

CHAPTER XXIX.

Narratives of the king's Escape.—He goes to the Isle of Wight.—The Levellers in the Army.—Their meeting suppressed.—Berkeley's unsuccessful mission to Fairfax and Cromwell.—Scotch and English Commissioners at Carisbrook.—Parliament declares against any further treaty with the king.—Royalist Re-action.—Riots in London.—Revolts in many districts.—The king attempts to escape from Carisbrook.—Insurrections quelled.—Cromwell in Wales.—Scottish Army in England.—Cromwell's march from Wales.—Battle of Preston.—Cromwell in Edinburgh.—Note on the party-spirit during the Royalist reaction.

THERE are two minute relations of the circumstances that immediately succeeded the flight of the king from Hampton Court—the narratives of Berkeley and Ashburnham. Each of these was written with the intention of justifying its author from the charge of having betrayed the king, which the Royalists affirmed; and for this purpose they were circulated in manuscript after the Restoration.* Each tries to fix the unfortunate issue of the adventure upon the other adviser of the king. The interest of this controversy has long since passed; and we may therefore accept Clarendon's opinion "that neither of them were, in any degree, corrupted in their loyalty or affection to the king, or suborned to gratify any persons with a disservice to their master."† In the main points of the story both these companions in the flight of Charles do not materially differ.

The night of Thursday, the 11th of November, was dark and stormy. Berkeley and Ashburnham were waiting with horses by the Thames' side, and when Charles came out, accompanied by major Legg, they immediately rode towards Oatlands. Cromwell had been sent for, upon the escape being discovered; and at midnight he wrote a letter to the Speaker of the Commons, announcing the withdrawal of the king; who "had left his cloak behind him in the gallery of the private way; and had passed by the backstairs and vault towards the water-side." The four rode "through the forest,"‡ the king being their guide; but they lost their way, and

* Berkeley's Narrative was printed in 1699. Ashburnham's not till 1830.

† "History," vol. v. p. 497.

‡ The route from Oatlands into Hampshire would lead through Windsor Forest, then comprising a vast circuit of many parishes.

were busied in discussions about the ultimate course they were to pursue. Ashburnham says that previous to their departure the king had told him, "he had some thoughts of going out of the kingdom, but for the shortness of the time to prepare a vessel to transport him; and for the other reasons I had sent him by major Legg he was resolved to go to the Isle of Wight." At day-break of that dark November morning they were at Sutton in Hampshire, where they had sent a relay of horses; and they immediately continued their way towards Southampton. As they walked down a hill with their horses in their hands, they again discussed what to do; and then Berkeley says he heard for the first time anything of the Isle of Wight. It was arranged that the king and Legg should proceed to a house of lord Southampton at Titchfield; that Berkeley and Ashburnham should go into the Isle of Wight to colonel Hammond, the governor. Robert Hammond was connected with the royalist as well as with the parliamentary party. One of his uncles was chaplain to the king. Through the friendship of Cromwell he had himself married a daughter of Hampden. The two companions of the king slept at Lymington; and the next morning reached Carisbrook. They delivered to Hammond a message of the king, that he had been under the necessity of providing for his own safety, but would confide himself to the governor of the island, as one who had prosecuted the war against him without any animosity to his person; asking if he would promise protection to his majesty and his attendants to the best of his power. Berkeley says that Hammond grew so pale, and fell into such a trembling, that he expected him to fall from his horse, exclaiming, "O gentlemen, you have undone me by bringing the king into this island, if you have brought him." After much discussion, Hammond engaged "to perform whatever could be expected from a person of honour and honesty;" and, being then partly informed where the king was, proposed to go with them. They reached Cowes, and here took boat to Titchfield, Hammond having the captain of Cowes Castle with him. The scene which followed is related by Ashburnham, as if it were something very creditable to himself and to the king. The king was alarmed, and said that he was sure the governor would make him a prisoner; and then Ashburnham said, "I was happy that I had provided an expedient; so that if he would say what other course he would steer, I would take order that the governor should not interrupt him. His majesty asked me how that could possibly be, since the governor was come with us? I an-

swered that his coming made any other way more practicable than if he had stayed behind. He then told me, that he had sent to Hampton for a vessel, to transport him into France, and was in good hope to be supplied, and that he expected news of it every moment, but very earnestly pressed to know how I would clear him of the governor. I answered that I was resolved and prepared to kill him and the captain with my own hands." The valiant Jack Ashburnham who, in his fever of loyalty, proposed to slay the man whom he believed worthy of all confidence, was not discarded by the king upon this proof that he had a treacherous nature. His relation thus continues: "His majesty walking some few turns in the room, and, as he was afterwards pleased to tell me, weighing what I had proposed to him, and considering that if the ship should not come, it would not be many hours before some, in pursuance of him, would seize him, the consequence whereof he very much apprehended, resolved he would not have execution done upon the governor, for he intended to accept of what he had proposed and to go with him, and therefore commanded he should be called up, sir John Berkeley being not yet come to the king." There was no news of the expected ship; orders had arrived at Southampton that the port should be closed; and in two hours the king was in a boat sailing to the Fair Isle. That night he slept at Carisbrook Castle.

The inevitable tendency of all revolutions to call into action violent bodies of men professing principles that strike at the foundation of secure and orderly government, was now clearly visible. The Levellers had become conspicuous in the army—those, according to Clarendon, who declared "that all degrees of men should be levelled, and an equality should be established, both in titles and estates throughout the kingdom."* The historian of the Rebellion doubts "whether the raising of this spirit was a piece of Cromwell's ordinary witchcraft, in order to some of his designs, or whether it grew amongst the tares which had been sowed in that confusion." Had Clarendon lived through a period of sixty years of far more terrible revolutions in another kingdom, he would have known that it needs no "witchcraft" to evoke such a spirit out of the passions of the enthusiastic and the rapacity of the dishonest. Whatever the historian believes of Cromwell's witchcraft, he does full justice to his human powers of "dexterity and courage," by which "he totally subdued that spirit in the army," which would

* "Rebellion," vol. v. p. 486.

otherwise "have produced all imaginable mischief in the parliament, army, and kingdom."* Four days after the king has quitted Hampton Court, Cromwell is dealing very summarily—in "a rough and brisk temper," as Clarendon has it—with some of those against whom he had warned colonel Whalley, in regard to the safety of Charles's person. A rendezvous is appointed at Corkbush field, between Ware and Hertford, for seven regiments. But there are nine regiments on the ground. Harrison's regiment of horse, and Lilburn's of foot, have come without orders. Lilburn himself has been sent to the Tower; but being permitted to ride out, for his health, has come to the rendezvous. His regiment is without its officers, for the Agitators have expelled all above the rank of lieutenant, with the exception of one captain. They have papers in their hats, of "Liberty for England, their rights for the soldiers." Fairfax and Cromwell read to the seven regiments a remonstrance against the proceedings of the Agitators, and they are received with acclamations. Fairfax addresses Harrison's cavalry, and the troopers exclaim that they will live and die with their general, and they tear the inscriptions from their hats. Lilburn's regiment reply to Fairfax with derisive shouts. Cromwell exclaims "Take that paper from your hats." They refuse. He rushes into the ranks; orders fourteen of the mutineers to be seized; a drum-head court-martial is assembled, and three are condemned to death. The Council of Officers order that they shall draw lots which shall determine the fate of one. The immediate execution of that one restored the army to its wonted discipline. But such remedies cannot frequently be repeated. The most violent of the fanatics are preaching against the severity exercised towards their "saints." The Presbyterians look coldly upon the energy of the great military Independent; the republican politicians begin to fear and distrust him. Ludlow cries "No," when a vote of thanks to Cromwell is proposed in parliament. They do not see as clear as he does the line which separates liberty from anarchy.

Colonel Hammond, according to Berkeley's relation, had many private conferences with the king; and was earnest that some authorised person should proceed from Charles to the generals who had put down the violence of the Agitators. Berkeley set out with letters from the king and also from the governor, and arrived at the headquarters at Windsor. He delivered his letters to Fairfax at a general meeting of officers. Being desired to withdraw, he was soon after-

* "Rebellion," vol. v. p. 506.

wards called in; and was sternly told by Fairfax that they were the Parliament's officers, and must refer the king's letters to the Parliament. Cromwell and Ireton looked coldly upon him, as well as other officers with whom he was acquainted. His servant went out to find some one to whom Berkeley could speak; and a general officer sent him a message to meet him in a close behind the Garter Inn, at twelve at night. They met; and his friend urged him to persuade the king to escape; for that it was resolved to seize his person and bring him to trial. The Agitators, he said, were not quelled; and had been repeatedly with Cromwell and Ireton to tell them that they would bring the whole army to the conviction that the king should be brought to trial. The general further said that he hazarded his own life in this interview; for it was agreed that no one should speak with Berkeley, under pain of death. Cromwell had despaired of bringing the army to his sense, and must make his peace with those who were most opposed to the king. "He was re-instated in the fellowship of the faithful." Berkeley the next day sent colonel Cook to Cromwell, to say that he had letters and papers for him from the king. "He sent me word, by the same messenger, that he durst not see me, it being very dangerous to us both; and bid me be assured that he would serve his majesty as long as he could do it without his own ruin; but desired that I would not expect that he should perish for his sake." Cromwell was on the edge of a precipice. There was a belief that he was privy to the escape of the king. Ludlow, the republican says, "it was visible that the king made his escape by the advice of Cromwell." It is certainly not improbable that Cromwell, knowing the dangers of the king, might sincerely desire that he might escape out of the kingdom. The notion of Hollis, that he recommended the flight to the Isle of Wight, "because he had there provided a gaoler," is irreconcilable with the facts. Charles during the first month might have escaped from Carisbrook without any difficulty, had proper means been supplied. A ship only was wanting. Berkeley went back to the king to recommend this course, which he had urged by letter; but the false hope of dealing with another party again prevailed over the natural fears of Charles for his own life. Berkeley's first words to the king were, "Why was he still in the island, where he could not long promise himself the liberty he now had?" Charles replied, "that he would have a care of that, time enough; and that he was to conclude with the Scots, because from their desire to have him out of the Army's hands they would listen

to reason." The Scottish commissioners came to Carisbrook towards the end of December. It had been voted in the House of Lords at the end of November, that propositions should again be offered to the king in the shape of four bills, far more stringent as to the power of Parliament and the Militia than the offers at any previous time, but leaving the religious question untouched. The Scottish commissioners in London had secretly advised the king to reject these bills. Their own proposals were, that a Scottish army should come into England to restore him to his rights, provided that he confirmed the Presbyterian establishment in England for a period of three years, and then the constitution of the Church to be finally settled. "In that season of despair," says Clarendon, "they prevailed with him to sign the propositions he had formerly refused; and having great apprehensions, from the jealousies they knew the army had of them, that they should be seized upon and searched on their return to London, they made up their precious contract in lead, and buried it in a garden in the Isle of Wight, from whence they easily found means afterwards to receive it." Having concluded this dangerous alliance, Charles delivered his answer to the English commissioners. He had in vain endeavoured to prevail upon lord Denbigh and the others to take back his determination in a sealed envelope. He rejected the propositions. That evening the gates of Carisbrook Castle were closed, guards surrounded the fortress; and the greater number of the king's servants, including Berkeley and Ashburnham, were ordered to quit the island. An escape meditated for the next night was no longer practicable. The commissioners of the Parliament returned to Westminster, to proclaim what was, in truth, the complete triumph of the republicans. The last manœuvre of the unfortunate king rendered his difficult condition utterly desperate. Ludlow, speaking of the English and Scottish negotiations at Carisbrook, says, "Whilst these two sorts of commissioners were one day attending the king as he walked about the castle, they observed him to throw a bone before two spaniels that followed him, and to take great delight in seeing them contending for it; which some of them thought to be intended by him to represent that bone of contention he had cast between the two parties."* It was a delight that was to come to a fatal issue. Cromwell wrote to colonel Hammond on the 3rd of January, "The House of Commons is very sensible of the king's dealings, and of our brethren's [the

* "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 232.

Scots], in this late transac̄tion." He tells his "dear Robin," that "now, blessed be God, I can write and thou receive freely." He alludes to some struggle of the governor in favour of his unhappy prisoner,—“thou in the midst of thy temptation, which, indeed, by what we understand of it, was a great one.” The letter-writer exultingly communicates the result of the proceedings at Carisbrook: “The House of Commons has this day voted as follows:—1st. They will make no more Addresses to the king; 2nd. None shall apply to him without leave of the two Houses, upon pain of being guilty of high treason; 3rd. They will receive nothing from the king, nor shall any other bring anything to them from him, nor receive anything from the king.” The Lords adopted the resolution, after some debate. Unless there be some speedy change, the end will be accomplished that the majority in Parliament contended for, “to settle the commonwealth without the king.” That majority in the Commons was a very formidable one—141 to 91; and their resolution is justly described by Mr. Hallam as “a virtual renunciation of allegiance.”

But, however the notion of a sovereign representative assembly as the government suited for England might please the political enthusiasts and the military fanatics, the great body of quiet people, who desired the protection of the law under a limited monarchy, were not prepared to endure that a democracy should be thrust upon them at the point of the sword. Discontent was very generally spread. Murmurings would shortly grow into revolts. Cromwell, who saw better than most men the inevitable result of political and religious discords, whilst the supreme authority was so unsettled, tried to effect some reconciliation between Presbyterians and Independents. The dinner at which Cromwell assembled them was given in vain. “One would endure no superior, the other no equal.” Ludlow, who thus describes the result of this attempt, relates more minutely the proceedings of another meeting at which he was present. The Grandees of the House and Army, of whom he terms Cromwell the head, “would not declare their judgments either for a monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical government; maintaining that any of them might be good in themselves, or for us, according as Providence should direct us.” The Commonwealth’s men boldly declared against monarchy; that the king had broken his oath, and dissolved their allegiance; maintained that he had appealed to the sword, and should be called to account for the effusion of blood; after which

an equal Commonwealth, founded upon the consent of the people. The discussion, solemn as it was, had a ludicrous termination. “Cromwell,” says Ludlow, “professed himself unresolved; and having learned what he could of the principles and inclinations of those present at the conference, took up a cushion and flung it at my head, and then ran down the stairs; but I overtook him with another, which made him hasten down faster than he desired.”* Cromwell told Ludlow the next day that “he was convinced of the desirableness of what was proposed, but not of the feasibility of it.” There was a meeting some time after, conducted in a very different mood by Cromwell—a meeting of officers of the Army at Windsor Castle, as reported by adjutant-general Allen. These zealous men spent one whole day in prayer. They were exhorted by Cromwell to a thorough consideration of their actions as an Army, and of their ways as private Christians. They became convinced that the Lord had departed from them, through “those carnal conferences which they held in the preceding year with the king and his party.” They, with bitter weeping, took sense and shame of their iniquities. They came to a clear agreement that it was their duty to go forth and fight the enemies that had appeared against them. They finally came to a resolution, “That it was our duty, that, if ever the Lord brought us back again in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for that blood he had shed, and mischief he had done to his utmost, against the Lord’s cause and people in these poor nations.”† These men, not hypocrites, not wholly fanatics, are very terrible in their stern resolves. They will go forth to fight “the enemies that had appeared against them”—and then! There is a re-action in many quarters in England. The Scots are preparing to invade. A second Civil War is fast approaching.

When the Parliament passed their resolution to receive no more communications from the king, and to forbid all correspondence with him, they published a declaration imputing all the misfortunes of his reign to himself personally, and not to evil counsellors, as had been the custom before monarchy had lost its respect even in the eyes of those who were opposed to its evil government. Clarendon ascribes the partial re-action of public opinion in a great degree to what he calls “this monstrous declaration.” But he wholly misconceives or misrepresents the temper of the people, when he sets forth “a universal discontent and

* “Memoirs,” p. 239.

† Somers’ Tracts, given in Carlyle’s “Cromwell,” vol. i.

murmuring of the three nations, and almost as general a detestation both of parliament and army, and a most passionate desire that all their follies and madness might be forgotten in restoring the king to all they had taken from him, and in settling that blessed government they had deprived themselves of.* Nations have sometimes unaccountable fits of oblivion; but the memory of eleven years of the unmitigated despotism of "that blessed government" was too deeply written upon the volume of the people's brain, though Edward Hyde might choose to forget it. Nevertheless, the nation was tired of its distractions. It wearied for some permanent settlement that might end the hoarse disputes and subtle intrigues of Parliament and Army, of Presbyterian and Independent; that might free the possessors of rank and property from the dread of wild men with notions of social equality; that might restore industry to its healthful functions, and put an end not only to the cost of a standing military force, but to its fearful resistance to civil power. The desire of the peaceful portion of the nation was feebly heard amidst the surrounding clamour. The attempt to express their impatience of existing evils by riot and revolt was necessarily a vain attempt. This spirit was displayed in the city of London, at the beginning of April. Cromwell and some of the other leaders attend a Common-Council; but they find the Presbyterians indisposed to listen to what they call "their subtleties." The next day there is a formidable riot. It is Sunday. The puritan strictness in religious observances, and in minor matters, has come to be less respected than before the close of the war. Royalists, amidst their contempt for what they deem fanaticism, are now mixing again in the ordinary intercourse with the despised Roundheads. The theatre is now not wholly proscribed. Evelyn writes in his Diary, "5th February, saw a tragi-comedy acted in the Cockpit, after there had been none of these diversions for many years during the war." On that Sunday, the 9th of April, there are apprentices playing at bowls in Moorfields during church-time. They are ordered to disperse by the militia guard; but they fight with the guard, and hold their ground. Soon routed by cavalry, they raise the old cry of "Clubs;" are joined by the watermen, a numerous and formidable body; fight on through the night; and in the morning have possession of Ludgate and Newgate, and have stretched chains across all the great thoroughfares. There are forty hours of this tumult, in which the prevailing cry is "God and king

* "Rebellion," vol. vi. p. 1.

Charles." At last a body of cavalry arrive from Westminster; there is an irresistible charge of the men who had rode down far more terrible assailants; and that movement is at an end. But in many towns there are similar riots. In Wales some Presbyterian officers of the parliamentary army, with colonel Poyer at their head, have raised a far more formidable insurrection. Pembroke Castle is in their hands. They soon have possession of Chepstow Castle. The gentry have proclaimed the king. It is a Presbyterian-royalist insurrection, allied in principle with the purposes of the moderate Presbyterians of Scotland, who are organising their army for the march into England. The Welsh outbreak is somewhat premature; but nevertheless it is very formidable. It is alarming enough to demand the personal care of lieutenant-general Cromwell. He leaves London on the 3rd of May, with five regiments. The Londoners are glad to be freed from his presence; for a rumour has been spread that the army at Whitehall are about to attack and plunder the city. Petitions were addressed to the Commons that the army should remove further; and that the militia should be placed under the command of Skippon. The re-action gave the Presbyterians again the command in Parliament; and it was voted on the 28th of April, that the fundamental government of the kingdom by King, Lords, and Commons, should not be changed; and that the resolutions forbidding all communication with the king should be rescinded. Popular demonstrations immediately followed the departure of Cromwell. Surrey gentlemen, freeholders, and yeomen, came to Westminster with a petition that the king should be restored with all the splendour of his ancestors. A broil ensued between the parliamentary guard and these petitioners, who asked the soldiers, "Why do you stand here to guard a company of rogues?" Several of the Surrey men, and one of the guard, were killed. The Royalists of Kent organised themselves in a far more formidable shape. They secured Sandwich and Dover; appointed as general, Goring, earl of Norwich; and assembled at Rochester to the number of seven thousand. Troops were raised for the royal service in the eastern and midland counties. More dangerous to the ruling powers than all these demonstrations, was the defection of the fleet. Clarendon has thus described the mariners of his time: "The seamen are in a manner a nation by themselves; a humorous, brave, and sturdy people; fierce and resolute in whatsoever they are inclined to; somewhat unsteady and inconstant in pursuing it; and jealous of those to-

morrow by whom they are governed to-day." If Clarendon's description be correct, it must be taken solely with reference to a reign when the maritime power of England had been allowed to fall to the lowest condition. It could not apply to the sailors of Drake and Frobisher. Less could it apply to the sailors of Blake and Penn. The unsteadiness and the inconstancy, the jealousy of the government under which they served, belonged to a period when the government had long been indifferent to the national honour. These characteristics altogether passed away when the first thought of the English fleet was how "not to be fooled by the foreigner." The sailors of 1648 put their admiral on shore, and carried their ships to Holland, to place them under the command of the prince of Wales, who appeared in the Channel,—and did nothing. The Royalists were in the highest exultation. They expected the king soon to be again at their head. The earl of Holland had turned once more to what he thought would be the winning side; and his mansion at Kensington was again the resort of Cavaliers. But the king does not appear amongst them. An attempt at escape from Carisbrook has a second time failed. On the 6th of April, Cromwell had written to Hammond, "Intelligence came to the hands of a very considerable person, that the king had attempted to get out of his window; and that he had a cord of silk with him whereby to slip down, but his breast was so big that the bar could not give him passage. This was done in one of the dark nights about a fortnight ago. A gentleman with you led him the way and slipped down. The guard, that night, had some quantity of wine with them. The same party assures that there is aquafortis gone down from London, to remove that obstacle which hindered; and that the same design is to be put in execution on the next dark nights." He then points out that "Master Firebrace" was the gentleman assisting the king; and mentions captain Titus, and two others, "who are not to be trusted." It is probably to this time that the statement of Clarendon must be referred, when he says that the king "from thenceforth was no more suffered to go out of the castle beyond a little ill garden that belonged to it." His pleasant walks, upon the beautiful green ramparts looking out upon the sea beyond the fertile valleys about Carisbrook, were at an end. If the local traditions are to be trusted, the barred windows of his apartment had no prospect beyond the spacious court-yard. On the 31st of May, Hammond wrote to the Parliament that the king had again nearly effected his

escape. Another dread now came over the Presbyterian party. They would negotiate with the king; but they would take strong measures against the Royalists. All papists and malignants were banished from London under more severe penalties than before. Fairfax was directed to proceed with all his forces against the insurgents in Kent and Essex and the other counties around London. They issued new ordinances against heresy, which affected the Independents; and against swearing, which touched the Cavaliers very nearly. The general and the army marched into Kent; dispersed the insurgents after an obstinate fight at Maidstone; and by rapid successes, wherever else there was resistance, put down the rising spirit. Lord Goring, after having led several thousand men to Blackheath, expecting assistance in London, was compelled to see the desertion of his followers, and he crossed the Thames into Essex. There the contest was more prolonged, Lord Capel and Sir Charles Lucas had collected a large force, with which they intended to march from Colchester upon London. Fairfax invested the town; and for two months there was a renewal of the former work of blockade and siege, until the place was surrendered on the 27th of August. The triumph of Fairfax was tarnished by an exception to his usual humanity. Sir Charles Lucas and sir George Lisle were tried by court-martial, and were shot. The earl of Holland and the young duke of Buckingham broke out in revolt at Kingston-upon-Thames, when the main army of the Parliament was investing Colchester. There was an action near Kingston, in which they were defeated; and passing into Hertfordshire, the remnant was cut up at St. Neot's by a detachment from the army of Fairfax, and Holland was taken prisoner. In all these movements, we see the absence of any supreme organizing power. They were isolated efforts, which were quickly suppressed. Whatever miseries England had still to endure, it was freed from the misery of a long partisan warfare. In Wales, where the resistance to the Parliament was more concentrated, the presence even of Cromwell was not at first successful. He is before Pembroke, but he has no artillery to make short work of the siege. It was not till the 10th of July that the town and castle of Pembroke were surrendered to him. Six days before the capitulation the Scottish army entered England, under the duke of Hamilton. He was joined by five thousand English, under sir Marmaduke Langdale. The English general, Lambert, was retreating before them, having been directed by Cromwell to

avoid an engagement, and to fall back. Two days after the surrender of Pembroke, Cromwell was on his march from the west. He waited not for orders. He knew where he was wanted. At this juncture a charge of treason had been preferred against him by major Huntington, an officer of the army, which had been countenanced by some members of both Houses. He was accused of endeavouring, by betraying the king, parliament, and army, to advance himself. The occasion was not opportune for such an attempt. When he left London he was equally distasteful to the Presbyterians and the Commonwealth's men,—who, with some, went by the general name of Levellers. Mrs. Hutchinson says, "The chief of these Levellers followed him out of the town, to take their leaves of him, received such professions from him, of a spirit bent to pursue the same just and honest things that they desired, as they went away with great satisfaction, till they heard that a coachful of Presbyterian priests coming after them, went away no less pleased: by which it was apparent he dissembled with one or the other, and by so doing lost his credit with both."* The Presbyterians suppressed their dislike to Cromwell in terror of the Scoto-royalist invasion. The Commonwealth's men were compelled to lay aside their jealousies. Ludlow speaks plainly about this:—"Some of us who had opposed the lieutenant-general's arbitrary proceedings, when we were convinced he acted to promote a selfish and unwarrantable design, now thinking ourselves obliged to strengthen his hands in that necessary work which he was appointed to undertake, writ a letter to him to encourage him, from the consideration of the justice of the cause wherein he was engaged, and the wickedness of those with whom he was to encounter, to proceed with cheerfulness, assuring him, that notwithstanding all our discouragements we would readily give him all the assistance we could."

The Scottish army that entered England could not be regarded as the army of the Scottish nation. The treaty which had been concluded with the king at Carisbrook gave satisfaction only to a portion of the Presbyterians. The Scottish Parliament, influenced by the duke of Hamilton and others, who professed moderate principles of ecclesiastical government, gave the engagements of that treaty their zealous support, especially that clause which provided

* "Memoirs," p. 129. Mrs. Hutchinson refers this to the time when "he was sent down, after his victory in Wales, to encounter Hamilton in the north." This is an evident mistake, for Cromwell marched from Pembroke by Gloucester and Warwick.

that a military force should be sent to England to reinstate the king in his authority. They were in consequence called the "Engagers." But the Clergy generally proclaimed that Charles had not conceded enough for the establishment of their form of worship in England to warrant a war for his assistance. The marquis of Argyle, and other powerful chiefs who had fought against Montrose, were burning with resentment against the Royalists of their own country, and were strenuously opposed to what was meant as an aid to the Royalists of England. An army was however raised; and the Engagers, with a raw and ill-disciplined force, crossed the Border.

The march of Cromwell, from the extremity of South Wales to the heart of Lancashire, was accomplished with a rapidity which belongs only to the movements of great commanders. He had to gather scattered forces on his way, and to unite himself with Lambert in Yorkshire. He was determined to engage with an enemy whose numbers were held to double his own. Through the whole breadth of South Wales, then a pastoral country, but now presenting all the unpicturesque combinations of mining industry, he advanced to Gloucester. This forced march of some hundred and fifty miles through Wales was an exhausting commencement. "Send me some shoes for my poor tired soldiers," wrote Cromwell to the Executive Committee in London. At Leicester he received three thousand pairs of shoes. At Nottingham he confers with colonel Hutchinson and leaves his prisoners with him. His cavalry have pushed on, and have joined Lambert at Barnard Castle. All Cromwell's forces have joined the northern troops by the 12th of August. The Scots, who, having passed Kendal, had debated whether they would march direct into Yorkshire, and so on towards London, have decided for the western road. The duke of Hamilton thinks he is sure of Manchester. Sir Marmaduke Langdale is their guide through the unknown ways in to Lancashire, and lead the vanguard. There is very imperfect communication between the van and the rear of this army. On the 16th of August the duke is at Preston. The same night Cromwell is at Stonyhurst. Langdale, to the left of Hamilton's main body, has ascertained that the dangerous enemy is close at hand; and sends notice to the duke. "Impossible," exclaims Hamilton; "he has not had time to be here." The next morning Cromwell has fallen upon sir Marmaduke, and utterly routed him, "after a very sharp dispute." Hamilton's army is a disjointed one. His cavalry, in considerable

numbers, are at Wigan, under the command of Middleton. When the affair was settled with Langdale, there was a skirmish close by Preston town between Hamilton himself and some of Cromwell's troopers. The duke was separated from his main force of infantry, under Baillie, but rejoined them only to see the bridge of the Ribble won by the enemy in a general battle. Cromwell describes the first four hours' fighting in a country all enclosures and miry ground, as "a hedge dispute." This being ended, the Scots were charged through Preston; and then not only was the bridge of the Ribble won, but the bridge of Darwen. Night was approaching, which put an end to any further fighting on the 17th. The Scottish generals in a council of war determined to march off, as soon as it was dark, without waiting for Middleton and his cavalry. The weather was rainy; the roads heavy; their men were wet, weary, and hungry. They left their ammunition behind; and the next morning were at Wigan Moor, with half their number. No general engagement took place that day; and the Scots held Wigan. Cromwell writes, "We lay that night in the field close by the enemy; being very dirty and weary, and having marched twelve miles of such ground as I never rode in all my life, the day being very wet." The next day the Scots moved towards Warrington; and after some hard fighting, general Baillie surrendered himself, officers, and soldiers, as prisoners of war. The duke, with three thousand horse, was gone towards Nantwich. His course was undetermined. The country people were hostile. His own men were mutinous. He surrenders to Lambert, and is sent prisoner to Nottingham. The Scottish army was now utterly broken and dispersed. The news of Hamilton's complete failure in the invasion of England was the signal for the great Presbyterian party that had opposed the policy of the Engagers to rise in arms. Argyle assembled his Highland clans. In the Western Lowlands large bodies of peasantry, headed by their preachers, marched to Edinburgh. The memory of this insurrection has endured to this hour in the name of *Whig*. It was called "the Whiggamore Raid," from a word used in the west of Scotland when the carter urges forward his horses with *Whig, whig* (get on); as the English carter says, *Gee, gee* (go). Argyle was restored to power. The most zealous Covenanters were again at the head of the executive authority. Cromwell entered Scotland on the 20th September, and was received at Edinburgh, not as the man to whose might their brave countrymen had been compelled to yield; but as the deliverer from a royalist faction that might again have put the national religion in peril.

NOTE ON THE PARTY-SPIRIT DURING THE ROYALIST RE-ACTION.

We have shown the temper of the Presbyterians and Commonwealth's men towards Cromwell when he was fighting in Wales and Lancashire. There was a general confusion of political principles in the dread of individual supremacy. May says that the chief citizens of London, and others called Presbyterians, wished good success to the Scots no less than the Malignants did. Mr. Hallam has observed that "the fugitive sheets of this year, such as the *Mercurius Aulicus*, bear witness to the exulting and insolent tone of the royalists. They chuckle over Fairfax and Cromwell, as if they had caught a couple of rats in a trap." As a curious specimen of the "fugitive sheets," we give an extract from "The Cuckow's Nest at Westminster; printed at Cuckow-time in a hollow tree, 1648."* The chief wit consists in a dialogue between Queen Fairfax and Lady Cromwell. Fairfax had been ill, and was reported to have died:—

"Enter QUEEN FAIRFAX and MADAM CROMWELL.

"*Mrs. Cromwell.* Cheer up, madam, he is not dead, he is reserved for another end; these wicked malignants reported as much of my Noll, but I hope it is otherwise; yet the profane writ an epitaph, as I think they call it, and abused him most abominably, as they will do me, or you, or any of the faithful saints, if we but thrive by our occupations in our husbands' absence; if we but deck our bodies with the jewels gained from the wicked, they point at us, and say, those are plunder. But the righteous must undergo the scoffs of the wicked; and let them scoff on. I thank my Maker, we lived, before these holy wars were thought on, in the thriving profession of brewing, and could, of my vails of grain and yeast, wear my silk gown, and gold and silver lace too, as well as the proudest mix of them all. I am not ashamed of my profession, madam.

"*Qu. Fair.* Pray, Mrs. Cromwell, tell not me of gowns or lace, nor no such toys! Tell me of crowns, sceptres, kingdoms, royal robes; and, if my Tom but recovers, and thrives in his enterprise, I will not say, pish, to be queen of England. I misdoubt nothing, if we can but keep the wicked from fetching Nebuchadnezzar's home from grass in the Isle of Wight. Well, well, my Tom is worth a thousand of him, and has a more kingy countenance; he has such an innocent face, and a harmless look, as if he were born to be emperor over the saints.

"*Mrs. Cromwell.* And is not Noll Cromwell's wife as likely a woman to be queen of England as you? yes, I warrant you, is she; and that you shall know, if my husband were but once come out of Wales. It is he that has done the work, the conquest belongs to him. Besides, your husband is counted a fool, and wants wit to reign; every boy scoffs at him: my Noll has a head-piece, a face of brass, full of majesty, and a nose will light the whole kingdom to walk after him. I say he will grace a crown, being naturally adorned with diamonds and rubies already; and for myself, though I say it, I have a person as fit for a queen as another."

The dialogue is broken off by a servant running in, and exclaiming, "O, madam, cease your contention, and provide for your safeties; both your husbands are killed, and all their forces put to the sword; all the people crying like mad, long live King Charles!"

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