might have been made a friend; and as much to be apprehended where he was so, as any man could deserve to be. And therefore his death was no less pleasing to the party, than it was condoled in the other." *

* "Rebellion," vol. iv. p. 92.

CHAPTER XXV.

The queen joins her husband.—Various incidents of the war.—Bristol taken by assault.—Proposals for peace rejected by a small majority of the Commons.—Popular disturbances in London.—The siege of Gloucester.—Defence of Gloucester.—Essex marches to its relief.—The king and his army retire.—The Parliamentary army march towards London.—The battle of Newbury.—Prowess of the Trained Bands.—Death of lord Falkland.—The Sortes Virgilianæ.—The royal success becoming more doubtful.—Negotiations for an alliance between the Scots and the Parliament.—The solemn League and Covenant.—Essex returns to London.—Growing importance of Cromwell.—Skirmish of Winceby—Death of Pym.—The Covenant severely enforced.—Ejected ministers.

FOUR months had elapsed between the landing of the queen in England and her return to her royal husband. However Charles might have been personally affected by her counsels, his best advisers, the moderate men who desired peace, were afraid of her influence, and she was suspicious of their fidelity. Her dominant idea was to restore the absolute power of the king. Her ruling passion was hatred of the Parliament. She writes to Charles, "to die of consumption of royalty is a death which I cannot endure, having found by experience the malady too insupportable." * Again, "I do not see the wisdom of these Messieurs rebels, in being able to imagine that they will make you come by force to their object, and to an accommodation; for as long as you are in the world, assuredly England can have no rest nor peace, unless you consent to it, and assuredly that cannot be unless you are restored to your just prerogatives." † She was a bold and determined woman, who aspired to direct councils and to lead armies. On the 27th of May she writes to the king from York, "I shall stay to besiege Leeds at once, although I am dying to join you; but I am so enraged to go away without having beaten these rascals, that, if you will permit me, I will do that, and then will go to join you; and if I go away I am afraid that they would not be beaten." ‡ She had her favourites, especially Jermyn and Digby, whose advancement she was constantly urging. The scandalous chroniclers of the time did not hesitate in casting the most de-

* Green's "Letters," p. 117. † *Ibid.*, p. 103. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 202.

grading suspicions upon the queen in connection with one of these. Jermyn was made a peer. He is pointed out as "somewhat too ugly for a lady's favourite, yet that is nothing to some; for the old lady [Mary de Medicis] that died in Flanders regarded not the feature." * At length Henrietta Maria determined to leave the north, and join the king at Oxford. On the 11th of July she entered Stratford-upon-Avon, at the head of four thousand horse and foot soldiers. She slept at the house in which Shakspere lived and died,—then in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Hall. On the 13th she met Charles where his first battle had been fought; and from Keinton they proceeded to Oxford. The tidings of a victory on the 15th over the parliamentary forces at Roundway Down, in Wiltshire, greeted their arrival. A previous victory over Sir William Waller at Lansdown, in Somersetshire, filled the royalists with the most sanguine hopes. Such partial successes on the other side as the brave defence of Nottingham Castle by colonel Hutchinson had no material influence upon the state of affairs. The feelings of the adverse parties were growing more bitter. We see the proud Cavaliers and the stern Puritans hating and hated. Female tenderness and courage shine out as sunny gleams in a dark day. On each side there were women as noble as Lucy Hutchinson, who thus describes what she was doing in the spirit of Christian love, whilst the so-called teachers of religion were cruel and revengeful:—

"There was a large room, which was the chapel, in the castle; this they had filled full of prisoners, besides a very bad prison, which was no better than a dungeon, called the Lion's den; and the new captain Palmer and another minister, having nothing else to do, walked up and down the castle-yard, insulting and beating the poor prisoners as they were brought up. In the encounter, one of the Derby captains was slain, and five of our men hurt, who for want of another surgeon, were brought to the governor's wife, and she having some excellent balsams and plaisters in her closet, with the assistance of a gentleman that had some skill, dressed all their wounds, whereof some were dangerous, being all shots, with such good success, that they were all well cured in convenient time. After our hurt men were dressed, as she stood at her chamber-door, seeing three of the prisoners sorely cut, and carried down bleeding into the Lion's den, she desired the marshal to bring them in to her, and bound up and dressed their wounds also:

* "Character of an Oxford Incendiary," Harleian Miscellany, vol. v. p. 346.

which while she was doing, captain Palmer came in and told her his soul abhorred to see this favour to the enemies of God; she replied, she had done nothing but what she thought was her duty, in humanity to them, as fellow-creatures, not as enemies."*

In the summer of 1643 the power of the Parliament is visibly in danger. On the 27th of July. Bristol, a city only exceeded by London in population and wealth, is surrendered to Rupert, after an assault, with terrible slaughter on both sides. Nathaniel Fiennes, its governor, was described by Clarendon as "for root and branch" in 1640; but one whose courage being had "in disesteem," encouraged the plan of assaulting this important place. He was subsequently tried and condemned "for not having defended Bristol so well, and so long, as he ought to have done." He had interest enough to obtain a pardon; but he quitted the country. A design of sir John Hotham to surrender Hull to the king was detected. He and his son were committed to the Tower on a charge of betraying the cause of the Parliament. London was in a state of unusual agitation. The Lords came to resolutions, upon a proposal of peace, of a far more moderate character than had previously been determined on. There was a conference between the two Houses, in which the upper House urged that "these unnatural dissensions" would destroy all the former blessings of peace and abundance." The Commons, by a majority of nineteen, decided that the proposals of the Lords should be considered. The city was in an uproar. A petition from the common-council called for the rejection of the proposals. Multitudes surrounded the Houses to enforce the same demand. The proposals were now rejected by a majority of seven. An attempt was then made to enforce the demand for peace by popular clamour. Bands of women, with men in women's clothes, beset the doors of the House of Commons, crying out, "Give us up the traitors who are against peace. We'll tear them in pieces. Give us up that rascal Pym." The military forced them away; but they refused to disperse. They were at last fired upon, and two were killed, one of whom was an old ballad-singer of the London streets. Many peers now left Parliament and joined the king at Oxford, amongst whom was lord Holland. Those who remained, peers or commoners, saw that the greatest danger was in their own dissensions. The royalist army was growing stronger in every quarter. London was again in peril. There was one man of extraordinary vigor who felt the

* Hutchinson's "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 274.

immediate danger of his own district. There is not a more characteristic letter of Cromwell than the following to the Commissioners at Cambridge, dated from Huntingdon on the 6th of August:—"You see by this enclosed how sadly your affairs stand. It's no longer disputing, but out instantly all you can. Raise all your bands; send them to Huntingdon;—get up what volunteers you can; hasten your horses. Send these letters to Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, without delay. I beseech you spare not, but be expeditious and industrious! Almost all our foot have quitted Stamford; there is nothing to interrupt an enemy but our horse, that is considerable. You must act lively; do it without distraction. Neglect no means!" *

Had there been unanimity in the councils of the king at this period of dissensions in London amongst the people; with the two houses divided amongst themselves; men of influence deserting the parliamentary cause; no man yet at the head of the parliamentary forces who appeared capable of striking a great blow,—it is probable that if he had marched upon the capital the war would have been at an end. There would have been peace,—and a military despotism. Charles sent sir Philip Warwick to the earl of Newcastle to propose a plan of co-operation between the armies of the south and north. "But I found him very averse to this," Warwick writes, "and perceived that he apprehended nothing more than to be joined to the king's army, or to serve under prince Rupert; for he designed himself to be the man that should turn the scale, and to be a self-subsisting and distinct army, wherever he was." † With this serious difficulty in concentrating his forces, Charles determined upon besieging Gloucester. The garrison consisted of fifteen hundred men, under Edward Massey, the parliamentary governor. The inhabitants were under five thousand. On the 10th of August the king's army was stationed "upon a fair hill, in the clear view of the city, and within less than two miles of it." Charles sent a summons for its surrender, by a trumpet to the town, offering pardon to the inhabitants, and requiring an answer within two hours. Clarendon has described, with more than his accustomed attention to details which regard the common people, how the answer was brought: "Within less than the time prescribed, together with the trumpeter returned two citizens from the town, with lean, pale, sharp, and bad visages, indeed faces so strange and unusual, and in such a garb and posture,

* Carlyle's "Cromwell Letters," vol. i. p. 129.

† "Memoirs," p. 243.

that at once made the most severe countenances merry, and the most cheerful hearts sad; for it was impossible such ambassadors could bring less than a defiance. The men, without any circumstances of duty, or good manners, in a pert, shrill, undismayed accent, said, 'they had brought an answer from the godly city of Gloucester to the king;' and were so ready to give insolent and seditious answers to any question, as if their business were chiefly to provoke the king to violate his own safe conduct." * The answer was in writing, to the effect that the inhabitants and soldiers kept the city for the use of his majesty, but conceived themselves "wholly bound to obey the commands of his majesty, signified by both Houses of Parliament." The people of Gloucester immediately set fire to all the houses outside the walls. From the 10th of August till the 6th of September these resolute people, in spite of their strange and unusual faces, and their uncourtly manners, defended their city with a resolution and bravery unsurpassed in this warfare. The king dreaded the loss of men in an assault; and it was therefore resolved to compel a surrender by cutting off all supplies. The continued possession of Gloucester was most important to the Parliament. All differences having been reconciled in London, the earl of Essex took the command of a force destined for the relief of "the godly city." At the head of fourteen thousand men he set out from London on the 24th of August. On the 5th of September he had arrived by forced marches within five miles of Gloucester. The king sent a messenger to him with pacific proposals. The answer was returned in a spirit of sturdy heroism: "The Parliament gave me no commission to treat, but to relieve Gloucester; I will do it, or leave my body beneath its walls." The soldiers shouted, "No propositions." Gloucester was relieved. From the Prestbury hills Essex saw the flames of burning huts rising from the king's quarter. The royal army had moved away. On the 8th the parliamentary general entered the beleaguered city, bearing provisions to the famished people, and bestowing the due meed of honour upon their courage and constancy. On the 10th he was on his march back to London.

Of the army of fourteen thousand men which marched to the relief of Gloucester, four regiments were of the London militia. These regiments were mainly composed of artisans and apprentices. They had been drilled and reviewed in Finsbury fields and Chelsea fields for twelve months, and they had looked upon the

* "Rebellion," vol. iv. p. 176.

approach of real war when Rupert was at Brentford. But they had seen no actual service. Their forced march to Gloucester, though scarcely exceeding a rate of ten miles a day, was a remarkable feat. They had, in the latter days of their march by Bicester, Chipping-Norton, and Stow-in-the-Wold, to pass through an enemy's country, in which the people were hostile, and the royalist cavalry were hanging on their rear. At Prestbury they had to fight their way through Rupert's squadrons; and to try how pikemen could stand up against a charge of horse. In less than a fortnight their prowess was to be proved in a pitched battle field. Charles and his army were lying round Sudeley Castle, to the north-east of Gloucester. Essex marched to the south. In Cirencester, which he surprised, he found valuable stores for his men. The king's army moved in the same direction. Essex had passed Farringdon, and was rapidly advancing upon Newbury, on his road to Reading, when his scattered horse were attacked by Rupert and his Cavaliers. According to Clarendon, the prince, "with near five thousand horse, marched day and night over the hills, to get between London and the enemy, before they should be able to get out of those enclosed deep countries in which they were engaged between narrow lanes, and to entertain them with skirmishes till the whole army should come up." * Essex had marched over Amborne Chase, intending to have quartered at Newbury that night. There was a sharp conflict for several hours, and Essex was compelled to halt at Hungerford. The king marched at the head of his foot soldiers; "though his numbers, by his exceeding long and quick marches, and the licence which many officers and soldiers took whilst the king lay at Evesham, were much lessened." † When Essex came near to Newbury on the 19th of September, he found the royal army in possession of the town. The king had come there two hours before him. Essex was without shelter, without provisions. Charles had a good town to refresh his men in, whilst the enemy lodged in the field." ‡ It was absolutely necessary that Essex should hazard a battle. The road to London was barred against him. He "must make his way through or starve." In the king's quarters it was resolved not to fight, except upon such grounds as should ensure victory. On the morning of the 20th, Essex being camped upon Bigg's hill, about a mile from Newbury, the outposts of each force became engaged, and the battle was soon general. It was

* "Rebellion," vol. iv. p. 232. † *Ibid.*, p. 234. ‡ *Ibid.*

fought all day "with great fierceness and courage;" the Cavaliers charging "with a kind of contempt of the enemy;" and the Roundheads making the Cavaliers understand that a year of discipline had taught them some of the best lessons of warfare. "The London Trained Bands and auxiliary regiments (of whose inexperience of danger, or any kind of service, beyond the easy practice of their postures in the Artillery Garden, men had till then too cheap an estimation), behaved themselves to wonder; and were, in truth, the preservation of that army that day. For they stood as a bulwark and rampire to defend the rest; and, when their wings of horse were scattered and dispersed, kept their ground so steadily, that though prince Rupert himself led up the choice horse to charge them, and endured their storm of small shot, he could make no impression upon their stand of pikes, but was forced to wheel about." * The men of London, taken from the loom and the anvil, from the shops of Ludgate or the wharfs of Billingsgate, stood like a wall, as such men have since stood in many a charge of foreign enemies. The contempt of the Cavaliers for the "base mechanicals" was one great cause of the triumph of the Roundheads. The base mechanicals, in their turn, had an equal contempt for the Cavaliers. Of the two men who went out from Gloucester, and spoke to the king "in a pert, shrill, undismayed accent," one was a bookbinder. Such enthusiasts knew no fear, and had small respect for rank and power, as far as outward demeanour was concerned. "Their backs turned scarce thirty yards, on clap they their caps in the king's presence, with orange ribbons in them." † But they had an ever present belief that they were doing "the Lord's work;" and whether starving in a fortress, or ridden down by men in steel, they would not be moved

"With dread of death to flight or foul retreat.

On the night of the battle of Newbury, each army remained in the position it had occupied before that day of carnage. The loss of royalists of rank was more than usually great. Three noblemen fell, for whom there was lamentation beyond the ranks of their party—lord Carnarvan, lord Sunderland, and lord Falkland. Falkland, especially, still lives in our memories, as one of the noblest and purest—the true English gentleman in heart and intellect.

* "Rebellion," vol. iv. p. 235.
† Journal of the Siege, quoted in Warburton's "Rupert and Cavaliers," vol. ii. p. 280.

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

Aubrey says of this most interesting of the heroes of the Civil War: "At the fight of Newbury, my lord Falkland being there, and having nothing to do to charge, as the two armies were engaging rode in like a madman, as he was between them; and was, as he needs must be, shot." Clarendon tells another and more consistent story: "In the morning before the battle, as always upon action, he was very cheerful, and put himself in the first ranks of lord Byron's regiment, then advancing upon the enemy, who had lined the hedges on both sides with musketeers; from whence he was shot with a musket in the lower part of the belly, and in the instant falling from his horse, his body was not found till the next morning." It was not Falkland's duty to be in the battle. He was urged to stay away. "No," he said, "I am weary of the times;

* Arnold's "Lectures on Modern History," p. 238.

I foresee much misery to my country, but I believe I shall be out of it before night." Clarendon tells us why his life had become a burthen to Falkland: "Fron the entrance into this unnatural war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him, which he had never been used to. But after the king's return from Brentford, and the furious resolution of the two Houses not to admit any treaty for peace, those indispositions which had before touched him, grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulness; and he, who had been so exactly easy and affable to all men, that his face and countenance was always present, and vacant to his company, and held any cloudiness and less pleasantness of the visage a kind of rudeness or incivility, became, on a sudden, less communicable; and thence, very sad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the spleen. In his clothes and habit, which he had minded before always with more neatness, and industry, and expense, than is usual to so great a soul, he was not only incurious, but too negligent; and in his reception of suitors, and the necessary or casual addresses to his place, so quick, and sharp, and severe, that there wanted not some men (strangers to his nature and disposition), who believed him proud and imperious, from which no mortal man was ever more free. * * * * When there was any overture or hope of peace, he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly solicitous to press any thing which he thought might promote it; and, sitting among his friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word *Peace, Peace;* and would passionately profess, 'that the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and desolation the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart.'"*

The untimely death of lord Falkland must have been to some of the cavaliers, probably to the king himself, a presage of greater disaster; if we may credit the well-known anecdote which Dr. Welwood thinks not "below the majesty of history to mention." Agreeing with him, we repeat it in his own words:

"The king being at Oxford during the Civil Wars, went one day to see the public library, where he was shewn among other books a Virgil nobly printed and exquisitely bound. The lord Falkland, to divert the king, would have his majesty make a trial of his fortune by the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, which every body knows

* "Rebellion," vol. iv. p. 231.

was an unusual kind of augury some ages past. Whereupon the king opening the book, the period which happened to come up was that part of Dido's imprecation against Æneas; which Mr. Dryden translates thus:

> 'Yet let a race untam'd, and haughty foes,
> His peaceful entrance with dire arms oppose;
> Oppressed with numbers in th' unequal field,
> His men discourag'd, and himself expell'd,
> Let him for succour sue from place to place,
> Torn from his subjects, and his son's embrace,
> First let him see his friends in battle slain,
> And their untimely fate lament in vain;
> And when at length the cruel war shall cease,
> On hard conditions may he buy his peace.
> Nor let him then enjoy supreme command,
> But fall untimely by some hostile hand,
> And lie unbury'd on the barren sand.' *

It is said king Charles seemed concerned at this accident; and that the lord Falkland observing it, would likewise try his own fortune in the same manner; hoping he might fall upon some passage that could have no relation to his case, and thereby divert the king's thoughts from any impression the other might have upon him. But the place that Falkland stumbled upon, was yet more suited to his destiny than the other had been to the king's; being the following expressions of Evander, upon the untimely death of his son Pallas, as they are translated by the same hand.

> 'O Pallas! thou hast fail'd thy plighted word,
> To fight with caution, not to tempt the sword;
> I warn'd thee, but in vain; for well I knew
> What perils youthful ardour would pursue:
> That boiling blood would carry thee too far:
> Young as thou wert in danger, raw to war!
> O curst essay of arms, disast'rous doom,
> Prelude of bloody fields, and fights to come!' " †

The relief of Gloucester and the battle of Newbury was fatal to many of the sanguine hopes of a speedy victory over disunited rebels which the royalists up to this time had entertained. They had seen how the despised Trained Bands has been disciplined into good soldiers. They had seen how such men as held the "godly city of Gloucester" for a whole month against the best troops of the king would die rather than surrender. There was a fatal concurrence of events to render it certain that, although the

* "Æneid," iv. l. 880

† *Ibid.*, xi. l. 230.

queen was bestowing places upon her favourite courtiers, as if Oxford were Whitehall—offering the marquis of Newcastle to be Chamberlain or lord of the bedchamber, and intriguing to make the faithless lord Holland groom of the stole,—the real power of the monarchy was fading away. The royalists called the battle of Newbury "a very great victory." * Before this issue had been tried the Parliament had appointed commissioners to negotiate a treaty of alliance with the Scots; for the Parliament felt weak and dispirited. Sir Henry Vane, the chief negotiator, had acceded to the imperative demand of the Scots parliament that the religious system of Scotland should be adopted as that of England. Vane, who was an Independent, and a supporter of toleration, contrived, after great debate, to satisfy the zealous Presbyterians, who proposed "a Covenant." Vane stipulated for "a solemn *league* and covenant." This obligation was to be taken by both nations. The Scots proposed a clause "for the preservation of the king's person." Vane added, "in preservation of the laws of the land and liberty of the subject." To the clause for "reducing the doctrine and discipline of both churches to the pattern of the best reformed," Vane added "according to the word of God." † This solemn League and Covenant was to bind those who subscribed it, "to endeavour, without respect of persons, the extirpation of popery and prelacy." A passage from Baxter shows how earnestly it was sought to reconcile the moderate party to this declaration: "This Covenant was proposed by the Parliament to the consideration of the Synod at Westminster; the Synod stumbled at some things in it, and especially at the word prelacy. Dr. Burges the prolocutor, Mr. Gataker, and abundance more, declared their judgments to be for episcopacy, even for the ancient moderate episcopacy, in which one stated president, with his presbyter, governed every church; though not for the English Diocesan frame, in which one bishop, without his presbytery, did, by a lay chancellor's court, govern all the presbyters and churches of a diocese, being many hundreds; and that in a secular manner by abundance of upstart secular officers, unknown to the primitive church. Hereupon grew some debate in the assembly: some being against every degree of bishops (especially the Scottish divines), and others being for a moderate episcopacy. But these English divines would not subscribe the Covenant, till there were an alteration suited to their judgments: and so a parenthesis was yielded to, as describing that

* Letter of the queen to Newcastle.

† * See Ludlow's "Memoirs," p. 65.

sort of prelacy which they opposed, viz., that is, Church government by archbishops, bishops, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy. All which conjoined are mentioned as the description of that form of church government which they meant by Prelacy, as not extending to the ancient Episcopacy. When the Covenant was agreed on, the Lords and Commons first took it themselves, and Mr. Thomas Coleman preached to the House of Lords, and gave it them with this public explication, "That by Prelacy we mean not all Episcopacy, but only the form which is here described." * Mr. Hallam says, "These controversial subtleties elude the ordinary reader of history." But history cannot be understood unless some reference be made to them. Without regarding these subtleties, we might conclude that the Parliament and the people of London were unanimous for the unconditional adoption of the same form of church government as that which was established in Scotland. The Scots no doubt expected that this would be the result. The exultation of their commissioners in London must have been unbounded when, on the 25th of September, all the members of Parliament, assembled in St. Margaret's church, swore to maintain "the solemn League and Covenant." The oath was signed by two hundred and twenty-eight members of the Commons. It was adopted in the city with enthusiastic demonstrations of religious fervour. On the next day Essex was received in London with a warmth that may have consoled him for some previous complaints of his want of energy, and for annoyances which he had received in his command. The Lords and Commons gave him an assurance of their confidence: and he remained the general-in-chief, without the divided powers which had created a jealousy between himself and sir William Waller.

Whilst the members of parliament in London are lifting up their hands in reverent appeal to Heaven as they accept the Covenant, and the people are shouting around the earl of Essex as the banners are displayed which he won in Newbury fight, there is one man fast growing into one of the most notable of men, who is raising troops, marching hither and thither, fighting whenever blows are needful—work which demands more instant attention than the ceremony of St. Margaret's church. In the early stages of his wonderful history nothing is more interesting than to trace the steps of this man, now *Colonel* Cromwell. Whatever he says or

* "Reliquiæ Baxterianæ," p. 48.

does has some mark of the vigour of his character,—so original, so essentially different in its manifestations from the customary displays of public men. In Cromwell's speeches and writings we must not look for the smooth and equable movement of common diplomatists and orators. His grand earnestness makes the artifices of rhetoric appear petty by comparison. The fluency of the scholarly writer is weak by the side of his homely phrases. He is urging some great friends in Suffolk to raise recruits, and choose captains of horse: "A few honest men are better than numbers. * * * * I had rather have a plain russet-coated captain, who knows what he fights for, and loves what he knows, than that which you call 'a Gentleman,' and is nothing else. I honour a Gentleman that is so indeed." * In this spirit Cromwell is forming his "Ironsides," and at this period is heading them in the earliest of those famous charges which determined so many battles. On the 10th of October, in the skirmish of Winceby, near Horncastle, his career is well nigh ended. His horse was killed at the first charge; and as he rose, he was knocked down by sir Ingram Hopton, who led the royalists. He seized another horse, and the enemy was routed. Denzil Hollis, in his Memoirs, more than insinuates doubts of Cromwell's personal courage. He calls him "as errand a coward, as he is notoriously perfidious, ambitious, and hypocritical;" and states, of his own knowledge, that he basely "kept out of the field at Keinton battle, where he, with his troop of horse, came not in, impudently and ridiculously affirming, the day after, that he had been all that day seeking the army and place of fight, though his quarters were but at a village near hand." † We must receive this testimony for what it is worth, as coming from one who had become a bitter enemy of Cromwell, as the leader of the Independents. For the ambition of such a man as Cromwell, whether as a soldier or a politician, there was now ample room. His religious party was fast rising into importance. The sectaries of all denominations eagerly gathered under the standard of a leader who insisted that his men should be religious, but left the particular form of religion to their own choice. The religious principle of the Civil War thus became more and more prominent, when enthusiasts of every denomination regarded it as a struggle

* Mr. Carlyle has done inestimable service for the historical student by his publication of "Oliver Cromwell's Speeches and Letters, with Elucidations." For the first time Cromwell is presented to us as a real man.

† "Memoirs," p. 17.

for the right of private judgment in matters of faith, and despised every authority but that of the Bible. Such a leader as Cromwell had tougher materials to conquer with than Hampden, with his green-coated hunters of the Chilterns. He had themes to discourse upon in his oratory, so forcible, however regardless of proem and peroration, which, far more than Pym's eloquent declamation, stirred the hearts of a parliament that had come to consider "the power of godliness" to be a higher cause than "the liberties of the kingdoms." Cromwell's opportunity was come. The man who had destroyed arbitrary taxation, and the man who had sent the counsellors of a military despotism to the block, were no more. The year 1643 was memorable for the deaths of three of the greatest of the early patriots of the Long Parliament—Hampden, Falkland, and Pym. We have seen how two of the illustrious three died on the battle-field. Pym died on the 8th of December, having sunk under a lingering illness. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, his body being carried to its resting place on the shoulders of ten of the leading speakers and influential members of the House of Commons. The men who now came upon the scene as the chief actors were of a different stamp than these earlier tribunes of the people. Henceforward the war will assume a broader character and a fiercer aspect. The prospect of accommodation will grow more and more faint. The religious element will go forward into what all who look impartially upon those times must consider as relentless persecution by one dominant party, and wild fanaticism amongst sectaries not yet banded into a common purpose. The arbitrary imposition of the Covenant upon every minister of the Anglican Church was the first great result of the alliance with the Scots. The Presbyterian Parliament of England became more violent for conformity than the Court of High Commission which the Parliament had destroyed. The Canons of Laud had fallen lightly upon men who were indifferent about the position of the altar, or the precise amount of genuflexions; but the imposition of the Covenant upon all the beneficed clergy was the declaration of an intolerant tyranny against the most conscientious. The number of incumbents ejected from their livings, for their refusal to sign this obligation, has been variously reckoned. According to Neal, the historian of the Puritans, it was sixteen hundred; according to Walker, an extreme high churchman, it reached eight thousand. The statement of Walker is evidently a gross exaggeration. The sixteen hun-

dred of Neal was about a fifth of the benefices of England. Whatever was the number of ejected ministers, and however some might have been, as was alleged, of evil lives, the tyranny of this measure is most odious, as coming from men who had themselves struggled against religious persecution. "The remorseless and indiscriminate bigotry of Presbyterianism might boast that it had heaped disgrace on Walton, and driven Lydiat to beggary; that it trampled on the old age of Hales, and embittered with insult the dying moments of Chillingworth." * Amongst the eminent public men who advocated the Covenant as a political measure, there were some who abhorred it as an instrument of persecution. The younger Vane, the chief promoter of it, declared upon the scaffold, that "the holy ends therein contained I fully assent to, and have been as desirous to observe; but the rigid way of prosecuting it, and the oppressing uniformity that hath been endeavoured by it, I never approved."

* Hallam, "Constitutional History," vol. ii.