

trial of Neel was about a bill of the peace of England. What
 over was the number of great numbers and how far some
 might have been as was alleged of the tyranny of this
 measure is most obvious as coming from men who had themselves
 struggled against religious persecution. The reverence and
 indiscriminate bigotry of Protestantism might best that it had
 helped disengage on W. and H. and considered the
 of the old and the new to be the same.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Scots enter England.—The Irish army defeated at Nantwich.—A Parliament summoned to meet at Oxford.—Combined armies besiege York.—Lathom House.—Battle of Marston Moor.—The queen leaves England.—Essex defeated in the West.—Second battle of Newbury.—Differences between the Parliamentary Commanders.—Laud condemned for treason by ordinance of parliament.—Treaty of Uxbridge.—Montrose's victories in the Western Highlands.—Self-denying Ordinance.—Fairfax lord-general of the re-modelled army.—Cromwell lieutenant-general.—The battle of Naseby.—The king's Cabinet opened.—Surrender of Bristol by Rupert.—Basing House taken.

THE year 1644 opened with great events. On the 19th of January the Scottish army entered England. They marched from Dunbar, "in a great frost and snow" "up to the knees in snow," say the narratives. Lesley, now earl of Leven, commanded them. The marquis of Newcastle was not strong enough long to oppose them. He had given up his attempt to take Hull, and was in winter-quarters at York. Lesley's army marched on to Newcastle, which they summoned to surrender. The governor and garrison were faithful to their trust. The Scots were straitened for provisions; and the royalist army of fourteen thousand men was intercepting their supplies. They determined to advance further into the heart of the country. At this juncture the English regiments that had been recalled by the king from Ireland, were besieging the parliamentary garrison at Nantwich. Sir Thomas Fairfax hurried to the relief of the place, and totally defeated this Anglo-Irish army, which was under the command of Sir John Byron. The recall by the king of those troops who had been sent to repress the rebellion in Ireland, was preceded by the conclusion of a truce with the rebels themselves. The Irish protestants were alarmed for their safety. The English protestants became more than ever suspicious of Charles, and especially of his queen, who had always maintained a correspondence with the Irish papists. Many of these had come over with the English troops. The cessation of arms in Ireland, says Clarendon, "was no sooner known in England, but the two Houses declared against it, with all the sharp glosses upon it to his majesty's dishonour that can be imagined." He goes on to say, with reference to Irish affairs, that "the calumnies and

slanders raised to his majesty's disservice and dishonour made a more than ordinary impression upon the minds of men, and not only of vulgar-spirited people, but of those who resisted all other infusion and infection." * The historian of the rebellion seeks to acquit the king of all underhand proceedings with the Romanists of Ireland. But he must have had a difficult task for a conscientious man to perform, in slurring over in this and other instances of his master's willingness to adopt covert and dishonourable measures. The next year, when Charles was engaged in the most dangerous projects with Herbert, earl of Glamorgan, for raising a great army of Irish to invade England under the auspices of the pope and foreign princes, he kept these matters a profound secret from his council. Of these Irish transactions there is the conclusive evidence against the king of Clarendon himself, in a letter addressed by him to the secretary Nicholas. "I must tell you, I care not how little I say in that business of Ireland, since those strange powers and instructions given to your favourite Glamorgan, which appears to me so inexcusable to justice, piety, and prudence. And I fear there is very much in that transaction of Ireland, both before and since, that you and I were never thought wise enough to be advised with in. Oh, Mr. Secretary, those stratagems have given me more sad hours than all the misfortunes in war which have befallen the king, and look like the effects of God's anger towards us." †

Negotiation after negotiation between the king and the parliament having failed, and the appeal to the sword still remaining of doubtful issue, some strong measure was thought expedient to lower the character of the two Houses sitting at Westminster. The king's notion was to issue a proclamation declaring the parliament to be dissolved; forbidding them to meet; and requiring all persons to reject their authority. Hyde told the king his honest opinion upon this project: "I cannot imagine that your majesty's forbidding them to meet any more at Westminster will prevent one man the less going there. * * * It was the first powerful reproach they corrupted the people with against your majesty, that you intended to dissolve this parliament; and, in the same way, repeal all the other acts made by that parliament, whereof some are very precious to the people. As your majesty has always disclaimed any such thought, such a proclamation now would confirm all the jealousies and fears so excited, and trouble many of your true sub-

* "Rebellion," vol. iv. p. 364.

† "Clarendon Papers," quoted in Lingard.

jects.* Charles very unwillingly accepted Hyde's own counter-proposition. It was that of summoning the peers and commons that had adhered to the royal cause to meet him in parliament at Oxford. On the 22nd of December, 1643, the proclamation con-voking this Parliament was issued. On the 22nd of January, 1644, the parliament, or more truly convention, met at Oxford. A letter written from this assembly to the earl of Essex, expressing a desire for peace, was signed by forty-three peers, and one hundred and eighteen commons. Others were absent on the king's service. In the same January, according to Whitelocke, two hundred and eighty members appeared in the House of Commons, besides those absent on the parliamentary services. A large majority of the Commons were with the Westminster parliament; a large majority of Peers with that of Oxford. The measure might have been productive of advantage to the royal cause, had it not soon been manifest that the king and queen were impatient under any interference with the authority of royalty. This was more fatal than the absolute refusal of the parliament at Westminster to recognise "those persons now assembled at Oxford, who, contrary to their duty, have deserted your parliament," as they wrote to the king on the 9th of March. The parliament at Oxford continued to sit till the 16th of April, voting taxes and loans, passing resolutions of fidelity, but irritating the king in their refusal to be mere instruments for registering his edicts. But they produced no visible effect upon public opinion; and Charles congratulated the queen upon their being "freed from the place of all mutinous motions, his mongrel parliament," when he had willed its adjournment.

Whilst at Oxford the king's "mongrel parliament" only proved a hindrance to the vigorous prosecution of the war, the parliament at Westminster had adopted the rational course of strengthening their executive authority. A council was formed under the title of "The Committee of the Two Kingdoms," consisting of seven Lords, fourteen members of the Commons and four Scottish commissioners. The entire conduct of the war, the correspondence with foreign states, whatever belongs to the executive power as distinguished from the legislative, devolved upon this Committee. In the spring of 1644 the Parliament had five armies in the field, paid by general or local taxation, and by voluntary contributions. Including the Scottish army there were altogether 56,000 men under arms; the English forces being commanded, as separate

* Clarendon's Life.

armies, by Essex, Waller, Manchester, and Fairfax. Essex and Waller advanced to blockade Oxford. The queen, who was in a situation that made the thought of remaining in a city exposed to siege very irksome, determined to go to a place of greater safety. She went to Exeter in April, and never saw Charles again. He remained shut up in Oxford. Its walls were surrounded by lines of defence; but the blockading forces had become so strong that resistance appeared to be hopeless. On the night of the 3rd of June the king secretly left the city, and passed safely between the two hostile armies. There had been jealousies and disagreements between Essex and Waller. The Committee of the two kingdoms had assigned to Waller the command of the army of the west, in the event of the separation of the two armies. Essex, supported by the council of war, resolved to march to the west himself. He was directed by the Committee to retrace his steps, and go in pursuit of the king. Essex replied to the Committee that their orders were opposed to military discipline; and he marched on. Waller, meanwhile, had gone in pursuit of the king into Worcestershire. Charles suddenly returned to Oxford; and then defeated Waller at Cropredy Bridge, near Banbury, who had hastened back to encounter him. Essex was before the walls of Exeter, in which city the queen had given birth to a princess. The king hastened to the west. He was strong enough to meet either of the parliamentary armies, thus separated. Meanwhile the north of England became the scene of the most momentous conflict that distracted England had yet beheld. The dashing enterprise of Rupert in the relief of Lathom House, so bravely held by Charlotte de la Trémouille, countess of Derby, became of small importance amidst the greater event that was to follow in the north. The moated house of the Stanleys had been defended by the heroic countess for eighteen weeks against a detachment of the army of Fairfax. Their artillery could produce little impression upon the thick walls and lofty towers; and the demand to submit herself, her children, and followers to the mercy of Parliament, produced from the lady, immortalised by history and romance, the reply, that "the mercies of the wicked are cruel." Rupert hung the walls of Lathom House with the parliamentary banners which he had captured in a fierce battle at Bolton; and he went on towards York to a fiercer strife and a perilous defeat. The combined English and Scottish armies were besieging York. Rupert received a letter from the king, containing these words: "I command and conjure you, by the

duty and affection which I know you bear me, that all new enterprises laid aside, you immediately march, according to your first intention, with all your force to the relief of York." He did march. Marston Moor saw the result.

As Rupert advanced towards York with twenty thousand men, the allied English and Scots retired. Their councils were not unanimous. Some were for fighting, some for retreating, and at length they moved from Hessey Moor, near York, to Tadcaster. Rupert entered York with two thousand cavalry. The earl of Newcastle was in command there. He counselled a prudent delay. The impetuous Rupert said he had the orders of the king for his guidance, and he was resolved to fight. Newcastle was a man of ceremony; jealous of interference; for he had ruled the north with vice-regal magnificence: raising large bodies of troops, and paying them with the coinage of the York mint. He was indignant with the prince; but he left him to his own course. On the 2nd of July, having rested two days, in and near York, and enabled the city to be newly provisioned, the royalist army went forth to fight. They met their enemy on Marston Moor. The two armies looked upon each other for two hours, with scarcely a cannon-shot fired. Newcastle asked Rupert what office he was to take. He replied that the earl might repose, for he did not intend to begin the action till the morrow. Newcastle went to his carriage, and left the prince to his supremacy. The sun was in the west on that July evening when the battle began. The sun had scarcely set when the battle was finished; and there were four thousand one hundred and fifty bodies lying dead on that plain. The issue would have been more doubtful, but for Cromwell, who for the first time had headed his Ironsides in a great pitched battle. The right wing of the parliamentary army was scattered. Rupert was chasing and slaying the Scottish cavalry. The centre of each army, each centre composed of infantry, were fighting with the sturdy resolution of Englishmen, whatever be the quarrel. The charges of Fairfax and Cromwell decided the day. The flight of the Scottish horse proclaimed that the victory of the Cavaliers was complete; and a messenger who reached Oxford from Newark announced such news to the enraptured courtiers as made the gothic pinnacles red with bonfires. In another day or two the terrible truth was known. The victory of the parliamentary armies was so complete, that the earl of Newcastle had left York, and had embarked at Scarborough for the continent. Rupert marched away also, with the wreck of his army,

to Chester. Each had announced his determination to the other, as they gloomily entered York on the night of the battle. Fifteen hundred prisoners, all the artillery, more than a hundred banners, remained with the victors. And the men who had achieved this success were the despised Puritans; those who had been a laughing stock for half a century. "We had all the evidence," writes Cromwell to his brother-in-law, colonel Valentine Walton, "of an absolute victory obtained by the Lord's blessing upon the godly party principally. We never charged but we routed the enemy. The left wing, which I commanded, being our own horse, saving a few Scots in our rear, beat all the prince's horse. God made them as stubble to our swords." Cromwell had to tell his brother-in-law of a calamity that would most touch a father's heart. "Sir, God hath taken away your eldest son by a cannon-shot. It brake his leg. We were necessitated to have it cut off, whereof he died." He expatiates upon this sorrow with no vain attempts at ordinary condolence. "The Lord be your strength," is his emphatic conclusion. When Cromwell's character came to be judged, first in an age of profligacy, and then in an age of religious indifference, no one could comprehend that he had any higher sustaining principles than craft and selfishness.

The queen, sinking under a serious illness, unable to call back the high spirit which had made her so determined in her councils and her actions, now fled to France. Essex was approaching with his army towards Exeter. She asked a safe conduct from him to go to Bath or Bristol. He offered to wait upon her himself to London; but he could not obey her desire to go to any other place without directions from the Parliament. On the 9th of July she wrote a letter from Truro, to bid her husband adieu. "I am hazarding my life that I may not incommode your affairs." She embarked from Falmouth on the 14th, and landed at Brest. Henceforth her letters to Charles will continue to show how keen was the interest she took in his proceedings, and how strenuously she held to her original idea of never conceding anything to rebels. Soon after her departure the king's arms had a considerable success over lord Essex in Cornwall. The parliamentary party are in alarm. Cromwell writes, "we do with grief of heart resent the sad condition of our army in the west, and of affairs there. That business has our hearts with it; and truly had we wings we would fly thither."*

* Carlyle, vol. i. p. 156.

wrote in vain for assistance; in vain urged a diversion, to take off the pressure of the royalist army by which he was surrounded. A letter from the king was delivered to him, calling upon him to give peace to his country. Essex replied to his nephew, lord Beauchamp, who brought the letter, that he should give no answer; his advice to the king was to return to his Parliament. Another attempt was made to win Essex to a treaty. He had no authority to treat, he said, and could not treat without a breach of trust. By the latter end of August he was encompassed by the royalists. The greater part of his army desired to capitulate, though his cavalry had succeeded in passing the enemy's posts. Essex hastily left the camp to avoid that humiliation, leaving Skippon in command. The old campaigner proposed to his officers to follow the example of the cavalry, at all risks. But Charles offered honourable terms of capitulation, only requiring the surrender of the artillery, arms, and ammunition. The army of Essex returned as fugitives to London, or dispersed through the country. He wrote from Plymouth an account of "the greatest blow that ever befel our party." His fidelity to the cause he had adopted not only saved him from reproach, but the Parliament hastened to give him a new mark of their confidence. The king was resolved to march to London from the west. Montrose was in arms in Scotland, and had gained two battles. The time for a great blow was thought to have arrived. Three armies under Essex, Manchester, and Waller were called out for the defence of the capital. Essex, though retaining his authority, did not join the troops which fought the second battle of Newbury on the 27th of October. Manchester was there in command. This battle was hotly contested without any decisive results. The king withdrew to Oxford, renewing his project of advancing to London. The serious differences between the Presbyterians and the Independents were brought to an issue by this second battle of Newbury. There were no rejoicings in the city that the king had been checked in his approach. There was gloom and dissatisfaction amongst the people, which was evidently encouraged by men of bolder resolves than those who had the conduct of military affairs. In November, Cromwell, in his place in parliament, brought forward a charge against the earl of Manchester, of having "always been indisposed and backward to engagements, and the ending of the war by the sword." He renewed his attack in December. "It is now time to speak, or for ever hold the tongue * * * I do conceive if the army be not put

into another method, and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear the war no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace." In a few months, the army was put "into another method."

The Presbyterian party, including the Scottish Commissioners, were now at open hostility with the Independents. At a meeting at the house of the lord-general Essex, the Scottish chancellor proposed that Cromwell should be proceeded against as "an incendiary." Whitelocke and Maynard, two eminent lawyers, were consulted. Whitelocke advised that they should be prepared with specific proofs before they brought forward such a charge. Whilst the supporters of Essex and the other generals were seeking for proofs against their dangerous rival, it was moved in the Commons, by Zouch Tate, a man of no great mark, "that no member of either House shall, during the war, enjoy or execute any office or command, civil or military, and that an ordinance be brought in accordingly." Long and furious debates followed this proposition. It was passed by the Lower House on the 21st of December, and transmitted to the Lords. The Presbyterian party saw their strength passing away from them. They endeavoured to rekindle all the violence of religious intolerance, by resuming proceedings against archbishop Laud. In the previous March his trial had commenced upon specific charges, founded upon those which had first been brought forward on his impeachment. He defended himself with skill and courage. The arbitrary power of the ecclesiastical courts which he had upheld was at an end. There was meanness and cruelty in his prosecution, after four years of imprisonment. It was the triumph of a bigotry far more odious than his own attempt to tyrannise in matters of religious opinion. His most active persecutor was William Prynne, who never relaxed in his thirst for vengeance upon the intolerance which he now repaid in tenfold measure. By an ordinance of Parliament, voted by a few lords—some say seven only—he was condemned for high-treason. There might be the plea of state necessity for the execution of Strafford; but to send this aged prelate to the block, whose power for good or evil was wholly gone, was atrocious in a higher degree, for this shedding of blood was useless. He was beheaded on the 10th of January, 1645. On the 3rd the Liturgy of the Church of England, which had been previously tolerated, was abolished by ordinance. Four others were sent to the scaffold at the same time for political offences;—Sir John

Hotham and his son: lord Macguire; and Sir Alexander Carew. The Presbyterians were left to these courses of severity, whilst their opponents were urging the adoption of "the Self-denying Ordinance." It was rejected on the 13th of January, by the Lords. The reason for the rejection was that they did not know "what shape the army will now suddenly take." But the agitation of this question had rendered a great change necessary. On the 21st of January, Fairfax was nominated general; and, within a month, a new model for the army was arranged and carried. The Self-denying Ordinance, with modifications, was ultimately passed.

The most strenuous attempt at pacification between the king and the Parliament was made at the beginning of 1645. Ludlow has briefly recorded the main facts: "It was agreed that Commissioners should be sent from the Parliament to treat with others to be sent from the king, about conditions of peace. The place of their meeting was at Uxbridge. * * * The king had owned the two Houses as a parliament, to which he was not without difficulty persuaded, though he had by an act engaged that they should continue to be a parliament till they had dissolved themselves, which they had not done." * Charles wrote to his queen, "As for my calling those at London a parliament, I shall refer thee to Digby for particular satisfaction; this in general; if there had been but two besides myself, of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a parliament." † This was his apology to Henrietta Maria, when she bitterly reproached him, saying, "When you were resolved to make a little council of four, you showed me a paper in which were many things about which you would never relax, of which this was the first." ‡ A negotiation entered upon in such a spirit was not likely to end in any agreement for the public good. Clarendon, who was one of the king's commissioners at Uxbridge, has left the amplest details of the progress of this treaty. The commissioners sent by the Parliament were chiefly of the more moderate party. Men who had been united in the first days of the Long Parliament, but had since become political enemies, now met in a common hope that once more they might become friends. Sir Edward Hyde and lord Colepepper renewed their intercourse with Mr. Hollis and Mr. Saint John.

* "Memoirs," p. 149.

† "King's Cabinet Opened," Harleian Miscellany, vol. v. p. 513.

‡ Green's "Letters," p. 2.

The chancellor of Scotland, lord Loudon, and the parliamentary lords Pembroke and Denbigh, had private discussions with Hyde and others, in which they imparted their mutual hopes and fears. "There was a good house at the end of the town, which was provided for the treaty, where was a fair room in the middle of the house, handsomely dressed up for the commissioners to sit in." * Each party ate in its own inn, for there were "two great ones which served very well to that purpose." The duke of Richmond presided at the table of the king's commissioners. Their debates were at first grave and courteous; seldom disturbed by any acrimonious reflections upon the past; always difficult and protracted for many hours. The three great points which they had to discuss were, the Church, the state of Ireland, the Militia. They took each separately. The Presbyterians, with the Scottish divines, were as strenuous for the abolition of episcopacy, as the Episcopalians, with the learned doctors from Oxford, were resolute for its maintenance. Some trifling concessions were made on either side; and an approach to an agreement did not seem absolutely hopeless. The question of Ireland was not so difficult. That of the Militia,—the question which of two parties should hold the great instrument of power—was at one period of the discussion resolving itself into a manageable shape. Lord Southampton was deputed to proceed to Oxford to see if he could obtain some concession from the king that would place the military authority under the joint control of the Crown and the Parliament, each naming half of the leaders, for a limited number of years. Dr. Welwood has a remarkable story connected with this mission: "Though the Parliament's demands were high, and the king showed a more than ordinary aversion to comply with them; yet the ill posture of the king's affairs at that time, and the fatal consequences they feared would follow upon the breaking off of the treaty, obliged a great many of the king's friends, and more particularly that noble person the earl of Southampton, who had gone post from Uxbridge to Oxford for that purpose, to press the king again and again upon their knees, to yield to the necessity of the times; and by giving his assent to some of the most material propositions that were sent him, to settle a lasting peace with his people. The king

* That "fair room," with its black oak panels, quaintly carved, was, within the last twelve years, the principal room of the "Treaty-house Inn." We have often rested there, to indulge, over a traveller's meal, in reveries of that discussion of twenty days which made this room famous.

was at last prevailed with to follow their counsel; and the next morning was appointed for signing a warrant to his commissioners to that effect. And so sure were they of a happy end of all differences, that the king at supper complaining his wine was not good, one told him merrily, he hoped that his majesty would drink better before a week was over, at Guildhall with the lord mayor. But so it was, that when they came early the next morning to wait upon him with the warrant that had been agreed upon over night, they found his majesty had changed his resolution, and was become inflexible, in these points." This sudden change in the king's resolves might have been ascribed to the capricious vacillation which he often displayed, whether from the changing moods of his own mind, or the influence of the queen and other secret advisers. In the instance before us, the altered temper is referred to a letter from Montrose, which had been received by Charles during the night. In the middle of December that daring chieftain had forced an entry into the country of the Campbells, wasting all before him. The mountains were covered with snow; the passes were imperfectly known; yet Montrose made his way, burning and slaughtering, till at length Argyle himself fled from his castle of Inverary, and left the unhappy clans to the vengeance of his deadly enemy. Montrose having sated his revenge till the end of January, marched towards Inverness. Argyle had returned with some forces from the Lowlands to the Western Highlands; and was in a position near the castle of Inverlochry, when Montrose suddenly came down upon him from the mountains. The battle was a decisive victory on the part of the royalist leader, who wrote an account of his exploits to Charles, which letter Dr. Welwood prints, having "seen a copy under the duke of Richmond's hand." Montrose says that after he had laid waste the whole country of Argyle, "my march was through inaccessible mountains, where I could have no guides but cowherds, and they scarce acquainted with a place but six miles from their own habitations. * * * * The difficultest march of all was over the Lochaber mountains, which we at last surmounted, and came upon the back of the enemy when they least suspected us." Having described his victory over "the rebels," he then proceeds to offer Charles his advice. His exultation at his triumph was so unbounded, that he concluded a few victories in Scotland would again place the king, with uncontrolled power, upon the thrones of both kingdoms. He has heard news, he says, "as if your majesty was entering into a treaty with your rebel Parliament

in England. The success of your arms in Scotland does not more rejoice my heart, as that news from England is like to break it. * * * * The more your majesty grants, the more will be asked; and I have too much reason to know, that they will not rest satisfied with less than making your majesty a king of straw. * * * * Forgive me, sacred sovereign, to tell your majesty, that in my poor opinion, it is unworthy of a king to treat with rebel subjects while they have the sword in their hands. And though God forbid I should stint your majesty's mercy, yet I must declare the horror I am in, when I think of a treaty, while your majesty and they are in the field with two armies; unless they disband, and submit themselves entirely to your majesty's goodness and pardon. * * * * Give me leave, with all humility, to assure your majesty, that through God's blessing, I am in the fairest hopes of reducing this kingdom to your majesty's obedience. And if the measures I have concerted with your other loyal subjects fail me not, which they hardly can, I doubt not but before the end of this summer, I shall be able to come to your majesty's assistance with a brave army; which, backed with the justice of your majesty's cause, will make the rebels in England, as well as in Scotland, feel the just rewards of rebellion."*

The treaty of Uxbridge was to last twenty days. The last day expired on a Saturday, and nothing was concluded. "They having on Sunday performed their usual visits to each other, parted with such coolness, as if they scarce hoped to meet again."† When the parliamentary commissioners returned to London, they found that Fairfax had received his commission as sole general. The new model for the army was being practically carried into effect. Argyle arrived from Scotland, stung by defeat and disgrace; and agreed with the extreme party in urging forward whatever measures would lead to the active prosecution of the war. The Peers withdrew from their opposition to the self-denying ordinance, and it was finally passed on the 3rd of April. The military services of Cromwell were of such importance that Fairfax and his officers urged that, without regard to the ordinance, he might be temporarily appointed lieutenant-general, chief commander of the horse. The earls of Essex, Manchester, and Denbigh, gave in their resignations. There was a great change in the operations of the Parliament. There was to be an equal change in the councils of the king. It was resolved that the prince of Wales should be sent into

* Welwood's "Memoirs," p. 306, ed. 1736. † Clarendon, vol. i. p. 81.

western counties with the title of generalissimo, and that the most discreet advisers of Charles should accompany the prince, yet only fifteen years old, to direct all measures in his name. The more violent of the Cavaliers now formed the advisers of Charles. Oxford resounded with songs of mockery against the pestilent Roundheads. The royalist newspapers derided the folly which had dismissed the old parliamentary leaders, to place in their room untried and obscure men. The followers of such were fanatical mechanics, who would fly at the first sound of their cannon. As the summer approached the king's affairs were rapidly mending. He had taken Leicester by storm. Taunton was besieged by the royalists. Fairfax was surrounding Oxford, but inactive. Cromwell was active in the counties of the Eastern Association. Those who had opposed the re-modelling of the army complained that the new organization had produced no effective results. Fairfax, on the 5th of June, received commands to raise the siege of Oxford, and go to the midland counties after the king. The general sent a requisition to the Parliament that Cromwell might be permitted to join him. He was indispensable, Fairfax and his colonels said, as commander of the cavalry. There is alarm in the eastern counties. Cromwell writes from Cambridge to the deputy lieutenants of Suffolk: "The cloud of the enemy's army hanging still upon the borders, and drawing towards Harborough, make some supposals that they aim at the Association." A postscript adds, "Since the writing hereof we received certain intelligence that the enemy's body, with sixty carriages, was on his march towards the Association, three miles on this side Harborough, last night at four of the clock." Cromwell calls for "horse and dragoons"—all your horse and dragoons to hasten to Newmarket. The foot are to rendezvous at Bury. On the 13th of June, Fairfax and Cromwell were marching after the king, who went before them from Daventry to Harborough. On the 14th of June was fought the battle of Naseby.

Cromwell wrote the dispatch announcing the result of this battle to the Speaker of the House of Commons. This letter was written on the evening of that day which was fatal to the hopes of the royalists. "He [the king] drew out to meet us. Both armies engaged. We, after three hours' fight very doubtful, at last routed his army; killed and took about 5000—very many officers, but of what quality we yet know not. We took also about 200 carriages, all he had; and all his guns, being 12 in number, whereof two were demi-cannon, two demi-culverins, and I think the rest sakers. We

pursued the enemy from three miles short of Harborough to nine beyond, even to the sight of Leicester, whither the king fled. Sir, this is none other but the hand of God; and to him alone give the glory, wherein none are to share with Him.* Minuter chroniclers than the man who had the chief share of the work have given us ample details of this victory.† The Cavaliers were so confident of their strength that they were amusing themselves with hunting during the five days that their head-quarters were near Daventry. On the 12th the king was encamped on Burrough Hill, and had been hunting that day. Fairfax was near him, and saw from a place near Weedon, at four o'clock in the morning of the 13th, the huts of the royal camp on fire, for the army was moving off. At six o'clock that morning Cromwell arrived with his Ironsides from the Associated Counties; and he was received with shouts; "the horse gave a mighty shout for joy of his coming to them." The united parliamentary forces now marched forward towards Harborough. The king had taken up his quarters for the night at the "Hall House," at Lubenham, near Harborough, where his van was stationed. His rear was at Naseby. Late that evening, Ireton and his troopers suddenly dashed in amongst the royalists there. Some fled to the old Hall, where the king was gone to rest. He set off instantly to Rupert's quarters at Harborough; and in a midnight council of war it was determined not to retire to Leicester, as had been previously agreed, but to fight Fairfax. "They would not stay to expect his coming," says Clarendon, "but would go back to meet him." The parliamentary army was on its march at three in the morning of the 14th, and at five was at Naseby. Of this old hamlet on a hill in the centre of England there is a rough sketch in a curious book by a chaplain of Fairfax.‡ Mr. Carlyle has given the present aspect of the place in a few words: "A peaceable old hamlet of some eight hundred souls; clay cottages for labourers, but neatly thatched and swept; smith's shop, saddler's shop, beer-shop, all in order; forming a kind of square which leads off southwards into two long streets: the old church, with its graves, stands in the centre. * * * The ground is upland, moorland, though now growing corn; was not enclosed till the last generation, and is still somewhat bare of wood." According to Clarendon the king's army was drawn up early in the morning of the 14th in order of battle, about a mile from Harborough, there

* Carlyle, vol. i. p. 176.

† See Carlyle, vol. iii. Appendix, No vii.

‡ Sprigge, "Anglia Rediviva."

to wait for the enemy. The several commands were thus assigned: prince Rupert commanded the left wing; sir Marmaduke Langdale the right wing; lord Ashley the main body. The reserves were with the king. The scout-master came in and reported that he had been three or four miles, and could gain no intelligence of any enemy near. Rupert then went forward with his horse; and indistinctly seeing the van of the Parliament's troops, fancied they were retreating, and sent a messenger to desire that the royalist main body should immediately move up. When Fairfax saw the king's army advancing, he formed his troops in a large fallow field north-west of Naseby, the brow of the hill running east and west for about a mile. The centre was commanded by Fairfax himself and Skippon; the right wing by Cromwell; the left wing by Ireton. The reserves were commanded by Pride, Hammond, and Rainsborough. On Rupert hurried. "Thus," says Clarendon, "the army was engaged before the cannon was turned, or the grounds made choice of upon which they were to fight." The hill on which the parliamentary army was drawn up bears the name of "Mill Hill." The king's army was on a hill opposite. A wide table-ground known as "Broad Moor" was between them. Here was the chief point of the deadly struggle. Rupert charged up the hill against the left wing of Fairfax. Cromwell charged from the extreme right down the hill upon Langdale's squadrons. Rupert is carrying all before him with his battle-cry of "Queen Mary." He has beaten Ireton's left wing back to Naseby; but there he has been tempted to lose time in taking a survey of his enemy's baggage. Cromwell has scattered the left wing of the royalists. Langdale's horse have fled through the furze-bushes and rabbit-warrens, before the battle-cry of "God is our strength." But Fairfax in the centre is hotly pressed. The king's foot have come over the hill, and poured in volley after volley upon the parliamentary ranks. They have closed. Fairfax is riding from division to division bare-headed. His helmet has been lost in the first charge. Old Skippon is wounded, but he "will not stir while a man will stand." But help is at hand. The Ironsides now turn from their flying enemies on the right; and retrieved the day by their assaults on the king's main battle. When Rupert returns he sees the royal army in utter confusion. Fairfax has rallied his men; and the royalists yield. But the king's reserve of horse, consisting of his own guards, what are they doing? A panic fear seizes them, which Clarendon thus explains:—"The king was even upon the point of charging

the enemy, in the head of his guards, when the earl of Carnewarth, who rode next to him, (a man never suspected for infidelity, nor yet one from whom the king would have received counsel in such a case,) on a sudden, laid his hand on the bridle of the king's horse, and swearing two or three full-mouthed Scottish 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, turned his horse round; upon which a word ran through the troops, 'that they should *march* to the right hand;' which led them both from charging the enemy, and assisting their own men. Upon this they all turned their horses, and rode upon the spur, as if they were every man to shift for himself.* Rupert's men, says Clarendon, "having, as they thought, acted their parts, could never be brought to rally themselves again in order, or to charge the enemy. That difference was observed all along, in the discipline of the king's troops, and of those which marched 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 prevailed in the charge, and routed those they charged, they seldom rallied themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a second charge the same day."†

‡ The battle was at an end. The most precious spoil of that day was "the king's cabinet," which, when "opened," disclosed secrets which more injured his cause than any victory of his enemies. When the banners taken at Naseby were hung up in Westminster Hall, there was joy and pride; but there was bitter indignation when the letters taken in the cabinet at Naseby were read aloud in Guildhall. There was no sincerity in the king's desire for peace; there was no abatement of his determination to govern by absolute power. Foreign princes were asked to send their soldiers to conquer rebel England. The dreaded Papists were to be freed from every restraint on the condition of such assistance. The best blood of the Cavaliers had been shed on the Broad Moor near Naseby. † Other defenders of the king's standard might arise;

* "Rebellion," vol. v. p. 184.

† *Ibid.*, p. 185.

‡ The slaughter of the 14th of June was terrific, both on the battle ground and in Cromwell's charge of the fugitives beyond Harborough. Mr. Thorne, in his charming "Rambles by Rivers," has well described the battle, and says, that "the field itself still retains evidence of the event. The bodies were collected and buried in several huge pits that were hastily dug; and the earth with which they were covered has sunk considerably, so that now they form large hollows—some of the deeper, from the water collecting in them, except in very dry weather, form ponds, and being left waste round the borders, have become fringed with brambles and weeds. The plough is not carried over any o

but these letters were the damning evidence of deceit; and those who saw that the word "loyalty" had ceased to charm, could only complain that domestic confidence was violated when the private correspondence of a king and queen was published to the whole world.

"Naseby being not far from Coventry where I was," writes Baxter, "and the noise of the victory being loud in our ears: and I having two or three that of old had been my intimate friends in Cromwell's army, whom I had not seen of above two years; I was desirous to go see whether they were dead or alive. And so to Naseby-field I went two days after the fight, and thence by the army's quarters before Leicester, to seek my acquaintance." * The worthy man whose curiosity thus took him amongst scenes of horror, has left us no description of the traces of carnage here. But he has given a vivid picture of the men by whom the work was done. In his despatch of the 14th of June to the Speaker of the Commons, Cromwell did not neglect even in his brief rest after the battle and the pursuit, to call attention to these men—the flower of the new-modelled army. "Honest men served you faithfully in this action. Sir, they are trusty; I beseech you, in the name of God, not to discourage them. I wish this action may beget thankfulness and humility in all that are concerned in it. He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience," and you for the liberty he fights for." "The liberty of his conscience" thus proclaimed in the hour of Cromwell's triumph, was a startling notion to the majority of public men at that time. When Baxter found his old acquaintance in the camp, he stayed with them a night. He had been "unfeignedly for king and Parliament." He had thought "that the war was only to save the Parliament and kingdom from papists and delinquents." He understood the Covenant to be "against papists and schismatics." He thought it a mere lie when "the court news-book told the world of the swarms of anabaptists in our armies." He came amongst Cromwell's soldiers, and "found a new face of

the graves, and they have a solemn effect when it is known what they are. In cultivating the soil, bullets, cannon-balls, and fragments of arms, are frequently turned up. The man I had with me when examining the place had been a servant of Mr. Mastin's [the historian of Naseby], and had dug for him in several of the pits. The bodies, he said, were not more than eighteen inches or two feet from the surface. The arms are usually rusted to pieces, but not always; my man had dug up 'a sword not very long ago, and polished her up as bright as bran-new.'"

* "Reliquia Baxteriana," p. 56.

things which I never dreamt of." Sectaries in the highest places, "were Cromwell's chief favourites, and by their very heat and activity bore down the rest." He says, "they were far from thinking of a moderate episcopacy, or of any healing way between the Episcopal and the Presbyterians. They most honoured the Separatists, Anabaptists, and Antinomians; but Cromwell and his Council took on them to join themselves to no party, but to be for the liberty of all." Shortly after, Baxter, whose reputation as a preacher was very high, was invited by colonel Whalley to be chaplain to his regiment. Whalley was "orthodox by religion, but engaged by kindred and interest to Cromwell." Baxter went. "As soon as I came to the army, Oliver Cromwell coldly bid me welcome, and never spake one word to me more while I was there." The good man was ridiculed: "There was a reformer come to the army to undeceive them, and to save Church and State." Thus discountenanced, the zealous minister pursued what he thought his duty. "I set myself day by day to find out the corruptions of the soldiers; and to discourse and dispute them out of their mistakes, both religious and political. My life among them was a daily contending against seducers, and gently arguing with the more tractable." He was ever disputing with them about Civil government, or Church order and government. "But their most frequent and vehement disputes were for liberty of conscience, as they called it; that is, that the civil magistrate had nothing to do to determine of any thing in matters of religion, by constraint or restraint; but every man might not only hold, but preach and do in matters of religion what he pleased; that the civil magistrate hath nothing to do but with civil things; to keep the peace, and protect the Church's liberties." Amidst all this vehemence—amidst the ignorance, pride, and self-conceitedness which Baxter reprehends—it is impossible not to be struck by the fact of a great army, after a mighty victory, being occupied with discussions which appear more properly to belong to parliaments and synods. But without a due perception of the zeal which, whether rightly or wrongly directed, counted an earnest faith the one thing needful, we cannot comprehend the events of these times, and more especially those events which placed, ultimately, the monarchy and the Parliament under the power of the army.

During the summer of 1645 singular confederacies had been formed in some places, avowedly for protecting their property against both parties. Those who belonged to them were known as "Club-

men." They were to some extent neutrals; but they were principally called into activity by royalist gentry. They were not "clubbable" men in Johnson's sense of the term. Their business was to use their clubs as valiantly as they might. They became annoying in the south-west to the parliamentary army; and Cromwell, in a march towards Shaftesbury, encountered about two thousand of them. They fired upon a party of his horse, but of course were soon routed. "We have taken about three hundred," Cromwell writes to Fairfax, "many of which are poor silly creatures, whom if you please to let me send home, they promise to be very dutiful for time to come, and will be hanged before they come out again." Fairfax had taken some of the Clubmen previously; and Cromwell told those who interceded for them that "they were to be tried judicially for raising a third party in the kingdom."*

King Charles had fought his last battle at Naseby. The military career of prince Rupert in England was now fast coming to an end. Bristol, which Rupert was charged to defend, was invested by Fairfax and Cromwell on the 22nd of August. The positions taken by the several divisions of the parliamentary army are minutely described in a letter from Cromwell to the Speaker. On the 10th of September the city was stormed. The royalists caused the city to be set on fire at three places. Whilst the parliamentary commanders "were viewing so sad a spectacle," Rupert sent a trumpet to propose a surrender. The articles were agreed upon; and the prince marched out with a convoy of two regiments of horse. He went to Oxford. Charles wrote him a bitter letter of reproach from Hereford: "My conclusion is, to desire you to seek your subsistence until it shall please God to determine of my condition, somewhere beyond seas." A royal proclamation was issued the same day, revoking and disannulling all commissions of military authority given to "our nephew prince Rupert." The surrender of Bristol was perhaps the wisest act of Rupert's life; for he had no chance of holding it against the parliamentary forces, and the king was utterly unable to render him assistance. But Charles would not learn from the bitter lessons of adversity. It is justly said, "after his defeat at Naseby his affairs were, in a military sense, so irretrievable that, in prolonging the war with as much obstinacy as the broken state of his party would allow, he displayed a good deal of that indifference to the sufferings of the

* Carlyle, vol. ii. p. 184.

kingdom, and of his adherents, which has been sometimes imputed to him."*

At the beginning of October, Winchester surrendered to Cromwell; and he then went on to the siege of Basing House. Of the many memorable places of the Civil War there is none more interesting than this. It was amongst the strongest of those private houses of the nobility which offered such strenuous resistance to the progress of the parliamentary troops. It had endured siege after siege for four years. The traveller on the South Western railway looks down upon a great ruined pile, not far from Basingstoke, lying on the other side of a little stream. The ruin will repay a closer inspection. This was the house called "Loyalty" which Cromwell battered from the higher ground till he had made a breach; and then stormed with a resolution which made all resistance vain. Never was such a rich plunder offered to the Roundheads, as was found in the mansion "fit to make an emperor's court," of the magnificent Pawlet, marquis of Winchester.

* Hallam, vol. ii. p. 182.