig ditches, and carry stones for their bulwarks.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Beginnings of the Civil War.—The king marches to Shrewsbury.—Skirmish at Worcester.—Battle of Edgehill.—The night and day after the battle.—Richard Baxter visits the battle-field.—The king marches upon London.—The fight at Brentford.—The royalists retire.—The Londoners march to Turnham Green.—The war spreading through England.—The queen lands with an army.—The court at Oxford.—Administration of justice.—Reading surrendered to Essex.

THE flame of war is bursting forth in many places at once. Fortified towns are changing their military occupants. Portsmouth had capitulated to the parliament's army a fortnight before the king raised his standard at Nottingham. Lord Northampton, a royalist, had seized the stores at Banbury, and marched to the attack of Warwick castle. That ancient seat of feudal grandeur was successfully defended by the commander who had been left in charge, whilst lord Brook marched with some forces to the parliament's quarters. Every manor-house was put by its occupiers into a posture of defence. The heroic attitude of the English ladies who, in the absence of their husbands, held out against attacks whether of Cavaliers or Roundheads, was first exhibited at Caldecot manor-house, in the north of Warwickshire. Mrs. Purefoy, the wife of William Purefoy, a member of the House of Commons, defended her house against prince Rupert and four hundred Cavaliers. The little garrison consisted of the brave lady and her two daughters, her son-in-law, eight male servants, and a few female. They had twelve muskets, which the women loaded as the men discharged them from the windows. The out-buildings were set on fire, and the house would have been burnt, had not the lady gone forth, and claimed the protection of the Cavaliers. Rupert respected her courage, and would not suffer her property to be plundered. This young man, who occupies so prominent a part in the military operations of the Civil War, was only twenty-three when Charles made him his general of horse. He had served in the wars for the recovery of the Palatinate, and had exhibited the bravery for which he was ever afterwards distinguished. But in his early warfare he had seen life unsparingly sacrificed, women

and children put to the sword, villages and towns burnt, the means of subsistence for a peaceful population recklessly destroyed. His career in England did much to make the king's cause unpopular, though his predatory havoc has probably been exaggerated. The confidence which the king placed in him as a commander was not justified by his possession of the high qualities of a general. The queen who, dangerous as she was as a counsellor of the king, had remarkable abilities, thus described the nephew of Charles when he was about to sail for England: "He should have some one to advise him, for, believe me, he is yet very young and self-willed. I have had experience of him. This is why I thought it fitting to warn you of it. He is a person that is capable of doing anything that he is ordered, but he is not to be trusted to take a single step out of his own head."*

About the middle of September, Charles marched with his small army from Nottingham to Derby. Essex, with the forces of the parliament, was at Northampton. The king's plans were very vague; but he at last determined to occupy Shrewsbury. He halted his army on the 19th at Wellington, where he published a "Protestation," in which, amongst other assurances, he said, "I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of parliament, and to govern by the known laws of the land to my utmost power; and, particularly, to observe inviolably the laws consented to by me this parliament." There is a remarkable letter of the queen to the king, dated the 3rd of November, in which she expresses her indignant surprise that he should have made any such engagement. "You promise to keep all that you have passed this parliament, which, I confess, had I been with you I should not have suffered it." She intimates that there are persons about him, "who at the bottom of their hearts, are not well disposed for royalty. * * * As to believing that they wish you to be absolute, their counsels plainly show the contrary. They must be made use of, notwithstanding." † The only notion that the queen had of "royalty" was that it was to be "absolute." Who can believe that Charles ever resigned that fatal idea? Clarendon says the king's protestation "gave not more life and encouragement to the little army than it did to the gentry and inhabitants of these parts, into whom the parliament had infused, that if his majesty prevailed by force, he would, with the same power, abolish all those good laws which had been made this par-

* Green's "Letters of Henrietta Maria," p. 97.

† *Ibid.*, p. 144.

liament."* Their comfort and satisfaction might have been less, if the queen's letter, now amongst the Harleian Manuscripts, and another of the same import, had been as public as the king's protestation. The discovery and publication of other such letters produced unbounded evil to the royal cause whilst the issue of the contest was doubtful. Time has revealed many more secrets of the same nature, which may somewhat qualify the enthusiasm of those who, after the lapse of two centuries, read the history of the Civil War in a spirit more cavalier than that of the Cavaliers.

On the 22nd of September, Essex moved his army to Worcester. Here the first rencounter took place between the cavalry of Rupert and the parliamentary cuirassiers. The royalists had a decided advantage. Ludlow, who was in the skirmish, gives a ludicrous account of the inexperience, and something worse, of the parliament's raw troops. The lieutenant "commanded us to wheel about; but our gentlemen, not yet well understanding the difference between wheeling about and shifting for themselves, their backs being now towards the enemy whom they thought to be close in the rear, retired to the army in a very dishonourable manner; and the next morning rallied at head-quarters, where we received but cold welcome from our general, as we well deserved." † After remaining at Shrewsbury about twenty days, Charles resolved to march towards London. He expected that, as the armies approached each other, many soldiers would come over to the royal standard. He was almost without money, except a sum of six thousand pounds which he received by "making merchandise of honour," to use Clarendon's expression—being the price for which he created Sir Richard Newport a baron. His foot-soldiers were mostly armed with muskets; but three or four hundred had for their only weapon a cudgel. Few of the musketeers had swords, and the pikemen were without corslets. The royal army moved from Shrewsbury on the 12th of October, on to Wolverhampton, Birmingham, and Kenilworth. Two days after, the earl of Essex marched from Worcester in the direction which Charles had taken. They were only separated by twenty miles when the king first moved from Shrewsbury, but it was ten days before they came near each other. "Neither army," says Clarendon, "knew where the other was." On the night of the 22nd of October, the king was at Edgcot, a village near Banbury. The council broke up late. There was disunion in the camp. The earl of Lindsey by his com-

* "Rebellion," vol. iii. p. 222.

† "Memoirs," p. 46.

mission was general of the whole army; but when Charles appointed prince Rupert his general of horse, he exempted him from receiving orders from any one but the king himself—to such extent did this king carry his over-weening pride of blood. Rupert insolently refused to take the royal directions through lord Falkland, the secretary of state. In the same spirit, when a battle was expected, Charles took the advice of his nephew, rejecting the opinion of the veteran Lindsey. At twelve o'clock on the night of the 22nd Rupert sent the king word “that the body of the rebel army was within seven or eight miles, and that the head-quarters was at a village called Keinton, on the edge of Warwickshire.” On Sunday morning, the 23rd, the banner of Charles was waving on the top of Edgehill, which commanded a prospect of the valley in which a part of the army of Essex was moving. The greater portion of the parliament's artillery, with two regiments of foot and one of horse, was a day's march behind. The king, having the advantage of numbers, determined to engage. He appeared amongst his ranks, with a black velvet mantle over his armour, and wearing his star and garter. He addressed his troops, declaring his love to his whole kingdom, but asserting his royal authority “derived from God, whose substitute, and supreme governor under Christ, I am.”* At two o'clock the royal army descended the hill. Clarendon, in noticing the dissensions created by Rupert's exclusive appointment, says, it “separated all the horse from any dependence upon the general.” Lindsey went into the battle, pike in hand, at the head of the foot guards, in the centre of the first line. “Sir Jacob Astley,” writes Warwick, “was major-general of the army under the earl of Lindsey; who, before the charge of the battle at Edgehill, made a most excellent, pious, short, and soldierly prayer; for he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, saying, ‘O Lord, thou knowest how busy I must be this day; if I forget thee, do not Thou forget me.’ And with that rose up, crying ‘March on, boys.’” †

Between the town of Keinton and Edgehill was “a fair campaign, save that near the town it was narrower, and on the right hand some hedges and inclosures.” Ludlow, who was in the battle, confirms this description of the ground, given by Clarendon :

Colonel Weston's letter, quoted in Lord Nugent's “Hampden,” vol. ii. p. 239.

† Warwick is the sole authority for this. It has been questioned, from the construction of the sentence, whether the “who” applies to Lindsey or Astley. See Warburton's “Rupert and the Cavaliers,” vol. ii. p. 21.

“The great shot was exchanged on both sides, for the space of an hour or thereabouts. By this time the foot began to engage; and a party of the enemy being sent to line some hedges on our right wing, thereby to beat us from our ground, were repulsed by our dragoons.” The foot soldiers on each side engaged with little result. But Rupert, at the head of his horse, threw the parliament's left wing into complete disorder. The disaster was mainly attributable to the desertion of Sir Faithful Fortescue, who went over with his troop to the royalists, when he was ordered to charge. The fiery prince pursued the flying squadrons for three miles; and in the town of Keinton he was engaged in plundering the parliamentary baggage-waggons, whilst the main body of the king's forces was sorely pressed by the foot and horse of Essex. The king's standard was taken. Sir Edmund Verney, the standard-bearer, was killed. The standard was afterwards recovered by a stratagem of two royalist officers, who put on the orange-scarf of Essex, and demanded the great prize from his secretary, to whom it had been entrusted. It was yielded by the unfortunate penman to those who bore the badge of his master. Brave old Lindsey was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. Other royalists of distinction were killed. “When Prince Rupert returned from the charge,” writes Clarendon, “he found this great alteration in the field, and his majesty himself with few noblemen and a small retinue about him, and the hope of so glorious a day quite banished.” Many around the king counselled a retreat; but Charles, with equal courage and sagacity, resolved to keep his ground. “He spent the night in the field, by such a fire as could be made of the little wood and bushes which grew thereabouts.” When the day appeared, the parliamentary army still lay beneath Edgehill. “The night after the battle,” says Ludlow, “our army quartered upon the same ground that the enemy fought on the day before. No man nor horse got any meat that night, and I had touched none since the Saturday before, neither could I find my servant who had my cloak, so that having nothing to keep me warm but a suit of iron, I was obliged to walk about all night, which proved very cold by reason of a sharp frost. Towards morning, our army having received a reinforcement of Colonel Hampden's and several other regiments, to the number of about four thousand men, who had not been able to join us sooner, was drawn up; and about day-light we saw the enemy upon the top of the hill; so that we had time to bury our dead, and theirs too if we thought fit. That day was

spent in sending trumpeters to inquire whether such as were missing on both sides were killed, or prisoners.* It was, in most respects, a drawn battle. Gradually each army moved off, one to attack London, the other to defend it. There is a little incident of this Edgehill fight which has been told by the gossiping chronicler, Aubrey, of the famous Harvey, the physician. "When king Charles I., by reason of the tumults left London, he attended him, and was at the fight of Edgehill with him; and during the fight, the prince and duke of York were committed to his care. He told me that he withdrew with them under a hedge, and took out of his pocket a book and read; but he had not read very long before a bullet of a great gun grazed on the ground near him, which made him remove his station."

The number of the slain at Edgehill was variously estimated by the two parties. Ludlow very impartially says, "it was observed that the greatest slaughter on our side was of such as ran away, and on the enemy's side of those that stood." There was no general desire in either army to renew the struggle. In the royal camp there was so visible an averseness "to re-engage in most officers, as well as soldiers, that the king thought not fit to make the attempt."† In the parliamentary army, Hampden and others vainly urged that their reinforcements would enable Essex to attack with decided success. "We hoped," says Ludlow, "that we should have pursued the enemy, who were marching off as fast as they could, leaving only some troops to face us upon the top of the hill; but, instead of that, for what reason I know not, we marched to Warwick."‡

The great events of the Civil War are to be traced in the proceedings of Parliament, the state-papers, the histories and memoirs of the politicians and soldiers who were engaged on either side, and the letters of the actors in the busy scenes. But we occasionally meet with the relations of some who were scarcely more than lookers-on, and were not committed to very strong opinions. Such a witness was Richard Baxter. He was, at one and the same time, a royalist and a puritan. It is most interesting to follow this remarkable observer in those details of his life, which, in a few graphic touches, exhibit the general state of society far more distinctly than the laboured narratives of the contemporary historians. We see him, in his twenty-seventh year at the beginning of the war, driven from his ministry at Kidderminster by those he calls "the

* "Memoirs," p. 50.

† Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 283.

‡ "Memoirs," p. 52.

rabble;" who reviled all the religious of the place as Roundheads; where "every drunken sot that met them called out, 'We shall take an order with the puritans ere long.'" He says, "it was the undoing of the king and bishops that this party was encouraged by the leaders in the country against the civil religious party. . . . The fury of the rabble was so hot at home that I was fain to withdraw." He goes to Worcester, where a body of the parliamentary troops were lying in a meadow. "I had a great mind to go see them, having never seen any part of an army." He there looks upon the scattering of the parliamentary forces by Rupert's horse. "This sight quickly told me the vanity of armies, and how little confidence is to be placed in them." Essex marches into Worcester "with many lords and knights, and a flourishing army, gallantly clothed, but never tried in fight." The young divine had no safety in staying at home; but "the civility of the earl of Essex's army was such that among them was no danger, though none of them knew me; and there was such excellent preaching among them at Worcester that I stayed there among them a few days, till the marching of the king's army occasioned their remove." Baxter preached at Alcester on the Lord's day following. "As I was preaching, the people heard the cannon play, and perceived that the armies were engaged; when sermon was done, in the afternoon, the report was more audible." At sun-setting many troops fled through the town, and said that all was lost on the parliament's side. The people sent a messenger to Stratford-upon-Avon to know the truth. At four o'clock in the morning the messenger returned. He gave an account of the battle which corresponds in a remarkable manner with the authentic narratives. "The next morning, being willing to see the field where they had fought, I went to Edgehill, and found the earl of Essex with the remaining part of his army keeping the ground, and the king's army facing them upon a hill a mile off, and about a thousand dead bodies in the field between them; and I suppose many were buried before." The armies drew off. The poor wanderer says, "I knew not what course to take. I had neither money nor friends: I knew not who would receive me in any place of safety." He went at last to Coventry, to the minister there, an old acquaintance, "with a purpose to stay there till one side or other had got the victory, and the war was ended, and then to return home again. For so wise in matters of war was I, and all the country besides, that we commonly supposed that a very few days or weeks by one other

battle would end the wars; and I believe that no small number of the parliament-men had no more wit than to think so too."*

After the battle of Edgehill the king wasted a few days in occupying Banbury and other small places, and on the 26th was with his army at Oxford. Essex was slowly advancing with his army towards London, and at the end of the month was at Northampton. The people of the metropolis had been greatly agitated by the uncertain rumours of the great fight in Warwickshire. On the night of the battle of Edgehill, the beacons had been lighted—a pre-arranged signal of the parliament's success. But the fugitives whom Rupert had chased from the field filled the roads, and proclaimed a royalist victory. But at the beginning of November the king's army was decidedly known to be marching upon London. Rupert was quartered at Maidenhead with the advanced guard. Two days after Essex arrived, and received the thanks of the two Houses. On the 11th of November Charles was at Colnbrook. Thither went a deputation from the Parliament, under a safe conduct, to propose that the king should appoint some convenient place to reside, near London, "until committees of both Houses of Parliament may attend your majesty with some propositions for the removal of these bloody distempers and distractions." The king met the deputation favourably, and proposed to receive such propositions at Windsor. "Do your duty," he said, "we will not be wanting in ours. God in his mercy give a blessing." Ludlow records the duplicity which followed this negotiation: "Upon which answer the parliament thought themselves secure, at least against any sudden attempt; but the very next day the king, taking the advantage of a very thick mist, marched his army within half a mile of Brentford before he was discovered, designing to surprise our train of artillery (which was then at Hammersmith), the parliament, and city." Clarendon endeavours to throw the blame of this dishonour upon Rupert. The king, he says, resolved to have gone to Windsor, if the parliament had removed their garrison there, "or at least to have stayed at Colnbrook till he heard again from the parliament. But prince Rupert, exalted with the terror he heard his name gave to the enemy, trusting too much to the vulgar intelligence every man received from his friends at London—who, according to their own passions and the affections of those with whom they corresponded, concluded that the king had so great a party in London, that, if his army drew near, no resistance would

* "Reliquiæ Baxterianæ," 1696, part i. pp. 42 and 43.

be made—without any direction from the king, the very next morning after the committee returned to London, advanced with the horse and dragoons to Hounslow, and then sent to the king, to desire him that the army might march after; which was, in that case, of absolute necessity; for the earl of Essex had a part of his army at Brentford, and the rest at Acton and Kingston."

From the time of the battle of Edgehill there was a general feeling in London that the king's army, not materially discomfited, would advance to strike a blow at the capital. The parliamentary earls, Pembroke, Holland, and Say and Sele, made speeches at Guildhall, to stir up the ardour of the citizens. They spoke eloquently, especially Say and Sele. "Let every man shut up his shop; let him take his musket; let him offer himself readily and willingly. Let him not think with himself who shall pay me? but rather think this, I will come forth to save the kingdom, to serve my God, to maintain his true religion, to save the parliament, to save this noble city." An ordinance of parliament declared that any apprentices who should enlist should be secured from forfeiture of their bonds, and that their masters should receive them back again. Milton heard the din of preparation in his quiet house in Aldersgate-street; and had perhaps slight assurance of safety from the trained bands of the neighbouring artillery ground, when he sat within his "defenceless doors," and implored protection for "the Muses' bower."* The "assault intended for the city" at last became a reality. On the morning of the 12th of November, the sound of distant guns was heard in London. Two traders who had been seized by the royalist pickets afterwards related that they saw the king and prince Rupert together on Hounslow-heath, marching towards Brentford, and that Rupert "took off his scarlet coat, which was very rich, and gave it to his man, and buckled on his arms, and put a grey coat over it." Before noon Rupert was charging in the streets of Brentford. The regiment of Hollis was quartered there, and they were not unprepared for the attack. The long and narrow street was barricaded. The contest was obstinately maintained for three hours by Hollis's regiment. Hampden was at Acton, and Brook in a neighbouring cantonment. Again and again the parliamentary forces charged the Cavaliers. But the main body of the royal army now invested Brentford. The fighting went on till evening, when the royalists had a decided advantage, and compelled their enemy to retire from the town. They

* Sonnet viii.

took many prisoners, amongst whom was John Lilburne, who began his career, when an apprentice, by calling down stripes and imprisonment upon his contumacy, and was now a captain of the trained bands. The old enemies of "sturdy John" did not forget his offences. He was tried for his life, and was about to be executed as a rebel, when Essex threatened that for every one of the Parliament's officers thus put to death, he would execute three royalist prisoners. Lilburne was released, to be always foremost in opposition, whether to Charles or to Cromwell. Many of the Parliament's men were drowned in the Thames; but the greater number made their way in boats down the stream. Essex had arrived at Turnham Green with some trained bands, who, whilst the fighting was going on, had been exercising in Chelsea fields. To understand this scene we must figure to ourselves a London with houses extending little beyond St. James's palace; the western roads from St. Giles's to Acton, and from Hyde Park Corner to Brentford, dotted only with scattered houses or petty hamlets, standing amidst broad pasture lands and gardens. It was dark when the trained bands, with the parliamentary regiments then recruited, advanced again to Brentford, and the royalists fell back to the king's quarters at Hounslow. That Saturday evening was one of confusion and alarm. "All that night the city of London poured out men towards Brentford, who every hour marched thither; and all the lords and gentlemen that belonged to the parliament army were there ready by Sunday morning, the 14th of November."* Skippon, the general of the city trained bands, came out with his well-disciplined shopkeepers and apprentices; talking now with one company, now with another, and calling them about him to make that famous oration which is more telling than all the rhetoric of Livy's Romans. "Come, my boys, my brave boys, let us pray heartily and fight heartily. I will run the same fortunes and hazards with you. Remember the cause is for God, and for defence of yourselves, your wives, and children. Come, my honest brave boys, pray heartily and fight heartily, and God will bless us." Twenty-four thousand of the parliamentary army were marshalled on that Sunday on Turnham Green. They were subjected to no very serious privations in their short campaign. The good housewives of London sent out abundant provisions of meat and beer; and the wine-cups were filled and the tobacco smoked, as if those thousands were assembled for a fair, instead of a battle.

* May.

"The soldiers were refreshed and made merry," says Whitelocke, "and the more, when they understood that the king and his army were retreated." Pacific councils again prevailed. Hampden was recalled, when, in pursuance of a settled plan of attack, he was about to march by Acton and Osterley Park to take the royal army in the rear. Essex remained inactive, instead of advancing to Hounslow as had been agreed. The war, according to some writers, might have been brought to a conclusion in one day of certain triumph if the irresolution of Essex had yielded to the counsels of bolder spirits. The men were not yet in the field who were resolved to make war in earnest, whatever might be the consequences. Essex was brave and skilful; but, like many other good men, he fought with reluctance against his countrymen and his familiar friends. Sir Philip Warwick has a passage, in which he has a gentle sneer at Essex for his indecision. At Hounslow, he says, "there was a large fair heath for the two armies to have tried once again their courage and their fortunes." The king "marched off towards a summer house of his own at Oatlands, betwixt Windsor and Hampton Court, where there were still fair heaths for the two armies to have engaged, if the parliament forces would have made the adventure."*. Charles rested at this pleasant seat of royalty for two days; then went on to Reading, where he fixed a garrison; and on the 29th of November was in winter quarters at Oxford.

After the royal army had withdrawn from the neighbourhood of London, the citizens, who had seen war so close at their doors, began to talk more earnestly of peace. The peace party comprised many persons who could not be classed amongst the thorough royalists; for their petitions to the parliament expressed as strongly as ever their hatred of popery and arbitrary power. But the exertions of this moderate party produced a corresponding determination of "the pious and movement party" that the war should be carried on with renewed energy. The Guildhall was the scene of many an angry debate. At length, on the 2nd of January, a petition from the common council was carried to the king at Oxford, in which he was asked to return to the capital, when all disturbance should be suppressed. Charles replied, that they could not maintain tranquillity amongst themselves. He sent a gentleman to read his formal answer to the people in the Guildhall. It was full of reproaches, and breathed any language but that of concilia-

* "Memoirs," p. 234.

tion. Amidst an immense uproar, Pym and lord Manchester addressed the multitude, and the prospect of peace faded from the people's view. Some attempts were made in the northern and western counties to preserve a neutral attitude in the struggle; but these were regarded with equal disfavour by Cavalier and Roundhead. Yorkshire and Cheshire, Devon and Cornwall, counties that had tried this impossible policy, soon became foremost in the strife. The eastern counties adopted a much more efficient course of action. They formed themselves into an "Association," in the organisation of which Cromwell was the master-spirit. Under his vigorous direction, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Herts, not only kept the war away from their own localities, but furnished the most efficient support to its vigorous conduct in other quarters. The counties of Lincoln and Huntingdon soon joined this Eastern Association, with the like results. In the Seven Associated Counties the Cavaliers were never of any importance. During the winter a partisan warfare was going on in many places. The most important incident of these minor contests was the death of lord Brook at Lichfield. A royalist party had obtained possession of the Close of the cathedral, which was walled and moated. Lord Brook was in the command of a body of horse and foot, with artillery, brought to Lichfield to dislodge the occupiers of the Close. Sitting in a house, with the window open, he was shot in the eye, and instantly died. Laud, in his Diary, describes this death of lord Brook as a special wonder, for his beaver was up, and as a judgment; "he having ever been fierce against bishops and cathedrals."

The war, as it proceeded, gradually assumed a fiercer character. It became, to some extent, a war of classes. Clarendon says, "The difference in the temper of the common people on both sides was so great, that they who inclined to the parliament left nothing unperformed that might advance the cause, and were incredibly vigilant and industrious to cross and hinder whatsoever might promote the king's; whereas they who wished well to him thought they had performed their duty in doing so, and that they had done enough for him, in that they had done nothing against him."* We may be perfectly sure that the "common people on both sides" had great reason to be dissatisfied with the temper of the Cavaliers and their followers. "Thousands," says Baxter, "had no mind to meddle with the wars, but greatly desired to live peaceably at home,

* "Rebellion," vol. iii. p. 452.

when the rage of soldiers and drunkards would not suffer them; some stayed till they had been imprisoned; some till they had been plundered, perhaps twice or thrice over, and nothing left them; some were quite tired out with the abuse of all comers that quartered on them."* But if "the common people" were puritans, "noted for praying and hearing sermons," they, as Baxter's father experienced, "were plundered by the king's soldiers, so that some of them had almost nothing but lumber left in their houses." In the beginning of 1643, the national feeling was exasperated by the landing of the queen with a foreign army. During a year she had been indefatigable in making the most of the funds she had acquired by the sale of the crown jewels, to purchase arms and ammunition, and to raise men. On the 22nd of February she arrived with four ships, and landed at Burlington. The admiral of the parliament had failed in intercepting her convoy; but he adopted measures of greater vigour than generosity when he arrived two days after the queen and her men had disembarked. These proceedings are described in the following characteristic letter of Henrietta Maria to Charles:—

"As soon as I landed in England, I sent Progers to you; but having learned to-day that he was taken by the enemy, I sent you again this man to give you an account of my arrival, which has been very fortunate, thanks be to God; for just as stormy as the sea was the first time I set sail, just so calm was it this time till I was within some fifteen hours of Newcastle, and on the coast, when the wind changed to the north-west, which forced us to make for Burlington Bay, and after two hours waiting at sea, your cavalry arrived. I landed instantly, and the next day the rest of the army came to join me.

"God, who took care of me at sea, was pleased to continue his protection by land, for that night, four of the Parliament ships arrived at Burlington without our knowledge, and in the morning about four o'clock, the alarm was given that we should send down to the harbour to secure our ammunition boats, which had not yet been able to be unloaded; but, about an hour after, these four ships began to fire so briskly, that we were all obliged to rise in haste, and leave the village to them: at least the women, for the soldiers remained very resolutely to defend the ammunition. In case of a descent, I must act the captain, though a little low in stature, myself.

* "Reliquiæ Baxterianæ," p. 44.

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

The admiral, Batten, was denounced as a traitor by the royalists. The earl of Newcastle, who came to escort the queen to York, had been authorised by the king to raise men for his service, "without examining their consciences;" and thus his army was styled by the parliament "the queen's army," and "the Catholic army." The prejudice against foreigners and Romanists thus came into renewed activity. Subsequent tamperings with the more violent papists in Ireland led to the belief that the king was not sincere in his professions of regard for the Protestant cause; and thus the two parties of Cavaliers and Roundheads came to be more widely separated by religious as well as political differences; and those who held the most extreme opinions became the most powerful—the general course of all great revolutions.

The spring of 1643 was passed by the court at Oxford. The noble city of academical palaces must have presented the most singular contrasts of gown and cuirass crowding the streets; of grave doctors and ardent students talking the most impassioned loyalty to throngs of ladies in those ancient halls; of outward splendour amidst secret want, and of gay hearts struggling with anxious fears. Lady Fanshawe, one of the most interesting of royalists,—at that time unmarried,—has given the following picture of the Oxford of 1643:

"My father commanded my sister and myself to come to him to Oxford, where the Court then was, but we, that had till that

* "Green's Letters of Henrietta Maria," p. 166.

hour lived in great plenty and great order, found ourselves like fishes out of the water, and the scene so changed, that we knew not at all how to act any part but obedience, for, from as good a house as any gentleman of England had, we came to a baker's house in an obscure street, and from rooms well furnished, to lie in a very bad bed in a garret, to one dish of meat, and that not the best ordered; no money, for we were as poor as Job; nor clothes more than a man or two brought in their cloak bags: we had the perpetual discourse of losing and gaining towns and men; at the windows the sad spectacle of war, sometimes plague, sometimes sickness of other kind, by reason of so many people being packed together, as, I believe, there never was before of that quality; always in want, yet I must needs say that most bore it with a martyr-like cheerfulness. For my own part, I began to think we should all, like Abraham, live in tents all the days of our lives."

To this Oxford came Commissioners from the parliament, towards the end of March, authorised to negotiate a suspension of arms, and a treaty of peace. The earl of Northumberland, the chief of the commission, made the somewhat miserable city brilliant with his feasts. He had a magnificent retinue. His table was covered with luxurious dishes and rich wines. His plate was sumptuous. The royalists accepted his feasts—and persuaded the king to reject his propositions. Charles displayed his usual vacillation. He made concessions one day, and revoked them another. The queen's especial friends were always about him. The queen wrote to him, "Why have you taken arms? You are betrayed. I will let you see it. Never allow your army to be disbanded till it [the parliament] is ended, and never let there be a peace till that is put an end to."* The officers of the garrison, in a petition to the king, opposed a suspension of arms. Charles had instigated them to petition. The parliament peremptorily recalled its commissioners. The battle must be fought out.

We have mentioned that during the Civil War the judges went their usual circuits. In the spring of 1643 this local administration of justice was temporarily suspended. The two Houses of Parliament, embarrassed by the king's possession of the Great Seal, ordered that the Session of Oyer and Terminer should not be proceeded with "until it shall please God to end these distractions between the king and people." Charles issued a proclamation, commanding that the Easter term should be held at Oxford

* Green's "Letters of Henrietta Maria," p. 182.