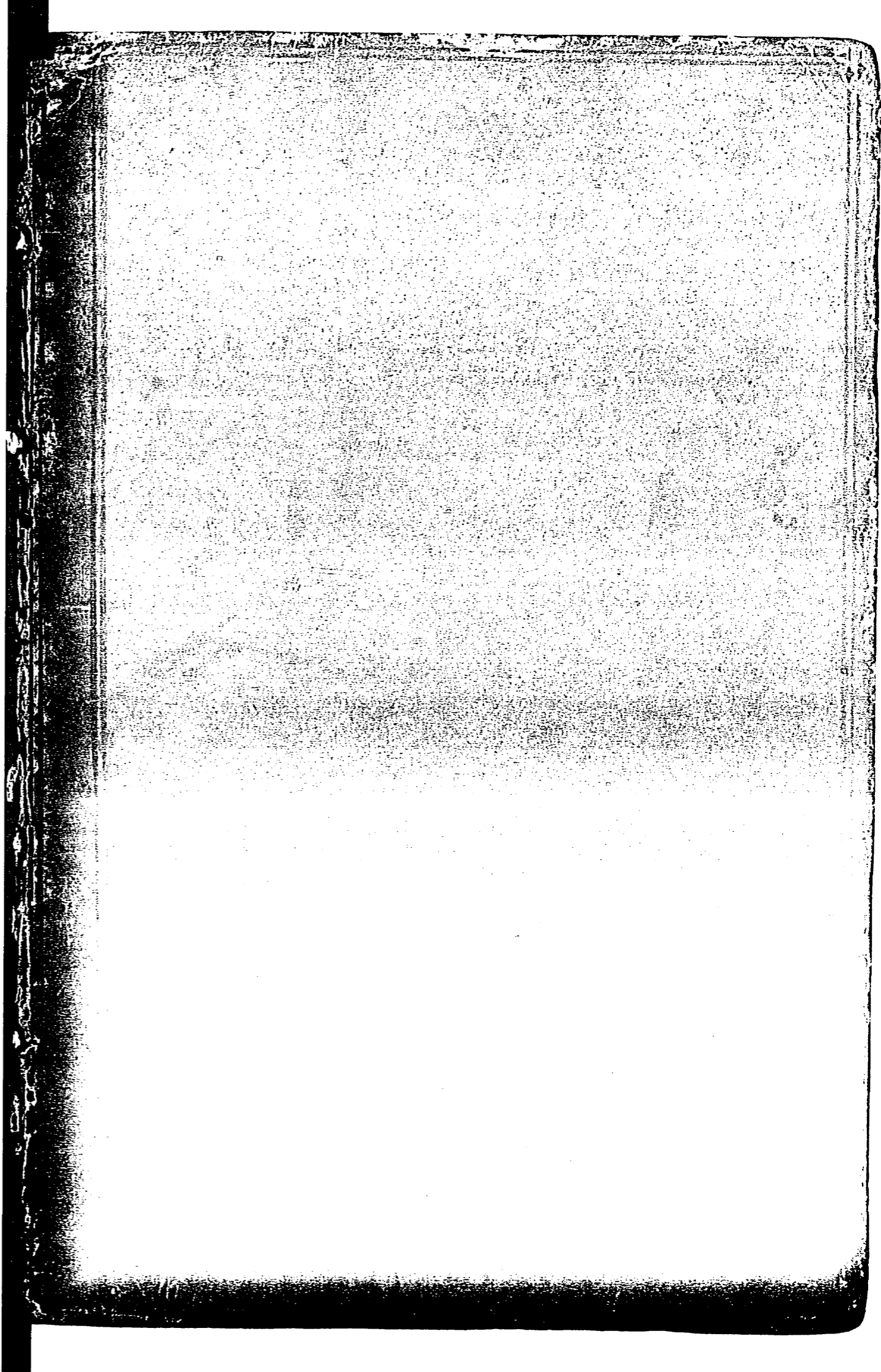
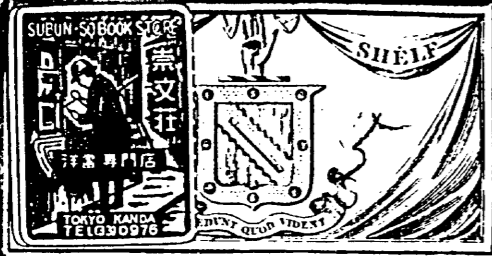


4 5 6 7 8 9 9 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 9 10 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 9 20 1 2 3 4 5



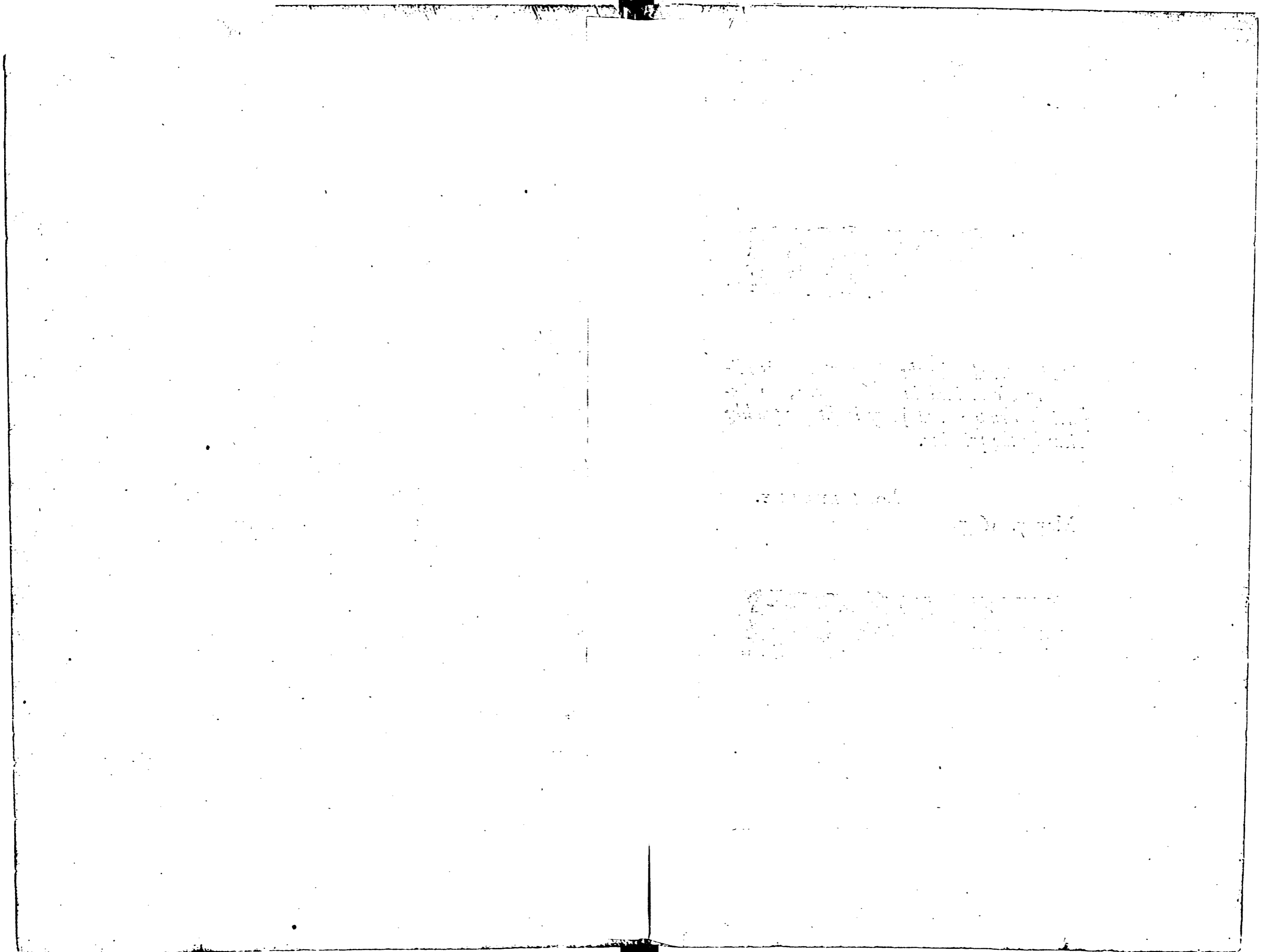


24

1410

NA 1410
July

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| The Library of The Otago University of Commerce | |
| Class. & Div. | 3/6 |
| No. | 99 |
| Vol. | |
| R No. | 28272 |





I Have read over the first part of this History, contained in three Books, an impartial Truth; and judge it fit for publike view by the printing.

JO. LANGLEY.

May 7. 1647.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PARLIAMENT
Of England:

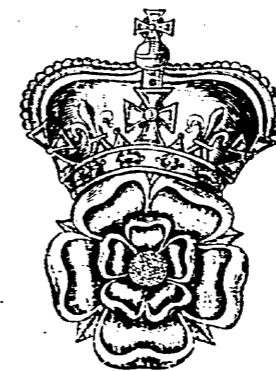
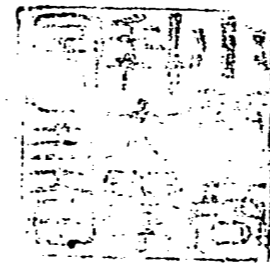
Which began November the third,
M. D. C. XL.

With a short and necessary view of some
precedent yeares.

Written by THOMAS MAY Esquire, Secretary
for the Parliament.

Published by Authority.

*Tempora mutantur.
Mutantur Homines.
Veritas eadem manet.*



Imprinted at London by *Moses Bell*, for *George Thomason*,
at the Signe of the Rose and Crown in *St. Pauls Church Yard*,

M. D. C. XL. VII.



The Preface.

THe use of History, and the just Rules for compofure of it, have been fo well and fully described heretofore by judicious Writers, that it were loft labour, and a needleffe extention of the prefent work, to infift by way of Introduction, upon either of them. I could rather wish my abilities were fuch, as that the Reader, to whose judgement it is left, might finde thofe Rules obferved in the Narration it felf, then told him in the Preface by a vaine Anticipation.

I will only profefse to follow that one Rule, Truth, to which all the reft (like the reft of Morall Vertues to that of Juftice) may be reduced, againft which there are many waies, befides plaine falshood, whereby a Writer may offend. Some Historians, who feeme to abhorre direct falshood, have notwithstanding dressed Truth in fuch improper Veftements, as if they brought her forth to act the

THE PREFACE.

same part that falshood would ; and taught her by Rhetoricall disguises, partiall concealments, and invective expressions, instead of informing, to seduce a Reader, and carry the judgement of Posterity after that Byas which themselves have made. It was the opinion of a learned Bishop of *England*, not long ago deceased, that *Cardinall Baronius* his *Annals* did more wound the Protestant Cause, then the Controversies of *Bellarmino*: And it may well be true. For against the unexpected stroke of partiall History the ward is not so ready, as against that Polemike writing, where Hostility is professed with open face.

This fault I have indeavoured to avoid: But it is my misfortune to undertake such a subject, in which to avoid partiality, is not very easie: But to escape the suspicion or censure of it, is almost impossible for the clearest integrity that ever wrote. Others, I suppose, will handle this Theame; and because that none, perchance, may perfectly please, I shall, in the behalfe of all, intreat a Reader, that in his censure he would deal with the Writings of men, as with mankinde it selfe, to call that the best, which is least bad.

The Subject of this work is a *Civill War*, a *War* indeed as much *more then Civill*, and as full of miracle, both in the causes and effects of it, as was ever observed in any Age; a
Warre

THE PREFACE.

Warre as cruell as unnaturall; that has produced as much rage of Swords, as much bitterness of Pens, both publike and private, as was ever knowne; and divided the understandings of men, as well as their affections, in so high a degree, that scarce could any vertue gaine due applause, any reason give satisfaction, or any Relation obtaine credit, unlesse amongst men of the same side. It were therefore a presumptuous madnessse, to think that this poore and weake Discourse, which can deserve no applause from either side, should obtaine from both so much as pardon; or that they should here meet in censure, which in nothing else have concurred.

I cannot therefore be so stupid, as not at all to be sensible of the taske imposed on me, or the great envy which attends it; which other men who have written Histories, upon farre lesse occasion have discoursed of at large in their Prefaces. And *Tacitus* himselfe, complaining of those ill times which were the unhappy subject of his *Annals*, though he wrote not in the time of the same Princes, under whom those things were acted; yet because the Families of many men, who had then been ignominious, were yet in being, could not but discourse how much happier those Writers were, who had taken more ancient and prosperous times for their Argument; such
as

THE PREFACE.

as he there expresse, in which the great and glorious actions of the old Romans, their honourable Atchievements, and exemplary Vertues are recorded.

And I could have wished more then my life (being my self inconsiderable) that for the Publike sake, my Theame could rather have been the prosperity of these Nations, the Honour and happinesse of this King, and such a blessed Condition of both, as might have reached all the ends, for which Government was first ordained in the world: Then the description of Shipwracks, Ruines, and Desolations. Yet these things truly recorded and observed, may be of good Use, and benefit Posterity in divers kinds. For though the present Actions, or rather sufferings of these (once happy) Nations, are of so high a marke and consideration, as might, perchance, throw themselves into the knowledge of Posterity by Tradition, and the weight of their owne Fame: Yet it may much conduce to the benefit of that knowledge, to have the true causes, originall, and growth of them represented by an honest Pen.

For the truth of this plaine and naked Discourse, which is here presented to the publike view, containing a brieve Narration of those Distractions which have fallen amongst us, during the sitting of this present Parliament;

as

THE PREFACE.

as also some Passages, and visible Actions of the former Government (whether probably conducing to these present calamities or not, of which let the Reader judge) I appeale only to the memory of any English man, whose yeares have been enow to make him know the Actions that were done; and whose conversation has been enough publike, to let him heare the Common Voice; and Discourses of People upon those Actions, to his memory I say, do I appeale, whether such Actions were not done, and such Judgements made upon them, as are here related. In which perchance some Readers may be put in minde of their owne thoughts heretofore; which thoughts have since, like *Nebuchadnezzars* dreame, departed from them. An English Gentleman, who went to travell when this Parliament was called, and returned when these differences were growne among us, hearing what Discourses were daily made, affirmed, That the Parliament of *England* (in his opinion) was more mis-understood in *England* then at *Rome*; And that there was greater need to remember our own Countrymen, then to informe strangers of what was past; So much (said he) have they seemed to forget the things themselves, and their own Nations concerning them.

But where Warre continues, people are enforced to make their residence in severall

B

Quar-

THE PREFACE.

Quarters; and therefore severall; according to the places where they converse; must their information be concerning the condition and state of things. From whence arises not only a variety; but a great discrepancy for the most part in the Writings of those who record the passages of such times. And therefore it has seldome happened, but that in such times of calamity and Warre; Historians have much dissented from each other. *Franciscus Haræus* compiled Annals of the bloody and fierce Warres in the *Netherlands*; when some of those Provinces fell from the obedience of *Philip* the second, King of *Spaine*: Which businesse he relates in such a way; as must in probability lead a Reader to believe that the King and his Officers were altogether innocent, and the people of those Countries the only causers of their own Calamity. *Meteranus* wrote the History of those very times; which who so reads, must needs make a contrary censure concerning the occasion of that Warre. The like discrepancy hath been found in Historians of all ages and Nations, and therefore not to be much wondred at, if it now happen.

But that which of all other is most likely to be differently related (because informations will not agree in such a distance) is concerning the actions of Warre and Souldiery; and in the time of this Warre, it is a thing of extreme

THE PREFACE.

extreme difficulty (I might say of impossibility) for those of one Party to be truly informed of all the Councils, or the very Performances and Actions of Commanders and Souldiers on the other side. How much valour the English Nation on both sides have been guilty of in this unnaturall Warre, the World must needs know in the generall fame. But for particulars, how much Worth, Vertue, and Courage, some particular Lords, Gentlemen, and others have shewed; unlesse both sides do write, will never perfectly be known. My residence hath bin, during these Wars, in the quarters, and under the protection of the Parliament; and whatsoever is briefly related of the Souldiery; being toward the end of this Book, is according to that light which I discerned there. For whatsoever I have missed concerning the other Party, I can make no other Apology then such as *Meteranus* (whom I named before) doth in the Preface to his History, *De Belgis tumultibus*. Whose words are thus: *Quòd plura de Reformatorum, & patriæ defensorum, quàm de Partis adversæ rebus gestis exposuerim; mirum haudquaquam est, quoniam plus Commercii, & familiaritatis mibi cum ipsis, & major indagandi, opportunitas fuit. Si Pars adversa idem tali probitate præstiterit, & ediderit; Posteritas gesta omnia legere, & liquido cognoscere magno cum fructu poterit.* In like manner may I averre, that if in this discourse more

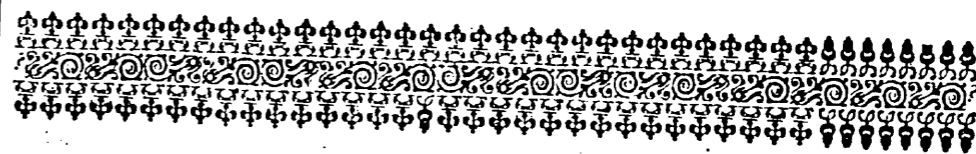
THE PREFACE.

particulars are set down, concerning the actions of those men who defended the Parliament, then of them that warred against it; it was because my conversation gave me more light on that side; to whom, as I have indeavoured to give no more then what is due, so I have cast no blemishes on the other; nor bestowed any more characters, then what the truth of Story must require. If those that write on the other side will use the same candour, there is no feare but that posterity may receive a full information concerning the unhappy distractions of these Kingdoms.

This I must adde, that to inform the world of the right nature, causes, and growth of these Distractions, it will require that the Discourse begin from precedent times; which I shall indeavour to deduce down to the present with as much brevity, as the necessity of unfolding truth can possibly admit.

Neither is it needful to begin the Story from times of any great distance; or to mention the Government of our most ancient Princes; but from that Prince (fresh in the memory of some yet living) who first established the Reformed Religion in this Kingdome, and according to that, settled a new interest in the State; which was most behoofefull and requisite for her Successors to follow, and much conducing, besides the glory of Almighty God, to their own Honour, Power, and Greatnesse.

THE



THE CONTENTS.

BOOK I. CHAP. I.



Herein is a short mention of *Queene Elizabeth, King James, and the beginning of King Charles his Reign His two first Parliaments. Of the War with Spaine and France. The death of the Duke of Buckingham. And the third Parliament of King Charles.* I

CHAP. II.

A briefe Relation of some grievances of the Kingdome. The various opinions of men concerning the present Government. The condition of the Court and Clergy of England. Some obseruations of a stranger, concerning the Religion of the English people. 15

CHAP. III.

The condition of the Scottish State and Clergy, when the new Booke of Lyturgy was sent unto them; how it was receiued; with some effects which followed. The Kings Proclamation sent by the Earle of Traquare; against which the Lords make a Protestation. 27

CHAP. IV.

The Scots enter into a Covenant. The Marquesse Hamilton is sent thither from the King, A Nationall Synod is granted to them, but dissolued within few daies by the Marquesse, as Commissioner from the King. The King declares against the Covenanters, and raises an Army to subdue them. 38

CHAP. V.

The auerseness of the English People from this Warre with Scotland. The King advanceth to Yorke with his Army. The preparation of the Scottish Covenanters. A Pacification is made, and both Armies disbanded. Another Preparation for Warre with Scotland. A Parliament called to begin in England on the 13. of April. The Parliament of Scotland is broken off by command of the King to the Earle of Traquare. 46

B 3

CHAP.

THE CONTENTS.

CHAP. VI.

The Parliament beginneth in England, but is soone dissolved. The Clergy continue their Convocation. The Scots enter into England. Some passages of the War. A Parliament is called to begin on the third of November. A Truce between the Armies for two Moneths. 58

CHAP. VII.

The beginning of the English Parliament. Grievances examined. Sufferers relieved. Delinquents questioned. The Archbishop of Canterbury committed to the Tower. The flight of Secretary WINDEBANKE, and of the Lord Keeper FINCH. 70

CHAP. VIII.

The Tryall and death of the Earle of Strafford. Conspiracies detected during the agitation of it. An Act for continuance of this present Parliament. With a mention of that Grant of the Trienniall Parliament in February before. 87

CHAP. IX.

Allowance of money from the English Parliament to the Scots. The vast Charge of disbanding the two Armies. The great Taxations for that purpose, and the manner of Poll Money. The people take a Protestation. An Act for putting down the High Commission Court, and Starre-Chamber; with other occurrences of that time. The Queene Mother departeth England. The King goeth into Scotland. 103

BOOK II. CHAP. I.

A Standing Committee during the Recess of both Houses of Parliament. The Rebellion of the Irish; and Massacre of the Protestants there. Some indeavours of the English Parliament for relief of that Kingdom. 1

CHAP. II.

The King returneth out of Scotland, and is pompously entertained by the City of London. The Remonstrance is published by the Parliament. The King entreib into the House of Commons. The Protestation

THE CONTENTS.

tion of the 12. Bishops; and how it was censured by the Lords and Commons. Divers unhappy obstructions of the relief of Ireland. 16

CHAP. III.

The Queen passeth into Holland, with her Daughter the Princesse Mary. Difference between the King and Parliament concerning the Militia. The King goeth toward York, and is followed with a Petition from the Lords and Commons to Theobalds, and another Declaration to Newmarket. The King is denyed entrance into Hull by Sir John Hotham. 38

CHAP. IV.

Many Members of both Houses leave the Parliament, and repaire to the King. Nine of the Lords who first went away, are impeached by the Commons, and censured by the Peers. The Great Seal is carried away from London to Yoik. Some Votes of Parliament concerning the Kings Proceedings. A Petition, with nineteen Propositions, sent from the Parliament to the King. 58

CHAP. V.

An Order for bringing in of Plate and Money into Guild-Hall. The Kings Declaration to the Lords about him. Their Profession and Protestation to him. The King layeth Siege to Hull; but raiseth it again. The Earl of Warwick taketh possession of the Navy, as Lord Admirall. The Earl of Essex is voted in Parliament to be Lord Generall of all their Forces. 83

CHAP. VI.

A brief Relation of the condition of divers Counties in England, when the Parliaments Ordinance for the Militia, and the Kings Commission of Array were put in execution. With a mention of some Lords and others who were actors on either side. The Lord Mayor of London committed to the Tower, and sentenced by the Parliament. A mention of some Declarations, Messages, and Answers that passed between the King and the two Houses of Parliament. 99

BOOK III. CHAP. I.

Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice arrive in England. The Earl of Essex taking leave of the Parliament, goeth to his Command. The

THE CONTENTS.

The King increaseth in strength at Shrewsbury. A Skirmish at Worcester. The great Battell of Keynton is fought. 1

CHAP. II.

The Parliament send to the King concerning an Accommodation. A fight at Braintford. Another Treaty with the King begun, and broken of. Reading besieged by the Lord Generall Essex, and surrendered to him. A Conspiracy to betray Bristoll. A treacherous Plot against the Parliament and City of London, discovered and prevented. 29

CHAP. III.

Matters of State trans-acted in Parliament, touching the Assembly of Divines. The making of a new Great Seale. Impeaching the Queen of High Treason, and other things. The Lord Generall Essex, after some Marches, returneth to quarter his wasted and sick Army about Kingston. The Kings Forces Masters of the West. The Earl of Newcastle, his greatnesse in the North. Some mention of the Earle of Cumberland, and the Lord FAIRFAX. 47

CHAP. IV.

Some Actions of Sir Thomas Fairfax in the North. The Queen lands in England. The revolt of Sir Hugh Cholmley, and the two Hothams. The state of this Warre in the Westerne parts. The condition of the Associated Counties. A short relation of Sir William Waller his Actions; of Colonell Cromwell, Sir William Brereton, and Sir John Gell. 63

CHAP. V.

The death of the Lord Brooke, and of the Earle of Northampton. A short mention of some Actions in divers Counties. The low condition of the Parliament at that time. The Siege of Gloucester. 85

CHAP. VI.

The Expedition of the Lord Generall Essex for reliefe of Gloucester. The great Battell of Newbury described. 101

THE



THE HISTORY OF THE PARLIAMENT OF England.

CHAP. I.

Wherein is a short mention of Queene ELIZABETH, King JAMES, and the beginning of King CHARLES his Reigne; his two first Parliaments. Of the Warre with Spaine and France. The death of the Duke of BUCKINGHAM. And the third Parliament of King CHARLES.



Queene ELIZABETH, of glorious Memory, together with that great Stock of Wealth and Honour, which her prudent and just Government had brought to the English Nation, had enriched them besides with a greater Treasure (which we may justly account the
cause

cause of all the rest) Religion reformed from Popish Superstition.

That Reformation engaged the Queene in a new Interest of State, to side with the Protestants against those Potent Monarchs of the other Religion, which seemed at the beginning as much danger and disadvantage to her, as it proved in conclusion security and Honour; so impossible it is for any disadvantage to prevaile over them that helpe the Lord against the Mighty.

That Storme from France, which so much threatened the weake beginnings of her Reigne, was suddenly blowne over by the death of HENRY the second, and some few Moneths after of his Sonne FRANCIS, who had married the Queene of Scotland; the danger which remained greatest was from Spaine, where PHILIP the second then reigned, a Prince not greater in Dominion, Treasure, and Armies, then deeply engaged against the Protestant Religion, by the instigation and assistance of the Jesuites, an Order, which in the Age before had bene highly countenanced by Pope PAUL the third, in opposition to the Gospell-Doctrine, that then began to spread apace in Germany, and other parts.

The whole Order of Jesuites (as endeavouring to set up one Temporall Kingdome of Christendome, suitable to the Papall Hierarchie) applied their service altogether to the Monarchie of Spaine, as being then far the greatest in Europe (and fittest for their purpose) by the late uniting of so many Kingdomes and Duchies under the person of CHARLES the Emperour, who by a fortunate birthright inherited, together with Castile, and Arragon, and all the great Acquisitions of his Grandfather FERDINAND in Italy, and the West Indies, the rich and usefull patrimony of his Father PHILIP, Burgundy, and the Netherlands; all these he had left intirely to his Sonne PHILIP, who to so large a Territory, had made that strong addition of the

the Kingdome of Portugall, and might seeme an Enemy too mighty for England and all the Protestants of Europe to oppose.

But Queene ELIZABETH had woven the interest of her own State so inseparably into the cause of Religion it selfe, that it was hard to overthrow one without the ruine of the other. And God, who had given her so much grace and courage as to rely wholly upon him, did with that Almighty hand, not onely hold her up from sinking, but lift her above the heads of all her enemies.

By what degrees and means she atchieved the great Actions of her reigne, and brought so much prosperity to her Nation, it is not the scope of this discourse to relate at large (for her History is not the worke in hand) but only in brieft to declare that before her death she was the happy instrument of God to promote the Protestant Religion in all parts. She curbed the Spanish greatnesse by supporting France from ruine, to give some balance to the other, as she preserved Scotland from being swallowed up by the French before. She protected the Hollanders against him, vanquished his Armies both by Land and Sea, with many other such things as might seeme too much to be the atchievements of one Reigne. And last of all, she reduced Ireland wholly to obedience, notwithstanding all the subtill machinations of Spain, and open assistance given in Armes to her Irish Rebels. All which she accomplished by the justice and prudence of her government, by making the right use of her Subjects hearts, hands and Purcses in a Parliamentary way; as also securing her own Kingdome by strengthening the hands of Protestants abroad; insomuch as she stood at last above the reach of any enemy by open warre; and protected by God, though often attempted by domestick Treasons and Assassinations, till in the end she died in a good old age, leaving to her Successor King JAMES the Kingdom of

England in an happier condition then ever it was ; the Kingdome of *Ireland* wholly subdued and reduced, to reap for himselfe the harvest of all her labour and expence ; and nothing to do for it, but to propagate the true Faith in that Kingdome, which she prevented by death could not performe ; and was, in probability, an easie taske for King JAMES at that time ; much conducing, besides the honour of God, to his owne Temporall strength and greatnesse, if he had onely gone fairely on in that way which Queene ELIZABETH had made plaine for him.

The Prosperity of *England* seemed then at the height of *Aurum* ; and it pleases God that States many times shall decline from their happinesse without any apparent signes to us, or reasons that we can give, as a Heathen complaines :

*Ob faciles dare summa Deos, eademque tueri
Difficiles ?* Lucan.

How easie are the Gods to raise States high,
But not to keepe them so ?

These things have made some high-reaching Writers impute the raising and declination of Kingdomes and Common-wealths to certaine aspects of heavenly Constellations, to Conjunctions, and Oppositions of Planets, and various Eccipses of Celestiall Luminaries ; others, to an hidden strength, and secret efficacy of Numbers themselves ; and most men to the perpetuall Rotation of fortune : but the judgements of God in those things are past our finding out, and they are too wise, who are not content sometimes to wonder.

For King JAMES, the Successour to Queene ELIZABETH, was a wise and learned Prince, of disposition mercifull and gracious, excellently grounded in that Religion which he professed, as the world may finde by his extant writings ; a Prince of whom *England* conceived wonderfull hope, and received with great joy and Triumph ; but he did not beginne where his Predecessor left, proceeding rather in a contrary way

way ; what the reasons of it were, I will not at all presume to deliver my opinion, though some have beene bold to write and publish of late yeeres, that it was feare for his own Person, that made him to temporize with *Rome*, considering the boldnesse of Jesuiticall Assassines : others more candidly conceived it might be his great desire of peace and union with other Princes, though he might erre in the meanes of attaining that end ; for he was by nature a great seeker of Peace, and abhorrer of bloodshed, according to that Motto which he ever used, *Beati Pacifici*. I cannot search into mens thoughts, but onely relate the Actions which appeared.

King JAMES, at the beginning of his Reigne, made a Peace with *Spaine*, which was brought very low by Queene ELIZABETH, and had beene neerer to ruine in all probability, had she lived a few yeeres longer ; the Estates of the united Provinces of the *Netherlands*, those usefull Confederates to *England*, began to be despised by the English Court, under a vaine shadow in stead of a reason, that they were an ill example for a Monarch to cherish. Then began secret Treaties to passe betwixt *Rome* and the Court of *England* ; care to be taken about reconciliation of Religions ; the rigour of Penall Lawes against the Papists (notwithstanding that odious plot of the Gunpowder Treason) was abated ; the pompe of Prelacy, and multitude of Ceremonies, encreased daily in the Church of *England*, and according to that were all Civill Affaires managed both at home and abroad.

Neither was it easie for the King to turne himselfe out of that way, when he was once entred into it ; so that at last the Papists began by degrees to be admitted neerer to him in service and conversation. Exceeding desirous he then was to match the Prince his Sonne to the Infanta of *Spaine*, about which many and long Treaties passed, wherein not onely the Spaniard, but the Pope, made many present advantages of the Kings

earnest desires, and many waies deluded him, as it appeared plainly by his owne Letters to his Ambassadors there, since found and published.

Thus was the King by degrees brought, not onely to forsake, but to oppose his owne interest both in civill and religious affaires, which was most unhappily seene in that cause (as the Duke of ROHAN observed,) wherein, besides the interest of all Protestants, and the honour of his Nation, the estate and livelihood of his owne children were at the height concerned, the Palatinate businesse.

From hence flowed a farther mischief; for the King being loath perchance that the whole people should take notice of those waies in which he trod, grew extremely disaffected to Parliaments, calling them for nothing but to supply his expences, dissolving them when they began to meddle with State Affaires, and divers times imprisoning the Members for Speeches made in Parliament, against the fundamentall priviledges of that high Court.

Parliaments being thus despised and abused, projects against the Lawes were found out to supply the Kings expences, which were not small; and the King (whether to avoid the envy of those things, or the trouble of them) did in a manner put off all businesse of Government from himselfe into the hands of a young Favourite, the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, whom he had raised from a Knights fourth Sonne, to that great height, and entrusted with the chiefe Offices of the Kingdome; besides the great power which he had by that extraordinary favour of conferring all places and preferments both in Church and State.

This Duke, not long before the death of King JAMES, was growne into extraordinary favour and intirenesse with the Prince, whom he afterward swayned no lesse then he had before his father; like an unhappy vapour exhaled from the earth to so great an height, as to cloud not only the rising, but the setting Sunne.

King

King CHARLES, with great hopes and expectation of the people, and no lesse high expressions of love and duty from all in generall, began his Reigne on the 27 of *March*, 1624. and indeed that love which the people bare to his Person, had been before testified, whilest he was yet Prince, at his returne from *Spaine*, though the journey it selfe had not beene pleasing to the Kingdome; for when the people saw him arrived in safety, there needed no publike Edict for thanksgiving or joy; every society and private family (as if the hearts of all had beene in one) did voluntarily assemble themselves together, praising God; with singing of Psalmes, with joyfull feasting, and charity to the poore; insomuch that I suppose the like consent, without any interposing authority, hath not been often knowne.

The same affections followed him to his Throne; the same hopes and faire presages of his future Government, whilest they considered the temperance of his youth, how cleare he had lived from personall vice, being growne to the age of 23. how untainted of those licentious extravagances, which unto that age and fortune are not only incident, but almost thought excusable.

But some men suspended their hopes, as doubting what to finde of a Prince so much and so long reserved; for he had never declared himselfe of any Faction, or scarce interposed in any State affaires, though some things had been managed in his fathers Reigne; with much detriment to his owne present and future fortunes. Yet that by the people in generall was well censured, as an effect of his piety and obedience to the King his father, and happy presages gathered from it, That so good an obeyer would prove a just Ruler.

They wondered also to see him suddenly linked in such an intire friendship with the Duke of BUCKINGHAM; for extraordinary Favourites do usually eclipse and much depresse the Heire apparent of a Crowne,

Crowne, or else they are conceived so to do; and upon that reason hated, and ruined by the succeeding Prince; in which kinde all ancient and moderne Stories are full of examples.

In the beginning of King CHARLES his Reigne, a Parliament was called, and adjourned to *Oxford*, the plague raging extremely at *London*, where the Duke of BUCKINGHAM was highly questioned, but by the King (not without the griefe and sad presage of many people, that private affections would too much prevaile in him against the publike) he was protected against the Parliament, which for that onely purpose was dissolved, after two Subsidies had been given, and before the Kingdome received reliefe in any one grievance; as is expressed in the first and generall Remonstrance of this present Parliament, where many other unhappy passages of those times are briefly touched; as that the King, immediately after the dissolution of that Parliament, contrived a Warre against *Spaine*, in which the designe was unhappily laid, and contrary to the advice which at that time had been given by wise men, who periwaded him to invade the *West Indies*; a way; no doubt, farre more easie and hopefull for *England* to prevaile against *Spaine* then any other: instead of that, the King with great expence of Treasure, raised an Army and Fleet to assault *Cales*, the Duke of BUCKINGHAM bearing the Title both of Admirall and Generall, though he went not himsele in person; but the matter was so ordered, that the expedition proved altogether successelesse, and as dishonourable as expensive.

They complained likewise of another designe (which indeed was much lamented by the people of *England* in generall) about that time put in practice, a thing destructive to the highest interest of the Nation, the maintenance of Protestant Religion; a Fleet of English Ships were set forth, and delivered over to the French, by whose strength all the Sea forces of *Rochell* were

were scattered and destroyed, a losse to them irrecoverable, and the first step to their ruine.

Neither was this loane of Ships from *England* (for such was the peoples complaint and suspition against those, who at that time stood at the Helme) supposed to proceed so much from friendship to the State of *France*, as from designe against Religion; for immediately upon it, the King, by what advice the people understood not, made a breach with *France*, by taking their Ships, to a great value, without making any recompence to the English, whose Goods were thereupon imbarr'd, and confiscate in that Kingdome.

In revenge of this; a brave Army was raised in *England*, and commanded by the Duke of BUCKINGHAM in person, who landing at the *Ile of Rhea*, was at the first encounter victorious against the French; but after few Moneths stay there, the matter was so unhappily carried, the Generall being unexperienced in Warlike affaires, that the French prevailed, and gave a great defeat, where many gallant Gentlemen lost their lives, and the Nation much of their ancient Honour.

From thence proceeded another step to the ruine of *Rochell*; the sick and wounded English were sent into that City, and relieved by the besieged Rochellers, out of that little provision which they then had, upon faithfull promise of supplies from *England* in the same kinde: The provisions of *Rochell* were little enough for their owne reliefe at that time, if we consider what ability the French King had to continue that siege; when to the proper wealth and greatnesse of his Crowne, was added that reputation and strength, which his late successe against all the other Protestant Garrisons in *France* had brought.

The besieged Rochellers, not doubting at all of the due and necessary supply of Victuall from *England*; sent their Ships thither for that purpose; but those

those Ships, whose returne with bread was so earnestly expected, were stayed in *England* by an *Imbargo*; and so long stayed, till that unhappy Towne was enforced to yeeld by famine, the sharpest of all Enemies.

But in the meane time, whilest these Ships with Victuall were detained, a great Army was raised in *England* for reliefe of *Rocbell*, but too great was the delay of those preparations, till time was past, and that Army in the end disbanded by the sad death of the Duke of *BUCKINGHAM* their Generall, who was stabbed at *Portsmouth* by a private Gentleman, JOHN FELTON.

This FELTON was a Souldier of a low stature, and no promising aspect; of disposition serious, and melancholly, but religious in the whole course of his life and conversation; which last I do not mention out of purpose to countenance his unlawfull act, as supposing him to have had (as some did then talke) any inspiration or calling of God to it: His confessions to his friends, both publike and private, were, That he had often secret motions to that purpose, which he had resisted and prayed against, and had almost overcome, untill he was at last confirmed in it, by reading the late dissolved Parliaments Remonstrance against the Duke: That then his conscience told him it was just and laudable, to be the executioner of that man, whom the highest Court of Judicature, the representative body of the Kingdome, had condemned as a Traytor. But let Posterity censure it as they please; certain it is, that FELTON did much repent him of the unlawfulness of the fact, out of no feare of death, or punishment here, for he wished his hand cut off before the execution, which his Jugdes could not doome by the Lawes of *England*.

The King had not long before broken off another Parliament, called in the second yeare of his Reigne, in which the Petition of Right was granted, to the great

great rejoycing of the people. But it proved immediately to be no reliefe at all to them; for the Parliament presently dissolved, the King acted over the same things, which formerly he had done; and that grant, instead of fortifying the Kingdomes Liberty, made it appeare to be more defencelesse then before, that Lawes themselves were no barre against the Kings will. The Parliament in hope of gracious Acts, had declared an intent to give his Majesty five Subsidies, the full proportion of which five Subsidies was, after the dissolution of that Parliament, exacted by Commission of Loane from the people, and those imprisoned which refused the payment of that Loane: Great summes of money were required and raised by privy Seales: A Commission for squeezing the Subject by way of Excize: Souldiers were billited upon them: And a designe laid to inflave the Nation by a force of German Horse: with many other things of that nature.

Those affaires of State which concerned Confederates abroad, had been managed with as much disadvantage, and infelicity to them, as dishonour to the English Nation, and prejudice to the Cause of Religion it selfe.

Peace was made with *Spain* without consent of Parliament; by which all hope was utterly lost, of re-establishing the Kings neereft kinred in their just Dominion; and the Protestant Religion much weakened in *Germany*. What Counsells had then influence upon the Court of *England*, might be the amazement of a wise man to consider; and the plaine truth must needs seeme a paradox to posterity; as that the Protestant Religion, both at home and abroad, should suffer much by the Government of two Kings; of whom the former in his own person wrote more learnedly in defence of it; and the latter in his owne person lived more conformably to the Rules of it, then any of their Contemporary Princes in *Europe*.

But the Civill Affaires of State were too ill managed, to protect, or at least to propagare true Religion; or else the neglect of Religion was the cause that Civill Affaires were blessed with no more honour and prosperity. The right waies of Queen ELIZABETH, who advanced both, had been long ago forsaken, and the deviation grew daily farther, and more fatall to the Kingdom. Which appeared in a direct contrariety to all particulars of her Reigne. Titles of Honour were made more honourable by her, in being conferred sparingly, and therefore probably upon great desert, which afterwards were become of lesse esteem, by being not onely too frequently conferred, but put to open sale, and made too often the purchase of Mechannicks, or the reward of vitious persons.

At the death of that Duke, the people were possessed with an unusuall joy, which they openly testified by such expressions, as indeed were not thought fit nor decent by wise men, upon so tragicall and sad an accident, which in a christian consideration might move compassion, whatsoever the offences of the man were.

To such people that distick of *Seneca* might give answer:

Res est sacra miser; noli mea tangere fata:

Sacrilegæ Bustis abstinere manus.

Sacred is woe; touch not my death with scorne:

Even sacrilegious hands have Tombs forborne.

And it may be that God was offended at the excessse of their joy, in that he quickly let them see, the benefit was not so great to them as they expected by it; but his judgements are too high for men to search. True it is, that the people in generall loving the Kings Person, and very unwilling to harbour the least opinion of ill in him, looked upon the Duke, as the onely hinderance of the Kingdomes happinesse; supposing, that though other Statesmen might

might afterwards arise, of as bad or worse intentions, then the Duke; yet none would have so great a power for execution of them; nor any other Genius be ever found, to have so great a mastery over the Kings Genius. But it is certaine, that men did much therefore rejoyce at the death of this Duke, because they did before much feare what mischief might befall a Kingdome, where that man, who knew himselfe extremely hated by the people, had all the keyes of the Kingdome in his hand, as being Lord Admirall and Warden of the Cinque-Ports; having the command of all the Souldiers, and the onely power to reward and raise them.

These joyes and hopes of men lasted not long, for in the same yeer (being the fourth of King CHARLES) and after the death of the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, another Parliament was dissolved; and then the Priviledges of that high Court more broken then ever before. Six Members of the House of Cominons, who had been forward in vindicating the Priviledges of Parliament, were committed close Prisoners for many moneths together, without the liberty of using books, pen, inke and paper, while they were detained in this condition; and not admitted Bayle according to Law: They were also vexed with informations in inferiour Courts; where they were sentenced, and fined for matters done in Parliament; and the payment of such Fines extorted from them. Some were enforced to put in security of good behaviour, before they could be released: The rest who refused to be bound, were detained divers yeares after in custody, of whom one Sir JOHN ELLIOT, a Gentleman of able parts, that had been forwardest in expression of himselfe, for the freedome of his Country, and taxing the unjust actions of the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, while that Duke lived (though the truth be, that those Speeches of his were no other then what carried the publike consent in them) dyed by

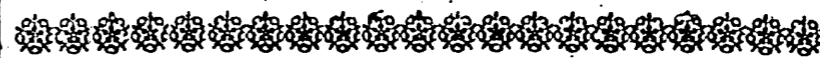
the harshnesse of his imprisonment, which would admit of no relaxation, though for healths sake; he petitioned for it often, and his Physitian gave in testimony to the same purpose. The freedome that Sir JOHN ELIOT used in Parliament, was by the people in generall applauded, though much taxed by the Courtiers, and censur'd by some of a more politike reserve (considering the times) in that kind that TACITUS censures THRASEAS PATUS, as thinking such freedom a needlesse, and therefore a foolish thing, where no cure could be hoped by it. *Sibi periculum, nec aliis libertatem.*

After the breaking off this Parliament (as the Historian speaketh of Roman liberty, after the battell of PHILIPPI, *minquam post hoc praelium, &c.*) the people of *England* for many years never looked back to their ancient liberty. A Declaration was published by the King, wherein aspersions were laid upon some Members; but indeed the Court of Parliament it selfe was declared against. All which the dejected people were forced to read with patience, and allow against the dictate of their own reason.

The people of *England* from that time were deprived of the hope of Parliaments; and all things so managed by publike Officers, as if never such a day of account were to come.

I shall for methods sake first of all make a short enumeration of some of the chiefe grievances of the Subjects, which shall be truly and plainly related; as likewise some vices of the Nation in generall, that the Reader may the better judge of the causes of succeeding troubles, during the space of seven or eight yeares after the dissolution of that Parliament, and then give some account concerning the severall dispositions of the people of ENGLAND, and their different censures of the Kings government during those years; touching by the way somewhat of the manners and customs of the Court of ENGLAND, and

and then briefly of the condition of Ecclesiasticall affaires, and the censures of men concerning that.



CHAP. II.

A briefe Relation of some grievances of the Kingdome. The various opinions of men concerning the present Government. The condition of the Court and Clergy of England. Some observations of a stranger, concerning the Religion of the English people.

IT cannot but be thought, by all wise and honest men, that the sinnes of *England* were at a great height, that the injustice of Governours, and vices of private men, were very great; which have since called downe from Almighty God so sharpe a judgement; and drawne on by degrees so calamitous and consuming a Warre. Those particular crimes an English Historian can take no pleasure to relate, but might rather desire to be silent in, and say with STATIUS:

— *Nos certe taceamus, & obruta multa
Nocte regi nostræ patiamur crimina gentis.*

Let us be silent, and from after times

Conceale our own unhappy Nations crimes.

But to be silent in that, were great injustice and impiety toward God, to relate his judgements upon a Kingdome; and forget the sinnes of that Kingdom, which were the cause of them. The Heathen Historians do well instruct us in that point of piety; who never almost describe any Civill Warre, or publike affliction, without relating at the beginning, how vitious and corrupted their State was at that time grown; how

how faulty both the Rulers and People were; and how fit to be punished, either by themselves or others. Nor doe any of the Roman Poets undertake to write of that great and miserable Civill Warre, which destroyed the present State, and enslaved posterity; without first making a large enumeration of such causes; how wicked the manners of Rome were growne, how the chiefe Rulers were given to avarice and oppression, and the whole State drowned in luxury, lusts and riot, as you may see upon that subject in two the most elegant of them. And shall we Christians, who adore the true God, and live under the Gospell-light, not be sensible under so heavy a judgement of our owne offences.

To begin with the faults of the higher powers, and their illegall oppression of the people, during these eight or nine years, in which Parliaments were denied to *England*, which I briefly touch, referring the Reader to a more full narration in the Remonstrance; multitudes of Monopolies were granted by the King, and laid upon all things of most common and necessary use, such as Sope, Salt, Wine, Leather, Sea-cole, and many other of that kinde.

Regia, privatis crescunt araria damnis. Claud.

By losse of private men th' Exchequer growes.

Large sums of Money were exacted thorow the whole Kingdome for default of Knighthood, under the shadow of an obsolete Law. Tonnage and Poundage were received without the ordinary course of Law; and though they were taken under pretence of guarding the Seas, yet that great Tax of Ship-money was set on foot under the same colour; by both which there was charged upon the people some years neere 700000. li. though the Seas at that time were not well guarded.

These things were accompanied with an enlargement of Forrests, contrary to *Magna Charta*, the forcing of Coat and Conduet-Money, taking away the

the Armes of Trayned Bands in divers Counties, disarming the people by engrossing of Gunpowder, keeping it in the Tower of *London*, and setting so high a rate upon it, that the poorer sort were not able to buy it; nor could any have it without license; whereby severall parts of the Kingdome were left destitute of their necessary defence.

No Courts of Judicature could give redresse to the people for these illegall sufferings, whilest Judges were displaced by the King; for not complying with his will, and so awed, that they durst not do their duties: For to hold a rod over them, the clause, *Quandiu se bene gesserint*, was left out of their Patents, and a new clause, *Durante bene placito*, inserted.

New illegall Oathes were enforced upon the Subjects, and new Judicatories erected without Law; and when Commissions were granted for examining the excesses of Fees, and great exactions discovered, the Delinquents were compounded with, not onely for the time past, but immunity to offend for the time to come; which in stead of redressing, did confirme, and entcrease the grievance of the Subjects.

By this time, all thoughts of ever having a Parliament againe, were quite banished; so many oppressions had been set on foot, so many illegall actions done, that the onely way to justifie the mischiefs already done, was to do that one greater, To take away the meanes which was ordained to redresse them; the lawfull Government of *England* by Parliaments.

Whilest the Kingdome was in this condition, the serious and just men of *England*; who were no way interested in the emolument of these oppressions; could not but entertaine sad thoughts and presages, of what mitchiefe must needs follow so great an injustice; that things carried so farre on in a wrong way, must needs either inflave themselves and posterity for ever, or require a vindication so sharpe and smarting; as that the Nation would groane under it; and though

the times were jolly for the present, yet having observed the judgement of God upon other secure Nations, they could not chuse but feare the sequell. Another sort of men, and especially Lords and Gentlemen, by whom the pressures of the Government were not much felt, who enjoyed their owne plentiful fortunes, with little or insensible detriment, looking no farther then their present safety and prosperity; and the yet undisturbed peace of the Nation, whilest other Kingdomes were embroyled in calamities, and *Germany* sadly wasted by a sharpe Warre, did nothing but applaud the happinesse of *England*, and called those ingratefull and factious spirits, who complained of the breach of Lawes and Liberties; That the Kingdome abounded with wealth, plenty, and all kinde of elegancies, more then ever; That it was for the honour of a people, that the Monarch should live splendidly, and not be curbed at all in his Prerogative, which would bring him into the greater esteeme with other Princes, and more enable him to prevaile in Treaties; That what they suffered by Monopolies, was insensible, and not grievous, if compared with other States; That the Duke of *Tuskany* fate heavier upon his people in that very kinde; That the French King had made himselfe an absolute Lord, and quite depressed the power of Parliaments, which had beene there as great as in any Kingdome, and yet that *France* flourished, and the Gentry lived well; That the Austrian Princes, especially in *Spaine*, layed heavy burdens upon their Subjects.

Thus did many of the English Gentry, by way of comparison, in ordinary discourse, pleade for their owne servitude.

The Courtiers would begin to dispute against Parliaments in their ordinary discourse, That they were cruell to those whom the King favoured, and too injurious to his Prerogative; That the late Parliament stood upon too high termes with the King; and that they

they hoped the King should never need any more Parliaments. Some of the greatest Statesmen and Privy Counsellors, would ordinarily laugh at the ancient Language of *England*, when the word Liberty of the Subject was named. But these Gentlemen, who seemed so forward in taking up their owne yoake, were but a small part of the Nation (though a number considerable enough to make a Reformation hard) compared with those Gentlemen who were sensible of their birth-rights, and the true interest of the Kingdome; on which side the common people in the generality, and Country Freeholders stood, who would rationally argue of their owne Rights, and those oppressions that were layed upon them.

But the sins of the English Nation were too great, to let them hope for an easie or speedy redresse of such grievances; and the manners of the people so much corrupted, as by degrees they became of that temper, which the Historian speakes of his Romans, *ut nec mala, nec remedia ferre possent*, they could neither suffer those pressures patiently, nor quietly endure the cure of them. Prophanesse too much abounded every where; and which is most strange, where there was no Religion, yet there was Superstition: Luxury in diet, and excesse both in meat and drinke, was crept into the Kingdome in an high degree, not only in the quantity, but in the wanton curiosity. And in abuse of those good creatures which God had bestowed upon this plentiful Land, they mixed the vices of divers Nations, catching at every thing that was new and forraigne.

—*Non vulgo nota placebant* Petronius.

Gaudia, non usu plebejo trita voluptas.

—Old knowne delight sleight.

They scorne, and vulgar bare-worne pleasure
As much pride and excesse was in Apparell, almost among all degrees of people, in new fangled and various fashioned attire; they not only imitated,

but excelled their forraigne patternes; and in fantasticall gestures and behaviour, the petulancy of most Nations in Europe.

Et laxi crines, Et tibi nova nomina vestis. Petr.

Loose haire, and many new found names of clothes.

The serious men groaned for a Parliament; but the great Statesmen plyed it the harder, to compleat that worke they had begun, of setting up Prerogative above all Lawes.

The Lord WENTWORTH (afterward created Earle of STRAFFORD for his service in that kinde) was then labouring to oppresse Ireland, of which he was Deputy; and to begin that worke in a conquered Kingdome, which was intended to be afterward wrought by degrees in England: And indeed he had gone very farre and prosperously in those waies of Tyranny; though very much to the endammaging and setting backe of that newly established Kingdome.

He was a man of great parts, of a deepe reach, subtle wit, of spirit and industry, to carry on his businesse, and such a conscience as was fit for that worke he was designed to. He understood the right way, and the Liberty of his Country, as well as any man; for which in former Parliaments, he stood up stiffely, and seemed an excellent Patriot. For those abilities he was soone taken off by the King, and raised in honour, to be imployed in a contrary way, for enslaving of his Country, which his ambition easily drew him to undertake. To this man, in my opinion, that character which LUCAN bestowes upon the Roman Curio, in some sort may suit.

Hand alium tanta civem tulit indole Roma,

Aut cui plus Leges deberent recta sequenti:

Perdita tunc urbi nocuerunt secula, postquam

Ambitus, & Luxus, & opum metuenda facultas,

Transverso mentem dubiam Torrente tulerunt,

Momentumq; fuit mutatus curio rerum.

A

A man of abler parts Rome never bore, (more:

Nor one to whom (whilest right) the Lawes ow'd

Our State it selfe then suffer'd, when the tide

Of Avarice, Ambition, factious pride,

To turne his wavering minde quite crosse began,

Of such high moment was one changed man.

The Court of England, during this long vacancy of Parliaments, enjoyed it selfe in as much pleasure and splendour, as ever any Court did. The Revels, Triumphs, and Princely Pastimes, were for those many yeares kept up, at so great a height, that any stranger which travelled into England, would verily believe, a Kingdom that looked so cheerefully in the face, could not be sick in any part.

The Queene was fruitfull, and now growne of such an age, as might seeme to give her priviledge of a farther society with the King, then bed and board; and make her a partner of his affaires and businesse; which his extreme affection did more encourage her to challenge: That conjugall love, as an extraordinary vertue of a King, in midst of so many temptations, the people did admire and honour.

But the Queenes power did by degrees give priviledge to Papists; and among them, the most witty, and Jesuited, to converse, under the name of civility and Courtship; not only with inferiour Courtiers, but the King himselfe, and to sowe their seed in what ground they thought best; and by degrees, as in complement to the Queene, Nuntio's from the Pops were received in the Court of England, PANZANI, CON, and ROSETTI; the King himselfe maintaining in discourse, That he saw no reason why he might not receive an Embassadour from the Pope, being a Temporall Prince. But those Nuntio's were not entertained with publike Ceremony; so that the people in generall tooke no great notice of them; and the Courtiers were confident of the Kings Religion, by his due frequenting Prayers and Sermons.

E 3

The

The Clergy, whose dependance was meere upon the King, were wholly taken up in admiration of his happy Government, which they never concealed from himselfe, as often as the Pulpit gave them access to his care; and not onely there, but at all meetings, they discoursed with joy upon that Theme; affirming confidently, that no Prince in *Europe* was so great a friend to the Church, as King CHARLES; That Religion flourished no where but in *England*; and no reformed Church retained the face and dignity of a Church but that: Many of them used to deliver their opinion, That God had therefore so severely punished the Palatinate, because their Sacrilege had beene so great in taking away the endowments of Bishopricks.

Queene ELIZABETH her selfe, who had reformed Religion, was but coldly praised, and all her vertues forgotten, when they remembered how she cut short the Bishoprick of *Ely*.

HENRY the eight was much condemned by them, for seizing upon the Abbies, and taking so much out of the severall Bishopricks. as he did in the 37 yeer of his Reigne. To maintaine therefore that splendour of a Church, which so much pleased them, was become their highest endeavour; especially after they had gotten in the yeare 1633. an Archbishop after their owne heart, Doctor LAUD; who had before for divers yeares ruled the Clergy, in the secession of Archbishop ABBOT, a man of better temper and discretion; which discretion or vertue to conceale, would be an injury to that Archbishop; he was a man who wholly followed the true interest of *England*, and that of the Reformed Churches in *Europe*, so farre as that in his time the Clergy was not much envied here in *England*, nor the Government of Episcopacy much disfavoured by Protestants beyond the Seas. Not onely the pompe of Ceremonies were daily increased, and innovations of great scandall brought

brought into the Church; but in point of Doctrine, many faire approaches made towards *Rome*; as he that please to search may finde in the Books of Bishop LAUD, MOUNTAGUE, HELYN, POCKLINGTON, and the rest; or in briefe collected by a Scottish Minister, Master BAILY. And as their friendship to *Rome* increased, so did their scorn to the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas; whom, instead of lending that reliefe and succour to them, which God had enabled this rich Island to do, they failed in their greatest extremities, and in stead of harbours, became rocks to split them.

Archbishop LAUD, who was now growne into great favour with the King, made use of it especially to adavnce the pompe and temporall honour of the Clergy, procuring the Lord Treasurers place for Doctor JACKSON, Bishop of *London*, and endeavouring, as the generall report went, to fix the greatest temporall preferments upon others of that Coat; insomuch as the people merrily, when they saw that Treasurer with the other Bishops, riding to *Westminster*, called it the Church Triumphant: Doctors and Parsons of Parishes were made every where Justices of Peace, to the great grievance of the Country in civill affaires, and depriving them of their spirituall edification.

The Archbishop, by the same meanes which he used to preserve his Clergy from contempt, exposed them to envy; and as the wisest could then propheoy, to a more then probability of losing all: As we reade of some men, who being fore-doomed by an Oracle to a bad fortune, have runne into it by the same meanes they used to prevent it. The like unhappy course did the Clergy then take to depreesse Puritanisme, which was, to set up irreligion it selfe against it, the worst weapon which they could have chosen to beat it downe, which appeared especially in point of keeping the Lords day; when not only books were written

written to shake the morality of it, as that of *Sunday no Sabbath*, but sports, and pastimes of jollity and lightnesse permitted to the Country people upon that day, by publike Authority, and the Warrant commanded to be read in Churches; which instead of producing the intended effect, may credibly be thought to have been one motive to a stricter observance of that day; in that part of the Kingdome, which before had been well devoted; And many men who had before been loose and carelesse, began upon that occasion to enter into a more serious consideration of it, and were ashamed to be invited by the authority of Church-men, to that which themselves at the best, could but have pardoned in themselves, as a thing of infirmity.

The example of the Court, where Playes were usually presented on Sundaies, did not so much draw the Country to imitation, as reflect with disadvantage upon the Court it selfe; and sower those other Court pastimes and jollities, which would have relished better without that, in the eyes of all the people; as things ever allowed to the delights of great Princes.

The countenancing of loosenesse and irreligion, was, no doubt, a good preparative to the introducing of another Religion: And the power of godlinesse being beaten downe, Popery might more easily by degrees enter; men quickly leave that, of which they never took fast hold: And though it were questionable, whether the Bishops and great Clergy of *England* aimed at Popery, it is too apparent; such was the designe of Romish Agents; and the English Clergy, if they did not their owne worke, did theirs. A stranger of that Religion, a Venetian Gentleman, out of his owne observations in *England*, will tell you how farre they were going in this kinde; his words are:

The

THe Universities, Bishops, and Divines of *England*, do daily imbrace Catholike opinions, though they professe it not with open mouth, for feare of the Puritans: For example, They hold that the Church of *Rome* is a true Church; That the Pope is superiour to all Bishops; That to him it appertaines to call generall Counsels; That it is lawfull to pray for soules departed; That Altars ought to be erected; in summe they believe all that is taught by the Church, but not by the Court of *Rome*.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was much against the Court of *Rome*, though not against that Church, in so high a kinde: For the Doctrine of the Roman Church was no enemy to the pompe of Prelacy; but the Doctrine of the Court of *Rome* would have swallowed up all under the Popes Supremacy, and have made all greatnesse dependant upon him: Which the Archbishop conceived would derogate too much from the King in Temporalls, (and therefore hardly to be accepted by the Court) as it would from himselfe in Spiritualls, and make his Metropolitanall power subordinate, which he desired to hold absolute and independent within the Realme of *England*.

It is certaine, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (as an English Gentleman observes) would often professe against those Tridentine Papists, whom only he hated as Papists properly so called. For at the Councell of *Trent*, all matters concerning the Court of *Rome*, which are of themselves but disputable, were determined as points of faith, to be believed upon paine of damnation: But matters of faith indeed concerning the Church of *Rome*, were left disputable, and no Anathema annexed to them. But that Venetian Gentleman, whom before we cited, declares in what state, for matter of Religion, *England* at that time stood; and how divided, namely, into Papists, Protestants, and Puritans; Papists are

F

well

In the English Pope.

well knowne. The Protestant party (saith he) consists of the King, the Court Lords, and Gentlemen, with all that are raised by favour to any honour: Besides almost all the Prelates, and both the Universities.

What the Protestants are, he farther declares. viz.

They hate Puritans more then they hate Papists; That they easily combine with Papists to extirpate Puritans; and are not so farre engaged to the Reformed Religion, but that they can reduce themselves againe to the old practise of their fore-fathers; That they are very opinionative in excludng the Popes Supremacy.

He speaks then concerning the Puritans, and saies: That they consist of some Bishops, of almost all the Gentry and Commualty; and therefore are far the most potent party.

And further declares what they are. viz. They are such as received the Discipline of the French, and Netherlanders, and hold not the English Reformation to be so perfect, as that which CALVIN instituted at Geneva; That they hate Papists far more then they hate Protestants, &c.

Thus farre of this strangers observation, concerning England.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The condition of the Scottish State and Clergy, when the new Booke of Lyurgy was sent unto them; how it was received; with some effects which followed. The Kings Proclamation sent by the Earle of TRAQUARE; against which the Lords make a Protestation.

IN this condition stood the Kingdome of England, about the yeare 1636. when the first coale was blowne, which kindled since into so great a combustion, as to deface, and almost ruine three flourishing Kingdomes. Neither was this coale blowne by the grievd party of England; the Commualty, and those religious men that prayed for Reformation, but by the other side, who had oppressed them. No commotion at all was raised from the oppressed party, though it consisted of the body of the Nation, and therefore strong enough to have vindicated themselves; would they have risen in illegall tumults.

The Land was yet quiet, and that storme which the people had feared before the death of the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, was not in so long a time fallen upon England, although the causes in Government which made them feare it, had continued at the height ever since. They onely wished for a Parliament, but durst not hope it, unlesse some strange accident, not yet discovered by them, might necessitate such a cure: The Commons therefore

F 2

quietly

quietly indured their yoke; the Court freely enjoyed its greatnesse and splendour; and the then Clergy, without controll, their dignity: Untill too great a care of securing and increasing that dignity, made them endeavour those courses, which proved the ruine of it; for from the Clergy this fire began, though the State was not innocent. The tyranny of Civill Government moved the same pace that the ambition of Prelacy did: And the Kings Councell had gone so farre, as they could not be content, that the people were patient, unlesse they could take away all possibility for the future, of the peoples redresse.

But the name of Religion was used at the beginning of the businesse, and a conformity in Church-Worship betweene the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, pretended to be introduced: But the meanes proved unhappy, and were defective both in policy and justice, as will anon more particularly appeare.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was a maine Agent in this fatall worke; a man vigilant enough; of an active, or rather of a restless minde; more ambitious to undertake, then politick to carry on; of a disposition too fierce and cruell for his Coat; which notwithstanding, he was so farre from concealing in a subtle way, that he increased the envy of it by insolence. He had few vulgar and private vices, as being neither taxed of covetousnesse, intemperance, or incontinence; and in a word, a man not altogether so bad, as unfit for the State of *England*.

To bring about the worke in hand; long preparation had been made in *Scotland*, and though that Kingdome was hardly brought to endure the Rule and Pompe of Prelacy; yet now it seemed perfectly to be wrought: The Bishops there, no lesse then in *England*, had gotten all the Ecclesiasticall power into their hands, and had as great a share in Civill Government.

Of

Of fourteene Bishops, which is all the Scottish number; eleven were Privy Counsellors; the Archbishop of *St. Andrewes*, Primate of *Scotland*, was Lord Chancellor; and the Bishop of *Rosse*, a great Favourite of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was in election, and assured hope to be Lord High Treasurer; many of them besides were gotten into State employment, and gainfull Offices.

To establish that Episcopall Power; the High Commission Court, like that in *England*, was erected, and a Booke of Canons for that Church, was by the Kings Authority published and ratified; wherein all Subjects to the Crowne of *Scotland*, are commanded in all Articles, to submit themselves to the Episcopall Censure.

The whole structure of Ecclesiasticall policy, so long used in *Scotland*, and established by so many Acts of Parliament, was at one blow throwne downe; (as many of their Writers did then complaine) their Consistories, Classes, and Presbyteries, were held in the nature of Conventicles; and all decision of Ecclesiasticall controversies confined only to the Tribunal of a Bishop. *Although* (say they) *after that unhappy Synod of Perth, which was held in the yeare 1618. we never had any Nationall Synod, or Assembly; yet there remained a kinde of face or name of Provinciaall Synods, Presbyteries, and Sessions:* (though indeed but vaine names and shadowes) but after the monstrous birth of those Canons, that very shadow was quite lost.

*Olim vera fides libertatis obit,
Nunc & ficta perit.*

Yet for all this, the power of Prelacy was not so firmly rooted in *Scotland* as in *England*, nor so well fortified by the affections of one Kingdome as of the other. Besides, the Reformation of *England* had never abrogated, nor scarce shaken the Prelaticall Dignity in any Parliament.

F 3

But

But in *Scotland* it was once quite ruined, and by degrees built up againe, not without many difficulties, not without great reluctancy of the Peeres, Gentry, and most of the Ministers; not without extraordinary interposition of Regall Authority, and great art used by two Kings in managing the businesse, and raising it to that height, in which then it stood; as you may reade at large in some late Writers of that Kingdome.

Neither were the Peeres and Gentry of that Kingdome so impatient of this new yoke; onely out of zeale to preservation of Religion in purity; (though that, no doubt, were their greatest reason; that Church having been ever much addicted to the Reformation of *Geneva*: And those other Churches, as it appeared by their great unwillingnesse to receive those few Ceremonies of the English Church, at their Synod of *Perth*;) but as loath also to suffer any diminution of their Temporall Liberties, which could not be avoided in admittance of Episcopall Jurisdiction, and was manifested in that Kingdome, by divers examples of rigorous proceedings, which some Bishops used against Gentlemen of quality, by way of Fines and Imprisonments, and the like; which particulars are too large to be here inserted in this Narration.

In the yeare 1637. a Booke of Lyturgy was composed, and sent out of *England*, (which they complained of, because it was not before allowed by their Church in a Nationall Synod, as was fit for a businesse of so great import) with an expresse command from the King, that they should reverently receive it, and publikely reade it in their Churches, beginning on Easter day, and so forward; against which time the Privy Councill of *Scotland* had commanded that every Parish should buy two at the least of them.

That Service-Booke was the same with the
Common-

Common-Prayer Booke of *England*, excepting some few alterations, of which some (as they observed) were alterations for the better, but others for the worse.

For the better, they esteemed, that so many Chapters of the *Apocrypha* were not appointed to be read, as in the English Prayer Booke; and where the English retained the old vulgar Latine Translation, especially in the Psalmes, that Booke followed the last Translation, commonly called that of King JAMES.

Those alterations for the worse were divers, observed by the Scots, especially in the Lords Supper, of which some were these: The expresse command for situation of the Altar (so called) to the Easterne Wall; together with many postures of the Minister, whilest he officiated, expressed in their exceptions; but especially this, that in the consecrating prayer, those words, which in the English Common-Prayer Booke, are directly against Transubstantiation, were quite left out in that Booke, and instead of them, such other words, as in plaine sense agreed with the Roman Masse Booke.

As for example: *Heare us, O most mercifull Father, and of thy Omnipotent goodnesse grant, so to blesse and sanctifie by thy Word and Spirit, these creatures of bread and wine, that they may be to us. the body and blood of thy beloved Sonne.*

Many other alterations the Scots have observed and expressed in their writings, and in one word affirmed, that wheresoever that Booke varies from the English Lyturgy, it approaches directly to the Roman Missall; and offered to prove, that all the materiall parts of the Masse Booke are seminally there.

It was thought by many, that if the Booke, without any alteration at all, had been sent into *Scotland*, though the Scots perhaps would not have
received

received it, they would not have taken it in so evill part: And it might have been construed onely as a brotherly invitation to the same service which *England* used. But what the reasons were of those alterations, I finde no where expressed, but onely where the King in his Declaration concerning that businesse, is pleased to say thus:

WE supposing that they might have taken some offence, if we should have tendred them the *English Service-Booke* totidem verbis; and that some factious spirits would have endeavoured to have misconstrued it, as a badge of dependance of that Church upon this of *England*, which we had put upon them to the prejudice of their *Laves and Liberties*; We held it fitter that a new Booke should be composed by their owne Bishops, in substance not differing from this of *England*, that so the Roman Party might not upbraid us with any weighty or materiall differences in our *Lyturgies*; and yet in some few insensible alterations, differing from it, that it might truly and justly be reputed a Booke of that Churches owne composing, and established by Our Royall Authority, as King of *SCOTLAND*.

These were the Kings expressions, which, as it seemed, were not satisfactory to the Scots in that point.

For they were (as is before specified) not well affected to their owne Bishops, whose power and jurisdiction over them, was rather enforced then consented to. Neither did they suppose that a conformity in Church-Worship, had it been such as their consciences could well have imbraced, had beene any badge of their dependancy upon *England*, as being a people not conquered, but united in an equall freedome under the same King.

Besides, they could not relish it well, that the Arch-

Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and other English Bishops, who in many points of Ceremony and Worship, which they accounted things tolerable, did make as neere approaches to the Church of *Rome*, as possibly they could; for no other reason (as they professe in their writings) then that they laboured to bring union into the Christian Church, if it were possible; should now invite the Church of *Scotland* (whom they accounted more puritanicall then themselves) to union, by a quite contrary way; as in stead of framing their Service neerer to the Scottish profession and Discipline, to urge them to a *Lyturgy* more popish then their owne: So that it seemed, for unity they were content to meet *Rome*, rather then *Scotland*.

To returne to the Narration; The Service-Booke, according to the Kings command, was offered to the Church of *Scotland*; and the Councell there; and published by Proclamation; a day for the reading of it in all Churches appointed; which was the Easter day following. 1637.

But then upon some considerations, and further triall of mens minds (as the King declares) the first reading of it was put off untill the 23. of *July* next ensuing, to the end that the Lords of the Session (their Session being the same with the Terme in *England*) and others, who had any Law businesse, might see the successe of it before the rising of the Session, which alwaies endeth upon the first of *August*; and that so upon their returne into their severall Countries, they might report the receiving of this Booke at *Edenburgh*; it being ordered; That on that Sunday the Booke should be read only in the Church of *Edenburgh*; and some other neere adjacent; and warning was printed, and published in those severall Pulpits the Sunday before, that it was to be read.

On the 23. day of *July*, being Sunday, the Booke
G was

was read in Saint Gyles Church, commonly called, the great Church at *Edenburgh*, where were present many of the Privy Councill, both Archbishops, and divers other Bishops, the Lords of the Session, the Magistrates of *Edenburgh*, and a great auditory of all sorts.

But the people, especially the meanest vulgar, (for they first appeared against it) and some women expressed so great a detestation of the Booke, not onely in words and outcries, but actions; that the City Magistrates were troubled much to get the Service performed; and the Bishop who read it, coming out of the Church, had probably beene flaine by the multitude, if he had not been rescued by a Nobleman.

Betweene the two Sermons the Councill and Magistrates met about preventing future tumults; but though the Booke were read more quietly in the afternoon, yet the tumult was farre greater after evening Prayer, from the people who had stayed in the streets; and the Bishop, in the Earle of Roxborough his Coach, hardly escaped from being stoned to death.

The greatest men and Magistrates of *Edenburgh*, to excuse themselves to the King (some of them also writing to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*) layed all the fault upon the Rabble; for as yet none of quality had appeared, insomuch as that the Privy Councill and Magistrates of *Edenburgh*, the next morning held some consultation about finding out, and punishing the ringleaders of that uproare.

But not long after, upon the appearing of some others of higher ranke, and Petitions from divers Ministers, That the reading of that Booke might be a while respited, till his Majesty might be further petitioned and informed; the Councill yeilded so far, as that it should not be urged by the Bishops, till his Majesties pleasure were further knowne.

Upon

Upon which, many Gentlemen and Ministers, who had resorted to *Edenburgh* with Petitions not long before, returned in part satisfied to their owne habitations; and at many places met together, with fastings, and Prayer, That God would be pleased to direct the Kings heart in that way which they conceived most conducible to the happinesse of the Church and State of *Scotland*.

Upon the 18. of *October* following, harvest being now ended, a great conflux of all sorts was at *Edenburgh*, to heare what the King was pleased to determine of the businesse; where they finde an Edict against them, That upon paine of being guilty of Rebellion, all should within few houres warning, depart the City; and because the Citizens of *Edenburgh* had twice tumultuously opposed the Prayer Booke, and assaulted the Bishop of *Edenburgh*; as a punishment to that City, the Terme was to be removed to the Burgh of *Linlithgow*; and the next Terme, after the ordinary vacants, to be held at the Burgh of *Dendie*, there to remaine during his Majesties pleasure.

The Petitioners (as they were then called) were much moved at this Edict; and on the 19. of that *October*, presented to the Privy Councill a great complaint against the Bishops, whom they conceived the Authors of all this businesse, and desired justice against them, as well for other crimes, as for introducing contrary to Law, that superstitious and idolatrous Book.

To this complaint a great number of all ranks subscribed, and professed to the Councill, that they could not depart out of *Edinburgh* till some way were found out to settle the present grievances.

Whilest they stayed there, their number daily increased, from all the remotest Provinces, that the Councill were enforced to give way, that till the Kings pleasure were yet further knowne, they

might chuse some out of their number of all ranks, to represent the rest, and follow the cause in the name of all the rest: Upon which they chose foure of the higher Nobility, foure of the lower ranke of Nobility, as representers of Provinces; as many Burgesses of Townes; and foure Pastors, as representers of the Classes; having settled this, the rest quietly departed to their owne homes.

The King hearing of these things, sent a command to the Councill of *Edenburgh*, not to take upon themselves any more the decision of this controversie, which he reserved in his owne power: And Proclamation was made in *December*, 1637. concerning the Kings intentions, that they were not to infringe the Lawes or Liberties of the Kingdome.

When therefore the Commissioners petitioned the Councill to give way to them, to bring their Actions against the Bishops, the Councill answered, That the King had commanded them to receive no more Petitions, against either the Bishops, or Booke of Service.

Whereupon the Commissioners discontented, prepare a Protestation against the Kings Councill, declaring, That what mischief soever might afterwards ensue, was to be all imputed to the Kings Councill, for denying Justice.

The Councill fearing what effects might follow, desired the Bishops to absent themselves, and gave leave to the Commissioners to appeare before them; where the Lord of *Lowden*, in name of all the rest, made an Oration, in which charging the Bishops with other crimes, besides these stirres; he desired them to be altogether removed from the Councill Table, till they had answered and cleared themselves. To the like purpose spake one of the Ministers.

The Councill seemed sorry, that it lay not in their power (since the Kings Command was peremptory)

to

to give satisfaction to their desires; but intreated their patience for so small a time, as till they might againe receive notice of his Majesties pleasure.

The King further certified by them, sent for the Earle of *TRAQUARE* into *England*, who was soone dispatched againe into *Scotland*; and in *February*, 1638. caused the Kings Mandate in *Sterlin* (where the Councill then sate) to be published.

The Proclamation declared that the Bishops were wrongfully accused, as Authors of sending the Prayer Booke; That his Majesty himselfe was Author of it, and all was done by his Command; That he condemned all tumultuous proceedings of his Subjects to exhibite Petitions or complaints against the innocent Bishops, and booke of *Lyturgy*, and all subscriptions to that purpose hitherto, as conspiring against the publike peace; pronouncing pardon to those which repented, and the punishment of high Treason to such as persisted; promising to heare the just complaints of his Subjects, so they offended not in matter or forme.

After the Proclamation was made at *Sterlin*, the Earle of *HUME*, Lord *LINDSEY*, and others, in name of all the Petitioners, made a Protestation against it; which Protestation was afterward repeated at *Lithgow*, and last at *Edenburgh*.

The effect of that Protestation was (for we cannot here insert it at large) That the Service Booke was full of Superstition and Idolatry, and ought not to be obtruded upon them, without consent of a Nationall Synod, which in such cases should judge; That it was unjust to deny them liberty to accuse the Bishops, being guilty of high crimes, of which till they were cleared, they did reject the Bishops as Judges or Governours of them. They protested also against the High Commission Court, and justified their owne meetings, and supercriptions to Petitions, as being to defend the glory of God, the

G 3

Kings

Kings Honour, and Liberties of the Realme. This Protestation was read in the Market place at *Sterlin*, and the Copy hung up in publike.



C H A P. I V.

The Scots enter into a Covenant. The Marquesse HAMILTON is sent thither from the King. A Nationall Synod is granted to them, but dissolved within few daies by the Marquesse, as Commissioner from the King. The King declares against the Covenanters, and raises an Army to subdue them.



From *Sterlin* the Commissioners resorted to *Edenburgh*, whither many from all parts met to consult of the present business; and concluded there to renew solemnly among them that Covenant, which was commonly called, The lesser confession of the Church of *Scotland*, or, The confession of the Kings family; which was made and sealed under King JAMES his hand, in the yeare 1580. afterwards confirmed by all the Estates of the Kingdome, and Decree of the Nationall Synod, 1581. Which Confession was againe subscribed by all sorts of persons in *Scotland*, 1590. by authority of Councill and Nationall Synod; and a Covenant added to it, for defence of true Religion, and the Kings Majesty; which Covenant the foresaid Lords, Citizens, and Pastours, in the yeare 1638. did renew, and tooke another according to the present occasion.

The Covenant it selfe (expressed at large in the Records of that Kingdome) consisted of three principall parts: The first was a re-taking word for word,
of

of that old Covenant, 1580. confirmed by Royall Authority, and two Nationall Synods, for defence of the purity of Religion, and the Kings Person and Rights, against the Church of *Rome*. The second part contained an enumeration of all the Acts of Parliament made in *Scotland*, in defence of the reformed Religion, both in Doctrine and Discipline against Popery.

The third was an application of that old Covenant to the present state of things, where, as in that all Popery, so in this all innovations in those Bookes of Lyurgy unlawfully obruded upon them are abjured; and a preservation of the Kings Person and Authority; as likewise a mutuall defence of each other in this Covenant are sworne unto.

Against this Covenant the King, much displeas'd, made these foure principall objections: First, By what authority they entred into this Covenant? or presumed to exact any Oath from their fellow Subjects? Secondly, if they had power to command the new taking of this Oath, yet what power had they to interpret it to their present occasion? it being a received Maxime, That no lesse authority can interpret a Law, then that which made it, or the Judges appointed by that Authority, to give sentence upon it. Thirdly, What power they had to adde any thing to it, and interpose a new Covenant of mutuall assistance to each other, against any other power that should oppose them, none excepted. And fourthly, That all Leagues of Subjects among themselves, without the privity and approbation of the King, are declared to be seditious by two Parliaments in *Scotland*, one of the tenth Parliament of JAMES the sixth, Act the twelfth; and the other the fifteenth Act of the ninth Parliament of Queene MARY.

What answer the Covenanters made to these objections, and what arguments the King used to enforce the contrary, are largely expressed in many writings; being

endeavour to prove by reciting all their particular grievances, and by answering all arguments of the contrary side, for the Right of Princes, howsoever affected to Religion; as appears at large in their Tractate concerning the necessity of Synods.

The Marquesse returned into *Scotland* before the appointed day, and brought Articles from the King, to which the Covenanters, if they would have either Parliament or Synod, were required to consent.

But they utterly rejected those Articles, as too invalid for their purpose of settling things; so that the Marquesse fearing least the Covenanters, weary of delays, would call a Synod without staying the Kings consent, earnestly perswaded them to forbear it onely till his next returne from Court, whether he would presently go to perswade the King. Which request of his, with much ado was granted by them, and the day for his returne appointed the 22 of *September*; by which time, unlesse the Marquesse returned, it was free for the Covenanters to provide for their owne affaires.

But the Marquesse with singular diligence prevented his day, and published the Kings Proclamation, of which the chiefe heads were: First, The King did abrogate all Decrees of Councell for the Booke of Canons and Common-Prayer, and abrogate the High Commission. Secondly, That none should be pressed to the five Articles of *Perth*. Thirdly, That Bishops should be subject to the censure of a Synod. Fourthly, That no Oath should be given at Ordination of Pastors, but by Law of Parliament. Fifthly, that the lesser Confession of 1580. should be subscribed to by all the Kingdome. Sixtly, That the King called a Nationall Synod to begin at *Glascow* the 21 of *November*, 1638. and a Parliament at *Edenburgh* the 15. of *May*, 1639. Lastly, for peace sake he would forget all their offences past.

The

The Covenanters at the first hearing of this peacefull Message, were much joyed; but looking neerely into the words, they found (as they affirme) That their precedent actions were tacitly condemned, and the just freedome of a Nationall Synod taken away.

Therefore loath to be deceived, they frame a Protestation, not (as they alledged) mis-doubting the candor of the King, but not trusting those in favour with him; by whose destructive Councell they supposed it was, that the King had not shewed this clemency at first.

The chiefe heads of their Protestation were these: First, after humble thanks to God and the King, they conceived this grant no sufficient remedy for their sores.

For His Majesty calls that a panick feare in them, which was upon no imaginary, but just grounds, as a reall mutation both of Religion and Lawes, by obtrusion of those Bookes directly popish.

Secondly, whereas the King in his former Mandates so highly extolled those Bookes, as most religious, and fit for the Church; they could not be satisfied with a bare remission of the exercise of them, unlesse he would utterly abrogate and condemne them; or else itching Innovators would not be wanting hereafter to raise new troubles to the Church about them.

Thirdly, the just liberty of Nationall Synods is diminished, and Episcopacy set up, they being allowed as Bishops, though not deputed by the Churches, to give their voices in a Synod.

Fourthly, the subscribing againe of that old Covenant, could not be admitted for many reasons there at large expressed; of which some are, That it would frustrate their late Covenant, and make it narrower then before, and not able to suit to the redresse of present grievances; and be a needlesse multiplying

H 2

multiplying of Oathes, and taking the Name of God in vaine; with many other objections; which cannot be fully here inserted.

That Covenant notwithstanding was solemnly taken at *Edenburgh* by the Marquesse of HAMILTON, the Kings Commissioner, and all the Privy Councell.

The Marquesse then gave Order for the Synod, fearing least the Covenanters, if he delayed to call it, would do it themselves, and on the 16. of November came to *Glasco* in great state.

Where after many meetings for preparation to the businesse, on the 21. of the same Moneth, according to the Kings Edict, the Nationall Synod began: But within seven daies that Synod was dissolved by the Marquesse HAMILTON, in the Kings Name, and they commanded to sit no more.

The Marquesse alleadging for reason of it, that they had broken the Lawes of a free Synod in many proceedings, not onely in those few daies of their sitting, but before it began in their manner of Elections, with other such like matters.

But they protested against that dissolution, and continued the Synod when the Marquesse was gone: What were the Acts of that Synod, what proceedings it had, and what impediments it met withall, you may read in two large descriptions, the one published by the King, the other by the Synod; how the Bishops protested against the Synod; how the Synod answered their Protestation; how the Synod wrote to the King; how they proceeded against the Bishops, deposing them all from their Dignities; how of all fourteene Bishops, eight were excommunicated, foure excluded from all Ministeriall Function, and two onely allowed to officiate as Pastours; how the five Articles of *Perth*, the Booke of *Liturgy*, the Booke of *Canons* and *Ordination*, were

were all condemned, the High Commission taken away, and whatsoever else had crept into the Church since the year 1580. when that Nationall Covenant was first established.

The Scots Covenanters, when themselves broke up the Synod, wrote a Letter of thanks to the King, and immediately after published a Declaration, dated the fourth of *February*, 1638. from *Edenburgh*, and directed To all the sincere and good Christians in England, to vindicate their actions and intentions, from those aspersions which enemies might throw upon them.

That Declaration was welcome to the people of England in generall, and especially to those who stood best affected to Religion, and the Lawes and Liberties of their Country: But by the Kings Authority it was suppressed, as all other papers that might be sent from the Scots; and a Proclamation soone after, bearing date the 27. of *February*, 1638. was published by the King, and commanded to be read in all Churches of England; the Title of it was, *A Proclamation and Declaration to informe our loving Subjects of England, concerning the seditious Actions of some in Scotland; who under false pretence of Religion, endeavour the utter subversion of our Royall Authority.*

The Declaration was filled with sharpe invectives and execrations against the Scottish Covenanters; but the truth is, it wrought little upon the hearts of the English People; who conceived a good opinion of the Scots; and were more confirmed in it, because the King had carried the whole businesse so closely from the English Nation, as not onely not to declare unto them in a Parliament, (which former Princes used to call upon lesse occasions) but not revealing the proceedings of it to the Body of his Privy Councell, acquainting onely some of them whom he thought fittest for

his purpose, as the King himselfe expresth in two places of his owne Booke, intituled, *A large Declaration concerning the late tumults in Scotland*, pag. 76. and page 126. in fine, the Scots are declared Rebels; and the King in Person with an English Army richly furnished, is going to chastise them.



C H A P. V.

The averfenesse of the English people from this Warre with Scotland. The King advanceth to Yorke with his Army. The preparation of the Scottish Covenanters. A pacification is made, and both Armies disbanded. Another preparation for Warre with Scotland. A Parliament called to begin in England on the 13. of April. The Parliament of Scotland is broken off by command of the King to the Earle of Traquare.



Ever were the people of *England* so averse from any Warre, as neither hating the Enemy against whom, nor approving the cause for which they were engaged.

Their owne great sufferings made them easily believe that the Scots were innocent, and wronged by the same hand, by which themselves had beene oppressed; and for the cause, it was such, wherein they could not desire a Victory; supposing that the same Sword which subdued the Scots, must destroy their owne Liberties; and that the contrivers of this

this Warre, were equall Enemies to both Nations.

Nor was this onely the thought of wisest Gentlemen, but the common people in generall were sensible of the mutuall interest of both Kingdomes.

Those Courtiers who were in all things wholly complying to the Kings will, did also dislike this Warre with *Scotland*, though not for the same reason which the forenamed did, as not considering the cause or quarell, but the disadvantage of the Warre it selfe.

Those disadvantages they used to vent in contemptuous expressions of the poverty of *Scotland*; That nothing could be gotten from such wretched Enemies; That the King were happy (if with his Honour he might suffer it) to be rid of that Kingdome, and would be a great gainer by the losse of it: The younger Courtiers were usually heard to wish *Scotland* under water, or that the old Wall of *SEVERUS* the Emperour were now re-edified.

Those Courtiers that were of a graver discourse, did likewise seeme to feare the consequence of this businesse, and I remember, would daily mention the Story of *CHARLES* Duke of *Burgundy*, his pressing of a Warre upon the *Swissers*; and what *PHILIP DE COMMINES* relates about the Battell of *Granson*, that the Duke lost to the value of three millions of Crownes; all which he fondly ventured against so wretched a people, that it is there expressed; if all the *Swissers* had been taken Prisoners, they would not be able to pay a Ransom to the value of the Spurres and Bridle-bits in his Campe: And very frequent in their mouthes was that Verse:

*Curandum in primis ne magna injuria fiat
Fortibus & miseris.* Javenal.

Take heed of offering too great injuries
To people stout and poore.

But the people of *England*, though they abhorred the

the very thought of that unnaturall Warre; yet glad they seemed to be, that such an occasion happened, which might in reason necessitate the King to call an English Parliament, and so by accident redresse the many grievances of *England*: Which might also prevent the feare of such Warres for the future, and bring a just punishment upon those who were found to be the Authors or assistors of this present disturbance.

But the King, though resolved to pursue his designe of Warre, rather then take the advice of a Parliament, was content to want the aid of it; and to seeke supplies of a lower condition. Great sums of money he borrowed from the chiefe Nobility; and required proportionable Loanes from all the Judges and Officers; but specially the Clergy, of all ranks, were liberall in contribution to this War; which was then called by many men, *Bellum Episcopale*.

All Courtiers, as well extraordinary as ordinary, were summoned to attend the King in Person with Horse and Armes in a proportion suitable to their ranks.

By whom, and such voluntiers of the Gentry, as came in to gaine His Majesties favour, with old Souldiers that imbraced it as their profession, a gallant Army was made up, *Yorke* was appointed for the Rendezvouze, and the Earle of *ARUNDELL* Commander in chiefe.

The King, as it was well knowne, had beene advertised by many, and especially by the prosecuted Bishops, who were fled out of *Scotland*; that the Scottish Covenanters were in no sort able to resist him; That scarce any English Army at all would be needfull to fight, but onely to appeare, and His Majesty would finde a party great enough in *Scotland* to do the worke.

And indeed much might have been done in that kinde;

kinde, if the Lords of the Covenant had not used a most dexterous and timely prevention, which is as necessary in a defensive, as an offensive Warre.

For besides the feared incursion of the English upon their Borders, and what invasion the Deputy of *Ireland*, on the Westerne Coast might make, together with the Earle of *ANTRIM*, and his Forces from the Hebrides; the Marquesse *HUNTLEY* in the North, and Marquesse *DUGLAS* towards the Southerne parts, with the Earle of *HETH*, were to be feared, and the Towne of *Aberden* to be secured, before it could fortifie to receive the Kings Fleet.

All which with timely care was undertaken, and provided against by severall Lords, as *ARGILE* for the West, *MONTROSSE* for the North, Colonell *MONROE* for the South.

The most considerable Forts in that Kingdome were taken in at the beginning, without any blood or resistance, and furnished by them with Ammunition, as *Edenburgh*, and *Dun-Britain*, and the Haven of *Leith*, to secure *Edenburgh*, suddenly fortified. All Neuters, or suspected persons, they disarmed without tumult; The Castle of *Dalketh* they scaled and tooke, with all the warlike provision which had been brought into it by Marquesse *HAMILTON* the yeare before. In that Castle they found the Kings Crowne, Scepter, and Sword, which in great state and solemnity were carried from thence by the greatest Noblemen, and layed up in *Edenburgh* Castle.

The Covenanting Lords at the same time published a long Remonstrance, in answer to the Kings Proclamation against them, the 27. of *February*, and to satisfie the people of *England* concerning their proceedings and intents.

The Marquesse *HAMILTON* arrived at *Forth* with

with a Fleet in *May*, and sent Letters to the Governour of *Edenburgh* to obey the Kings Commands, and especially to publish in *Edenburgh* that Proclamation, which had been by the King proclaimed at *Yorke*, upon the 25. of *Aprill*; wherein among other things, the Rents and Debts due to Covenanters from Tenants and others, are forbidden to be paid to them.

The Governour desired the Marquesse to expect an answer till the Parliament sate, which was to begin within few daies, who returned answer to the Marquesse, That they could not in that obey his Command, for many reasons, expressed at large in their Commentaries.

In the meane time the King commanded the Parliament to dissolve, which immediately obeyed; And being threatned with Warre on every side, elected Sir *ALEXANDER LESLEY*, an experienced Commander in the German Warres, to be their great Generall; to whom all the greatest Earles and Lords of the Covenant, swore obedience in all warlike Commands; taking an Oath of him for performance of his duty; and immediately betooke themselves every man to his charge throughout all parts of the Kingdome, according as they were commanded by *LESLEY*.

Whilest the Armies on both sides advanced forward, and no decision of this difference seemed with reason to be hoped for, but such as the stroke of Warre must allow; The Scottish Covenanters did nevertheless continue their first course of petitioning the King; and by many addresses to him, protested their loyalty to his Crowne and Person; and did not omit by Letters and Messages, to sollicite as Advocates those English Noblemen, whom they esteemed best and truest Patriots, as the Earles of *ESSEX*, *PEMBROOKE*, and *HOLLAND*, as supposing that this Warre was not approved of by any that

that were firme to the Cause of Religion, and Liberties of both Kingdomes, (for so themselves expresse it.)

The Earle of *DUMFERLING* having free passage about that time to the English Army, assured his fellow-Covenanters, that those Noble fore-named Earles, and almost all the English Nobility, were much averse from this Warre, and favourers of their suit to the King.

Which did so much encourage the Covenanters to continue their humble Petitions to the King, (and God being pleased to give his blessing) that after some few Messages to and fro, the King was pleased to give leave, that six of them should come and personally treat at the Earle of *ARUNDELL* his Tent, upon the tenth of *June*, with some of the English Nobility; at which Discourses some few daies after, the King himselfe vouchsafed to be present: At last after many humble expressions of the Covenanters, and some exhortations of the King with them, by the happy mediation of wise and noble Councillors, a Pacification was solemnly made, upon such Articles as gave full satisfaction to all parties, save onely that the Scottish Covenanters were not pleased with some expressions which the King had used in the Preface to the Pacificatory Edict, as calling their late Synod, *Pseudo Synodus Glasquensis*; and aspersing their proceedings in Armes, with such Epithites, as tumultuous, illegall, and rebellious.

Which notwithstanding, at the humble suit of them, the King was pleased to moderate, to expunge some of those harsh phrases; as likewise to explaine more cleerely other ambiguous sentences, to take away all suspitions from peoples hearts; the Copies of which were delivered to divers of the English Nobility, who had taken faithfull paines in procuring that happy peace; that if any doubts should afterwards happen, their judgements might

be taken concerning the intention of the writing.

The King also declared, for satisfaction of the Scots, That though his expressions at some places might seeme harsh, yet his meaning to them was never the worse; That care must be taken of his owne reputation in forraigne parts; and that litigation about words was vaine, when the matter was cleere, and their suit wholly granted.

The King granted them a free Nationall Synod, to be holden upon the sixth of *August* following, and a Parliamt to begin upon the 20. day of the same Moneth, to confirme and ratifie what the Synod should decree; which the Scots thankfully receive, esteeming that to be the onely proper and efficacious way to settle a firme peace both in Church and State.

They were also joyfull, that the King had promised to be there himselfe in person; but that hope afterwards failed them, for the King excused himselfe, affirming that urgent and weighty affaires at *London*, as he was certified by Letters from his Queee and Councill, required his presence there; but that he would send a Deputy thither, with full power to make good whatsoever he had promised, which was the Earle of *TRAQUARE*.

This Pacification, to the great joy of good men, was solemnly concluded on the 18. of *June*, 1639. and both Armies within eight and forty houres to be disbanded, which was accordingly done, and both the English and Scots returned home, praising God; who without any effusion of blood had compounded this difference, and prevented a Warre so wickedly designed.

But that joy lasted not long; for the Earle of *TRAQUARE*, the Kings Commissioner could not agree with the Scottish Parliament; the Scots complaining, that nothing was seriously performed, which the King had promised at the Pacification, as shall more appeare afterward.

But

But however it were, within a little time after that the King had been at *London*, that Paper which the Scots allowed to containe the true Conditions of that Pacification, was by the King disavowed, and commanded by Proclamation to be burned by the hands of the hangman; though the Contents of that Paper were not named at all in the Proclamation, nor the people of *England* acquainted with any of them. Which put the English in great feare that the former Councils of divisions yet prevailed in the Court, especially discerning a shew of preparation for Warre againe.

But leaving the Scots at their Parliament a while. In the meane time the Lord *WENTWORTH*, Deputy of *Ireland*, arrived in *England*, and was received by the King with great expressions of grace and favour, dignified with a higher Title, and created Earle of *Strafford*.

Great was the expectation of all the English, what might be the effect of his coming over; great was the opinion which men in generall had conceived of his ability and parts; looking at him as the onely hinge, upon which the State was now likely to turne. But very different and various were the conjectures of Gentlemen at that time, in their ordinary discourses, (for I will relate the truth,) what use this great Statesman would make of his ability and favour.

Some (as they wished) did seeme to hope, when they considered his first right Principles, that whatsoever he had acted since his greatnesse, was but to ingratiate himselfe perfectly with the King; that so at last by his wisdom and favour he might happily prevaile; both upon the Kings judgements and affection, and carry him from those evill Councils which he had long beene nurtured in, to such waies as should render him most honourable and happy; That the Earle was so wise as to understand

what most became a wise man, and would make greatness beloved and permanent.

But others durst not hope so much from him, when they considered his Government in *Ireland*, and the ambition of the man: They feared that neither his vertue was great enough to venture his owne fortunes, by opposing any evill Councells about the King, nor his favour great enough to prevaile in over-ruling; That he was sent for onely to compleat that bad worke, which others of lesse braine then he had begun.

Which he would sooner venture to do, then to make himselfe the Author of a new and good one; seeing it hath been observed, that few Statesmen have ever opposed Princes, but rather seconded and assisted them in their bad inclinations.

From whence it comes, that few Statesmen have converted Princes from ill courses, but been themselves perverted from that goodnesse which seemed to be before in them. Historians therefore neither imputed the goodnesse of AUGUSTUS to MARCUS AGRIPPA, or STATILIUS TAURUS; nor TIBERIUS faults to SEJANUS. According to that sentence of MACHIAVELL, *Recta consilia à quocunque profiscuntur, à Principis prudentia; non autem Principis prudentia à rectis consiliis derivatur.*

At that time the King declared to his Councell an intention that he had of calling a Parliament in *England*, to begin in *Aprill* following. The people seemed to wonder at so great a novelty as the name of a Parliament, but feared some further designe, because it was so long deferred, whilest in the meane time preparations for a Warre against *Scotland*, seemed to go forward, and the Deputy of *Ireland* was first to go over, and summon a Parliament in *Ireland*, which he accordingly did, crossing the Seas about the end of *December*.

What worke he was to do there, the people knew

knew not, but wished that the English Parliament might have begun, before the Scottish businesse had proceeded too farre; which they supposed might happily prevent so sad a Warre, and save those charges, which would before *Aprill* grow upon such warlike preparations, and require a supply from that Parliament; that it were better to prevent such a necessity, then purposely to stay till that necessity were made.

On the 18. day of that *December*, the Earle of TRAQUARE, by a Command from the King, under his Privy Seale, broke up the Parliament in *Scotland*, and prorogued it till the second day of *June* in the following yeare.

The Scots complained that it was a new example and breach of their Liberties, not heard of before in twenty ages; That a Parliament fully assembled, and compleat in all her Members, whilest businesse of moment was depending, should be dissolved without the consent of the House it selfe; That whatsoever Kings in other Kingdomes might do, it concerned not them to enquire, but it was absolutely against their Lawes, according to which, the King had lately promised them he would onely proceed.

TRAQUARE, immediately upon the dissolution of the Scottish Parliament, hastened to the Court of *England* to certifie the King of all proceedings.

And the Parliament Deputies of *Scotland* dispatched away with speciall instructions to the King also foure Commissioners, the Earles of DUMFERLING and LOWDEN, DUGLASSE, and BARCLAY.

Their instructions were, That before the King himselfe, not the Councell of *England* (because of the independency of that Kingdome) they should complaine of those injuries, and intreat redresse, which had been offered to them since the Pacification; The dissolving of their Parliament; The Garrisoning

risoning of *Edenburgh* Castle with three times as many as would serve for defence ; The garrisoning of *Dun-Britain* Castle with English Souldiers ; That the Scots trading in *England*, but more especially in *Ireland*, were enforced to new Oathes, damning their late Covenant, and contrary to the Articles of Pacification.

They sent withall an information to the English Nation in generall, touching all their proceedings and intentions, and expressing at large (as may be there read) what particular injuries they had received since the Pacification, and how much contrary to that Agreement.

The foure Scottish forenamed Commissioners, after some audiences before the King, and divers of his English Councell, were in *March* committed to Prison, the King intending shortly to charge them, the Parliament being neere, *L O W D E N* to the Tower, and the other three to other custody.

About this time the Earle of *STRAFFORD* returning out of *Ireland*, where he had held a short Parliament, and gotten foure Subsidies from them, came to the King againe ; and the English Parliament being presently to begin, an accusation was drawne against *L O W D E N*, then Prisoner in the Tower, concerning a Letter written from the Scottish Covenanters to the French King ; to which Epistle the said Earle had set his hand.

The matter of accusation was, That the Scots, weary of obedience to their owne King, had recourse to a forraigne Prince for assistance, and by that meanes might draw the Armies of *France* into this Island.

His answer was, The Letter was written in *May*, 1639. when *Scotland* was threatned with a grievous invasion, and they had notice, that by Ambassadors and Agents their Cause was represented odious to all forraigne Princes and States ; That their intention was

was

was to cleare themselves from those aspersions abroad, and especially to the King of *France*, whose Ancestors had been ancient friends to the Kingdome of *Scotland*; and for feare least that King might possibly be wrought upon to be their Enemy otherwise.

That it was not to draw Warlike assistance from the King of *France* (which neverthelesse they thought lawfull in an extreame necessity and persecution) but only his mediation in their behalfe to their owne King ; and that the Letter well examined would beare no other sence ; Though there were mention of aid, yet their secret instructions to their Messenger had specified what kinde of aid it was which they desired ; But howsoever, they alledged that the draught of that Letter did not then please them, nor was it at all consented to, nor intended to be sent ; besides that, the Supercription *To the King*, at which so great exception was taken, as if they acknowledged the French King for their Sovereigne, was not written at all by them, but added by some Enemy, after that it was gotten out of their hand. Besides all this, the thing was done afore the Pacification, and Act of Oblivion, and ought not now to be remembred against them. Whether their answer were sufficient or not, true it is, that nothing at all was made of that businesse, though the King himselve at the beginning of the English Parliament ; mentioned it against the Scots, as a prooffe of their disloyalty, and justification of those Warlike preparations which he had made against them.

The Scots in the meane time had written to the English Parliament a large Justification of all their proceedings, intreating them by the way of Brotherly advice, *To be wary in vindicating their owne Lawes and Liberties ; to frustrate the designe of those evill Counsellors, who had procured this Parliament for no other end, then to arme the King with warlike*

K

supplies

supplies against his Scottish Subjects, and by that Warre to inslave, if not ruine both the Nations; That after so many violations and dissolutions of Parliaments in England, this was not called to redresse grievances, but to be so over-reached (if they were not carefull and couragious) that no possibility should be left for the future of redressing any; That some dangerous practise might be well suspected, when at the same time a Parliament was denyed to Scotland, though promised by the word of a King, granted to England when not expected; and obruded upon Ireland, when not desired.

Many particulars of that nature were expressed in the Scottish Remonstrance.



C H A P. V I.

The Parliament beginneth in England, but is soone dissolved. The Clergy continue their Convocation. The Scots enter into England. Some passages of the Warre. A Parliament is called to begin on the third of November. A Truce betweene the Armies for two Moneths.

VPon the thirteenth of *Aprill* the Parliament began; when the King produced that forenamed writing of his Scottish Subjects to the French King, as an apparent token of their disloyalty, and a necessity in him of chastising them by Armes; for which he had already made so great a preparation, as required a present supply of money from this Parliament. To the same purpose that the King had briefly expressed himself, the

the Lord Keeper FINCH, in a long and eloquent Oration dilated the businesse.

Twelve Subsidies were demanded by the King, in lieu of which, the release of Ship-Money was promised; to which demand answer was made by divers Members of the House in severall Speeches, That redresse of grievances was the chiefe end of assembling Parliaments, and ought to precede granting of Subsidies. Which not onely reason, but the constant practise of all ages had confirmed; That there was never more need of redressing grievances than at this time; without which the people would repine to part with twelve Subsidies; That the sum was extraordinary great, especially to be given for releasing of that which they never conceived the King had any Title to, but had taken by power against the Lawes.

The King promised that grievances should be afterwards redressed, but required the Money first, because there was a necessity of hastening the Warre; without which the opportunity of Summer would be lost. To which it was answered by many, That the people had no reason to pay for that which was never caused nor desired by them, nor could any way prove to their good, but quite contrary to the danger and detriment of the whole Kingdome; That the same people would undoubtedly pay with more willingnesse so many Subsidies to prevent that unhappy Warre, to settle the State, and punish the principall contrivers or assistors of that disturbance.

Among all the Gentlemen of the House of Commons, who spake to that purpose, the Lord GEORGE DIGBY, Sonne to the Earle of *Bristol* (a young Nobleman of extraordinary abilities) was eminent for a Speech there; wherein complaining that the House was required to give present answer concerning supplies to the King, to ingage himself in a Warre, and that a Civill Warre; For, said he,

so I must needs call it, seeing we are of the same Religion, and under the same King. He divided his Complaint into five heads :

1. We are not permitted to redresse grievances at all.
2. We are not permitted so much as to represent to His Majesty the dis-affection of his Subjects to this Warre.
3. We are not permitted to say, That we thinke they are the same persons that are the causers of our grievances, and the grievances of Scotland; and that the cutting off of those Incendiaries of State, would be a safe, easie, and honourable cure.
4. That Warre will make the breach wider, and the remedy desperate.
5. That the best Justice is to fill the pits which are made to intrap others, with the bodies of those that digged them, &c.

Master P Y M also, a grave and religious Gentleman, in a long Speech of almost two houres, recited a Catalogue of all the grievances which at that time lay heavy upon the Common-wealth.

Of which many abbreviated Copies, as extracting the heads onely, were with great greedinesse taken by Gentlemen and others throughout the Kingdom; for it was not then in fashion to print Speeches of Parliament,

Divers of the Members besides (too many to be here named) did fully descant upon such particular grievances, as they had informed themselves of, in their severall Countries and Burrou ghs.

But it is most true, though it have been said, *Quicquid multis peccatur, inultum est*, That there was never any Parliament which was more unanimous in apprehension of grievances, and yet more moderate in the Language and manner of declaring against them. And so great seemed to be their care of offending in this Parliament, being the first that in so many yeares had been granted to England; that notwithstanding

withstanding they perceived the Money they were to give to the King, must be employed against their owne interest, yet they tooke the Subsidies into consideration; by which they might perchance gaine the Kings affection to Parliaments; and were content to hope, that whilst the Houses fate, the bad Councill about the King might be awed into moderation; and the Warre against Scotland, by wise and honest interpositions, might be againe composed, as it had been the Summer before.

But whilst the businesse was in debate, whether they were not quick enough in granting, or the Conditions were too much feared by the King, I will not judge, but onely relate what was done.

The King in Person came into the House upon the fifth of May, and dissolved the Parliament, but used faire language to them, protesting that he would governe as much according to Law, as if a Parliament were constantly sitting: Yet the next day after the dissolution of it, some Members were imprisoned, the Lord BROOKE was searched for Papers, his Study, Cabinets, and Pockets; Master BELLOSIS, and Sir JOHN HOTHAM, were committed to Prison for Speeches, but soone discharged; Master CREW, who was a Member of the House of Commons, and was in the Chaire for Petitions concerning Ministers, was committed to the Tower, for not discovering some Petitions delivered to him in Parliament, and continued a Prisoner almost to the beginning of the next Parliament.

After the dissolution of this Parliament, the Convocation of Divines continued their sitting, and by authority from the King, made divers Canons, and an Oath to be imposed upon not onely Clergymen, but many of the Laity.

That continuance of the Convocation, whatsoever themselves, perchance ignorant of the Law, might thinke of it, was judged very illegall, as it appeared

by the Votes of the succeeding Parliament, and the opinion of Lawyers delivered there.

When Master BAGSHAW, the *November* following, inveighing against those Canons which were made whilest they fate, proved the Bishops and Clergy in a premunire: The Lord DIGBY at the same time affirming, that their Convocation was a new Synod, patched out of an old Conventicle. Many other Lawyers of note at severall times argued the case concerning those Canons.

Insomuch that the House of Commons in *December* following, *nullo contradicente*, resolved that those Canons were against the fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome, the Property and Liberty of the Subject: And in the following *Aprill*, 1641. falling againe upon the late Convocation, for their Canons and other misdemeanours, they voted the Convocation House in 200000 pounds fine to the King; The Archbishop of *Canterbury* to pay 20000 pounds; the Archbishop of *Torke* 10000 pounds, the Bishop of *Chester* 3000 pounds; and the rest of the Clergy according to their abilities proportionably; to make up the summe.

Certaine it is, it was not in any substantiall way advantagious to the King; but onely to give them time and opportunity to taxe the Clergy in Money for supplying his Majesty in the Warre then on foot against the Scots.

The King must needs be driven to a great exigent at that time, having so expensive a Warre in hand, and wanting the assistance of Parliament.

The courses that were then taken by the King; to supply that defect, were partly the contribution of the Clergy, to whom that Warre was lesse displeasing, then to the Laity.

Collections were made among the Papists; Writs of Ship-money were issued out againe, in a greater proportion

proportion then before; great Loanes were attempted to be drawne from the City of *London*, to which purpose the names of the richest Citizens were by command returned to the Councill Boord. But these waies being not sufficient, some other were made use of, which were of a nature more unusuall, as the seizing of *Bolloine* in the Tower; the Lord CORTINGTON also for the Kings use tooke up a great Commodity of Pepper at the Exchange, to be sold againe at an under rate.

A consultation was also had of coyning 400000. *l.* of base Money, upon allegation that Queen ELIZABETH had done the like for her Irish Warres, but the King waved that, upon reasons which the Merchants gave of the inconveniencies of it.

The Scots hearing of the breach of this English Parliament, thought it high time to provide for their owne safety; and being restrained in their Trade, and impoverished by losse of Ships seized in divers parts, resolve to enter *England* with a sword in one hand, and a Petition in the other; signifying in the meane time to the people of *England* in two large Remonstrances, what their intentions were to that Nation, and the reasons of their entrance; which who so pleases, may reade at large in their printed Booke.

When the King had notice of the Scots intentions, a Fleet was forthwith sent to annoy the Maritime Coasts of *Scotland*, and a Land Army to meet at *Torke*, where the Earle of STRAFFORD, as President of the North, commanded in Chief, though the Earle of NORTHUMBERLAND at the time of raising the Army was named *Generalissimo*, but for want of health could not be present.

A great Magazine of Ammunition had been sent to *Hull*, *Newcastle*, and *Berwick*, the Castle of *Edenburgh* being kept by RIVEN, a firme man to the Kings side.

But

But in the Expedition of the Kings Army towards the North, it was a marvellous thing to observe in divers places the averfenesse of the Common Souldiers from this Warre.

Though Commanders and Gentlemen of great quality, in pure obedience to the King, seemed not at all to dispute the cause or consequence of this Warre; the Common Souldiers would not be satisfied, questioning in a mutinous manner, Whether their Captaines were Papists or not, and in many places were not appeased till they saw them receive the Sacrament; laying violent hands on divers of their Commanders, and killing some, uttering in bold speeches their distaste of the Cause, to the astonishment of many, that common people should be sensible of publike Interest and Religion, when Lords and Gentlemen seemed not to be.

By this backwardnesse of the English Common Souldiers, it came to passe that the Warre proved not so sharpe and fatal to both Nations, as it might otherwise have done.

Some blood was shed, but very little, first at *Newburne*, a Towne five miles distant from *Newcastle*, where part of the English Army encamped to intercept the passage of the Scots, as they marched toward *Newcastle*.

But many of the English Souldiers forsooke their Commanders and fled, sooner then the use of that Nation is to do in Warre: But the English Horse made good a fight, and with great courage and resolution charged upon the Scots, but all in vaine; their number being too small.

In this Skirmish which happened upon the 28. of *August*, the number of men slaine on both sides is not related, either by the English or Scottish Relation; but certaine it is, that it was not great.

Three valiant and active Commanders of the English Army

Army were taken Prisoners, Colonell *WILMOT* Sir *JOHN DIGBY*, and *ONEALE*, the two latter being Papists, and both Captaines of Horse.

This fight opened that rich Towne of *Newcastle* to the Scots, and within few daies after, they put a Garrison into *Durham*, commanded by the Earle of *Dumferling*, and taking that Fort of *Newcastle* upon *Tine*, intercepted some Ships which were newly arrived there with Provision of Corne for the Kings Army.

Some blood was also shed about the same time, when part of the English Garrison at *Berwick*, hearing that some Ammunition was layed up in a little Towne of *Scotland*, *Dunfian*, made an attempt upon it, but found it better fortified then was expected, and were repelled with some slaughter; from whence hearing that a greater power of Scots was making toward them, under the command of the Lord *HARDINGTON*, (who unfortunately perished afterward, blowne up with powder at *Dunghlasse*) they returned to *Berwick*.

The King, during these Skirmishes, had by Proclamation warned all the English Nobility, with their followers and Forces, to attend his Standard at *Yorke* against the Scots, the 20. of *September*; where whilst himselfe in Person resided, he received an humble Petition from the Scots, containing an expression of their loyalty to him, and the innocence of their intentions toward *England*.

But their expressions were in such generall termes, that the King returned answer to the Earle of *LANURICK*, Secretary for *Scotland*, Commanding them to specify their demands more particularly: Which whilst the Scots prepared to do, it pleased God to open the hearts of many English Lords, who considering and bewailing the great calamity and dishonour which *England* was then throwne into, by these unhappy proceedings of the King, framed an humble

L

Letter

whilest their owne Army was in great distresse by reason of Arreares.

But in conclusion, those honest Lords, who understood the condition of that unhappy Warre, were content upon any termes to make an end of it; and in conclusion an agreement was made upon these termes:

1. *A Truce or Cessation of Armes for two Moneths, till the 16. of Decem̄ber.*
2. *That 850. l. a day should be paid to the Scots, during that Truce.*
3. *That if it were not payed, the Scots might force it from the Counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmerland, and Durham.*
4. *That those Counties should be allowed the Scots for their winter Quarters.*
5. *No new preparations for Warre to be made.*
6. *That private injuries should not breake the Truce, so satisfaction were made upon complaint.*
7. *That Merchants might freely traffique in either Kingdome, without Letters of safe Conduet, but Souldiers without leave might not passe their limits.*

Upon such termes was this unnaturall Warre (although the Armies could not as yet be disbanded) brought to a Cessation; and both Nations rested in assured confidence, that a peace must needs follow, since the whole matter was now to be debated in the English Parliament, which was to begin about a fortnight after; for it was likely that a Parliament should put a period to that Warre, which could never have been begun, but for want of a Parliament. They were also confident, that that freedome which the fundamentall Lawes and Constitutions of the Kingdome of *England* allow to Parliaments, could not be denied to this (though to many others it had long been) as being that Parliament, to which the King was necessitated; and the onely way which was now left him to tread, after so many deviations unfortunately

unfortunately tried; and upon which the people had set up their utmost hope, whom it seemed not safe after so long suffering, to provoke any further.

In what a desperate condition the Kingdome of *England* was at that time, what necessity there was of a present cure, with how much difficulty that cure was to be wrought, and with what warinesse and wisdom it concerned both King and people to play their parts, a judicious Reader may partly conjecture by the former passages already related.

But further to enlighten the Reader (for in this plain Relation I shall be sparing to use any descants of my owne (I will referre him to Speeches which at the beginning of this Parliament were made by judicious Gentlemen, and those of greatest moderation, labouring as much as they could possibly to spare the King, and touch tenderly upon his Honour, which I shall mention anon.

According to the reason of the Parliament and Kingdome, went along the sence of Courtiers themselves (as was expressed in an ingenuous Treatise found in the privy Chamber) concerning the condition in which the King and Kingdome of *England* were in, when this so much expected Parliament was to begin.

C H A P. VII.

The beginning of the English Parliament. Grievances examined. Sufferers relieved. Delinquents questioned. The Archbishop of Canterbury committed to the Tower. The flight of Secretary WINDEBANKE, and of the Lord Keeper FINCH.



ON the third of November 1640. the Parliament began; where the King expressed himselfe very well, in a Speech gracious and acceptable to both Houses; who did not expect from him any such acknowledgement of former errors, as might seeme too low for the Majestie of his Person; but onely desired to gaine his affection for the future.

Very pleasing to them all was that gracious expression, that *He did now cleerly and freely put himselfe upon the love and affections of his English Subjects, desiring them to consider the best way for the Safety and Security of the Kingdome of England; and in order to it, for satisfaction of their just grievances, wherein he would so heartily concur, that the world might see his intentions were to make it a glorious and flourishing Kingdome. In which businesse he did freely and willingly leave it to them where to beginne.*

He desired also that all Jealousies and Suspitions might be layed aside by them, which he promised to doe on his part. And withall, to give some reasonable colour to his former Warre, whether to excuse or justifie the Proceedings of it, hee seemed as yet much

much distasted with the boldnesse of the Scots, who had entred *England* with an Army against his will; calling them by the name of Rebels; and that it concerned the honour of him and *England*, to drive them out againe.

And in his second Speech, two daies after, I told you (said he) that the Rebels must be put out of this Kingdome; it is true, I must needs call them so, so long as they have an Army that do invade us; although I am under Treaty with them, and under my Great Seale doe call them Subjects, for so they are too.

His desire to have them out, was sweetned with that reason, That he was sensible how much his English Subjects of the North would suffer otherwise.

All which, with more particulars, was set forth in a long Oration by the Lord Keeper FINCH; who likewise justified the Kings intention of calling this Parliament, before the Peeres petitioned him at *Yorke*.

Though the King were thanked for his Grace toward his English Parliament; yet that motion of expelling the Scots, was otherwise considered of by the Houses, as will appeare in the particulars of it: For about a weeke after it was ordered by the House of Commons, That 100000 *l.* should be paid to the two Armies, to be levied rateably upon all the Counties of *England*, (except the Northerne Counties, which were then charged) and till it could be leavied the Money to be taken up at Interest.

And Scottish Commissioners were allowed to come and exhibite their complaints, and dispute the businesse at *London*; who accordingly came thither about the nineteenth day of the same Moneth, for the businesse was not yet ended, but still in Treaty, which Treaty (as the King said in his Speech) was but transported from *Kippon* to *London*.

Before the great cure, which was expected from this

this Parliament, could go on, it was necessary that some time should be spent in searching and declaring the wounds, which in divers elegant and judicious Speeches, was done by some Members of both Houses.

The abuses which of late yeares had been committed about Religion, and the manifold violations of Lawes and Liberties, were upon the first day after the House of Commons was setled, being the ninth of *November*, enumerated and discoursed upon by Master GRIMSTON, Sir BENJAMIN RUDIERD, Master P YM, and Master BAGSHAW, and the abuses of *Ireland*, reflecting much upon the Earle of *Strafford*, were opened by Sir JOHN CLOTWORTHY of *Devon*, but living in *Ireland*.

The like Speeches for many daies following, were made by divers Gentlemen of great quality; where in the midst of their complaints, the King was never mentioned, but with great Honour. They alwaies mixing thanks for the present hope of redresse, with their complaints of former grievances.

The first of which they rendred to the King, and threw the other upon his Ministers; of which if the Reader would see a perfect exemplar, Sir BENJAMIN RUDIERD his Speech (the second that was delivered in the House) will best discover the present state of grievances, and the way of sparing the King, a Religious, Learned, and Judicious Gentleman.

Cujus erant mores, qualis facundia.

Whose Speech I shall wholly insert, that the condition of the State may the better bee understood.

Master Speaker:

WEE are here assembled to doe Gods businesse, and the Kings, in which our owne is included, as we are Christians, as we are Subjects: Let us first feare God, then shall we honour the King

King the more; for I am afraid we have beene the lesse prosperous in Parliaments, because we have preferred other matters before him. Let Religion be our Primum quærite, for all things else are but Et cætera's to it; yet we may have them too, sooner and surer, if we give God his precedence.

We well know what disturbance hath been brought upon the Church for vaine petty trifles; How the whole Church, the whole Kingdome, hath been troubled, where to place a Metaphor, an Altar.

We have seene Ministers, their wives, children, and families undone, against Law, against conscience, against all bowels of compassion, about not dancing upon Sundaies: What do these sort of men thinke will become of themselves, when the Master of the House shall come and finde them thus beating their fellow Servants?

These inventions were but sives, made of purpose to winnow the best men, and that is the Devills occupation.

They have a minde to worry preaching; for I never yet heard of any but diligent Preachers that were vext with these and the like devices.

They despise Prophecy, and as one said, they would faine be at something were like the Masse, that will not bite; a muzzled Religion. They would evaporate and dis-spirit the power and vigour of Religion, by drawing it out into solemn and specious formalities, into obsolete antiquated Ceremonies, new furbish'd up. And this (belike) is that good worke in hand, which Doctor HEYLIN hath so celebrated in his bold Pamphlets: All their aëts and aëtions are so full of mixtures, involutions, and complications, as nothing is cleare, nothing sincere, in any of their proceedings: Let them not say, That these are the perverse suspitions, malicious interpretations of some factious spirits amongst us, when a Romanist hath bragged and congratulated in print, That the face of our Church begins to alter, the Language of our Religion to change: And SANCTA

M

CLARA

CLARA hath published, That if a Synod were held Non intermixtis Puritanis, setting Puritans aside, our Articles and their Religion would soone be agreed.

They have so brought it to passe, that under the name of Puritans, all our Religion is brauded, and under a few hard words against Jesuites, all Popery is countenanced.

Whosoever squares his actions by any rule, either divine or humane, he is a Puritan: Whosoever would be governed by the Kings Lawes, he is a Puritan.

He that will not do whatsoever other men would have him do, he is a Puritan. Their great worke, their Masterpiece now is, to make all those of the Religion, to be the suspected party of the Kingdome.

Let us further reflect upon the ill effect these courses have wrought, what by a defection from us on the one side, a separation on the other; some imagining whether we are tending, made hast to turne or declare themselves Papists before hand; thereby hoping to render themselves the more gracious, the more acceptable. A great company of the Kings Subjects, striving to hold communion with us; but seeing how farre we were gone, and fearing how much further we would go, were forc'd to fly the Land, some into other inhabited Countries, very many into savage Wilderesses, because the Land would not beare them. Do not they that cause this cast a reproach upon the Government?

Master Speaker:

Let it be our principall care, that these waies neither continue, nor returne upon us; if we secure our Religion we shall cut off and defeat many plots that are now on foot by them and others. Beleeve it, Sir, Religion hath been for a long time, and still is the great designe upon this Kingdome. It is a knowne and practised principle, That they who would introduce another Religion into the Church, must first trouble and disorder the Government of the State, that so they may worke their ends in a confusion, which now lies at the doore.

I come

I come next, Master Speaker, to the Kings businesse more particularly; which indeed is the Kingdome, for one hath no existence, no being, without the other, their relation is so neere; yet some have strongly and subtilly laboured a divorce, which hath been the very bane of both King and Kingdome.

When foundations are shaken, it is high time to looke to the building; he hath no heart, no head, no soule, that is not moved in his whole man, to looke upon the distresses; the miseries of the Common-wealth, that is not forward in all that he is and hath, to redresse them in a right way.

The King likewise is reduced to great straights, wherein it were undutifulnesse beyond inhumanity to take advantage of him: Let us rather make it an advantage for him, to do him best service, when he hath most need, not to seeke our owne good, but in him, and with him, else we shall commit the same crimes our selves, which we must condemne in others.

His Majesty hath cleerely and freely put himself into the hands of this Parliament; and I presume, there is not a man in this House, but feels himself advanced in this high Trust; but if he prosper no better in our hands, then he hath done in theirs, who have hitherto had the handling of his affaires, we shall for ever make our selves unworthy of so gracious a confidence.

I have often thought and said, That it must be some great extremity, that would recover and rectifie this State, and when that extremity did come, it would be a great hazard, whether it might prove a remedy or ruine. We are now, Master Speaker, upon that verticall turning point, and therefore it is no time to palliate, to foment our owne undoing.

Let us set upon the remedy; we must first know the disease; But to discover the diseases of the State, is (according to some) to traduce the Government; yet others are of opinion, That this is the halfe way to the Cure.

M 2

His

His Majesty is wiser then they that have advised him, and therefore he cannot but see and feele their subverting destructive Counsels, which speak lowder then I can speak of them; for they ring a dolefull deadly knell over the whole Kingdome: His Majesty best knowes who they are. For us, let the matters bolt out the men, their actions discover them.

They are men that talk largely of the Kings Service, yet have done none but their owne, and that is too evident.

They speak highly of the Kings power; but they have made it a miserable power, that produceth nothing but weaknesse, both to the King and Kingdome.

They have exhausted the Kings Revenue to the bottome, nay through the bottome, and beyond.

They have spent vast sums of money wastfully, fruitlessly, dangerously; so that more money without other Counsels, will be but a swift undoing.

They have alwaies peremptorily pursued one obstinate pernicious course; first, they bring things to an extremity, then they make that extremity of their owne making, the reason of their next action, seven times worse then the former; and there we are at this instant.

They have almost spoiled the best instituted Government in the world, for Sovereignty in a King, Liberty to the Subject, the proportionable temper of both which, makes the happiest State for power, for riches, for duration.

They have unmannerly, and slubbringly, cast all their projects, all their machinations, upon the King, which no wise or good Minister of State ever did, but would still take all harsh, distastefull things, upon themselves, to cleare, to sweeten their Master.

They have not suffered His Majesty to appeare unto his people in his owne native goodnesse.

They have ecclipsed him by their interpositions. Although grosse condense bodies may obscure and hinder the Sun from shining out, yet he is still the same in his owne splendour.

splendour. And when they are removed, all creatures under him are directed by his light, comforted by his Beames.

But they have framed a superstitious seeming Maximo of State for their owne turne, That if a King will suffer men to be torne from him, he shall never have any good service done him. When the plaine truth is, That this is the surest way to preserve a King from having ill servants about him; and the Divine truth likewise is, Take away the wicked from the King, and his Throne shall be established.

Master Speaker: Now we see what the sores are in generall; and when more particulars shall appeare, let us be very carefull to draw out the cores of them, not to skin them over with a slight suppurating festring cure, least they breake out againe into a greater mischiefe: Consider of it, consult, and speake your minds.

It hath heretofore been boasted, That the King should never call a Parliament, till he had no need of his people: These were words of division, and Malignity. The King must alwaies, according to his occasions, have use of the peoples power, hearts, hands, purses; The people will alwaies have need of the Kings Clemency, Justice, Protection: And this reciprocation is the strongest, the sweetest union.

It hath been said too of late, That a Parliament will take away more from the King, then they will give him. It may well be said, That those things which will fall away of themselves, will enable the Subject to give him more then can be taken any way else. Projects and Monopolies are but leaking Conduit-Pipes; The Exchequer it selfe at the fullest, is but a Cisterne, and now a broken one; Frequent Parliaments onely are the fountains, and I do not doubt, but in this Parliament, as we shall be free in our advices, so shall we be the more free of our purses, that His Majesty may experimentally finde the reall difference of better Counsels, the true solid grounds of raising and establishing his Greatnesse, never to be brought againe

(by Gods blessing) to such dangerous, such desperate perplexities.

Master Speaker: I confesse I have now gone in a way much against my nature, and somewhat against my custome heretofore used in this place: But the deplorable, dismall condition, both of Church and State, have so farre wrought upon my judgement, as it hath convinced my disposition; yet am I not vir sanguinum; I love no mans ruine: I thank God, I neither hate any mans person, nor envy any mans fortune, onely I am zealous of a thorow Reformation, in a time that exacts, that extorts it. Which I humbly beseech this House, may be done with as much lenity, as much moderation, as the publike safety of the King and Kingdome can possibly admit.

In so great a concurrence of businesse, and weighty affaires, concerning the safety, and the very being of three Kingdomes, as farre as the Parliament had leisure to consider and redresse the damages or other injuries of particular persons; Their first care was to vindicate distressed Ministers, who had been imprisoned, or deprived by the Bishops, and all others who in the Cause of Religion had been persecuted by them: Many of those Ministers, within few weeks after the beginning of the Parliament were released from durance, and restored to their Charges, with damages from their oppressours; Many Doctors and other Divines, that had been most busie in promoting the late Church innovations about Altars and other Ceremonies, and therefore most gracious and flourishing in the State, were then questioned and committed, insomuch as the change, and the suddennesse of it, seemed wonderfull to men, and may worthily serve as a document to all posterity.

Quam fragili loco starent superbi.

In what fraile places stand the proudest men.

Among divers others of this kinde, and the most remarkable of all, was that reliefe which the Parliament,

ment, immediately upon their first sitting, gave to three persecuted Gentlemen, Doctor BASTWICK a Phisitian, Master PRYNNE a Lawyer, and Master BURTON a Minister.

The whole passage of whose Story we will here insert in one continued discourse, that it may not hereafter interrupt any other Relations of businesse.

These three men, for the same offence, or very little differing in substance, (as those that read their extant Bookes may perceive) not being able to containe themselves in such a cause, had written against the manner of English Episcopacy, and those inconveniencies, or extravagancies, which, as they conceived, flowed from it, to the prejudice of purity in Religion; For which offence they were all three heavily censured in the High Commission Court, at severall times, and committed to severall Prisons, where they long remained in durance, till afterward their cause was brought into the Starre-Chamber, where they received a sad doome; and the same day stood all three upon Pillories in Westminster Pallace yard; where their eares were likewise cut off.

It seemed, I remember, to many Gentlemen (and was accordingly discoursed of) a spectacle no lesse strange then sad, to see three of severall Professions, the noblest in the Kingdome, Divinity, Law, and Phisick, exposed at one time to such an ignominious punishment, and condemned to it by Protestant Magistrates, for such Tenents in Religion, as the greatest part of Protestants in England held, and all the Reformed Churches in Europe maintained.

But the Court of Starre-Chamber seemed to take cognizance onely of their unlawfull publishing those Tenents; and disobedience to the Authority then in being.

This was but the beginning of their punishment; they were afterward banished to remote places of the Kingdom,

Kingdom, and there kept in close and solitary confinement, not allowed pen and paper, nor the sight of any friends, no not so much (for two of them were married) as of their owne wives. Their imprisonments, at severall removes, were in the Castles of *Lançeston, Lancaster, Carnarwon, and Isles of Syilly, Garnsey, and Jersey.*

These three, within five daies after the Parliament began to sit, were sent for home from their banishment; and accordingly Master PRYNNE, and Master BURTON, upon the 28. of *November* came into *London*, (Doctor BASTWICK within few daies after in the same manner) being met upon the way, some few miles from *London*, and brought into the City by five thousand persons, both men and women, on horseback, who all of them wore in their hats *Rosemary and Bayes*, in token of Joy and Triumph.

The discourses of men upon this action, were very different, some both of the Clergy, of the Court, and other Gentlemen besides, did not conceale their dislike of it, affirming that it was a bold and tumultuous affront to Courts of Justice; and the Kings Authority: Others, who pittied the former sufferings of those men, and they that wished Reformation in matters of Justice, were pleased with it; hoping that it would worke good effects in the Kings minde, and make him sensible how his people stood disaffected to the rigour of such proceedings; and esteemed it as a good presage of the ruine of those two Courts, the High Commission, and Star-Chamber. Which proved true within halfe a yeare after.

How it wrought at that present upon the King, is not knowne. But actions of that nature, where the people of their owne accords, in a seeming tumultuous manner, do expresse their liking or dislike of matters in Government, cannot have alwaies the same successe, but worke according to the disposition of the

the Prince or Governour, either to a sense causing Reformation, or to an hatred of them as upbraiders of his actions, *aut corrigunt, aut irritant.*

Within a moneth after, the businesse of these three men, was by Order of the Parliament referred to Committees to examine and report.

Upon which reports, not two Moneths after, it was voted by the House of Commons, That those Judgements so given against them (but severally for every one of the three) were illegall; unjust, and against the liberty of the Subject; and within a month after voted that they should receive damages for their great sufferings; and satisfaction should be made them in money, to be paid by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the High Commissioners, and those Lords who had voted against them in the Star-Chamber; That they should be againe restored to their callings, and receive Master BURTON 6000. *l.* and Master PRYNNE 5000. *l.* Doctor BASTWICK in a vote by himself was given the like summe.

As these were comforted after their sufferings, so other Divines (for the beginning of this Parliament seemed a little Doomesday) after a short pleasure were brought to their torment.

A Committee was made to enquire of scandalous Ministers; which appeared in two kindes (and were accordingly censured) either loose livers, and men of a debauched behaviour, for many such were gotten into good preferments, and countenanced to affront the Puritans; or else offendours in way of Superstition; of the former sort many were in short time accused, by degrees censured, and turned out of their livings: Of the latter sort there was no small number of offenders, nor in likelihood could that, which had beene the way to all high preferments, want walkers in it.

Among all the men of his ranke, Dr. COSENS, Master of Saint *Peters Colledge in Cambridge*, was

most noted for superstitious and curious observations in many kindes; a man not noted for any great depth of learning, nor yet scandalous for ill living, but onely forward to shew himselfe in formalities and outward Ceremonies concerning Religion, many of which were such as a Protestant State might not well suffer.

This man was questioned upon many Articles, some by himselfe, some, where other Divines were joynd with him; imprisoned he was, afterwards bayled; and though deprived of some preferments, yet escaped without any great punishment, and was one of them, in that crowd of offenders, who might rejoyce that the Parliament had so much businesse.

But greater Clergymen then Doctor COOSENS were then to come upon the Stage; Bishop WRENNE a man guilty of the same crime in Superstition, that COOSENS was, as farre as concerned his owne person; but farre more guilty as a Magistrate, and able to impose it upon others, was upon the 19. of December accused of Treason, and entred into a recognizance of 30000 *l.* to appeare, with three sureties ingaged each of them in bonds of 10000. *l.*

This WRENNE being Bishop of *Norwich*, a Diocese in which there were as many strict Professors of Religion (commonly called Puritans) as in any part of *England*, had there violently pressed superstitious Ceremonies, or such as they conceived so, upon them, put downe accustomed Lectures, and deprived many Ministers much beloved and reverenced among them. By which rigour he grew accidentally guilty of a wonderfull crime against the wealth and prosperity of the State.

For many Tradesmen (with whom those parts abounded) were so afflicted and troubled with his Ecclesiasticall censures and vexations, that in great numbers, to avoid misery, they departed the Kingdome, some into new *England*, and other parts of *America*, others

others into *Holland*, whether they transported their Manufactures of Cloth, not onely a losse by diminishing the present stock of the Kingdome, but a great mischief by impairing and indangering the losse of that peculiar Trade of Clothing, which hath been a plentiful fountaine of Wealth and Honour to the Kingdome of *England*, as it was expressed in the Parliament Remonstrance; but more particular crimes were laid against the Bishop, which there may be occasion to discourse of hereafter, in the proceedings against him.

The day before Bishop WRENNE was accused, being the 18. of *December*, a greater man, both in Church and State, WILLIAM LAUD, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was voted in the House of Commons guilty of High Treason; Master DENZILL HOLLIS, a Member of that House, was sent up to the Lords, to appeach him there; upon which he was sequestred, and confined to the Black Rod. He was also charged by the Scottish Commissioners, together with the Earle of *Strafford*, as a chiefe Incendiary in the late Warre betweene both Nations; and divers Articles laid against him; which to examine and discuss further, a Committee was appointed.

Upon the 23. of *February*, Master PYMME made report to the House of Commons, what hainous and capitall crimes were objected against him: Upon which the House fell into a serious debate, and a Charge of High Treason in fourteene Articles was drawne up against him; which Charge two daies after was sent from the House of Commons by Master PYMME up to the Lords.

The Archbishop was that day brought before the Lords, to heare that Charge read; and it was there voted, That he should immediately be sent to the Tower; but upon his earnest suit, for some speciall reasons, he was two daies longer suffered to abide under the Black Rod, and then accordingly sent to

the Tower ; where we will leave him. till the course of this Narration bring him to further triall upon those Articles.

Civill offenders, as well as Ecclesiasticall, must needs be many, in so long a corruption of Government ; of whom one, as he was first in time, and soone left the Stage, besides his chiefe Crime concerning matters of Church and Religion, so he shall first be named.

Sir FRANCIS WINDEBANKE, Principall Secretary of Estate, a great Favourite and friend to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and by his friendship, as was thought, advanced to that place of Honour, was upon the 12 of *November* questioned in an high kinde concerning Popish Priests ; of whom in that seven or eight yeares that he had been Secretary, he had bayled a great number, and released many by his power, contrary to the Lawes made, and then in force against them ; which being examined by a Committee, and certaine to prove foule against him, as it did afterward ; for upon examination there were proved against him 74. Letters of grace to Recufants within foure yeares, signed with his owne hand, 64 Priests discharged from the Gate-House, 29 discharged by a verball Warrant from him ; he thought it his best course, before triall, to fly the Land ; so that upon the fourth of *December* newes was brought to the House, that Secretary WINDEBANKE, with Master READ his chiefe Clarke, was fled ; and soone after, notice was given that he arrived in *France*, where he long continued.

About that time came the great businesse of Ship-Money into debate in Parliament ; and was voted by both Houses to be a most illegall Taxation, and unsufferable grievance ; in reference to which case, almost all the Judges were made Delinquents, for their extrajudiciall opinions in it, as more particularly will afterward appeare. As for other petty grievances,

such

such as were the multitude of Monopolies upon all things, and Commodities of greatest and most familiar use ; the House daily condemned them, and the Delinquents of meaner note in that kinde, were examined and censured, too many to be here named ; Nay, so impartiall was the House of Commons in that case, that many of their owne Members, who had been guilty of such Monopolies, were daily turned out of the House for that offence.

But the businesse of Ship-money, did reflect with a deeper staine of guilt upon the then Lord Keeper FINCH, then upon any of the other Judges whatsoever, for his great activity and labouring in it, by threats and promises working upon the other Judges, as we finde alleadged against him.

Sir JOHN FINCH, in the year 1636. when that Taxation of Ship-money was first plotted and set on foot, was newly made Lord Chiefe Justice of the Common Pleas, a man in favour with the King, and many of the greatest Lords in Court, having before been the Queenes Attorney, a Gentleman of good birth, of an high and Imperious spirit, eloquent in speech, though in the knowledge of the Law not very deepe.

Upon the death of the Lord Keeper COVENTRY about *December* 1639. the King was pleased to conferre that high Trust of keeping the Great Scale upon him ; which Office at this time he held.

Upon the seventh of *December*, when Ship-money was fully debated, and absolutely damned by the House of Commons, and the offence of the Judges began to be scanned, sixteene Gentlemen of that House were chosen to examine those Judges, that had given their extrajudiciall opinions for it (for three gave their opinions otherwise : The arguments of two, Judge CROOKE, and Judge HUTTON, were very famous ; Baron DENHAM, by reason of sickness, could not declare his opinion in so large a manner)

N 3

ner)

ner) what threats or promises had been used to them, and by what persons.

Upon which examination, and further light given, the next day a Committee was named to draw up Charges against the Judges, and against the Lord F I N C H, then Lord Keeper, a Charge of High Treason. He not many daies after, became an humble Suitor to the House of Commons, That before the Charge of High Treason were delivered against him, they would be pleased to heare him *Ore Tenuis* in their owne House.

His suit was granted; and the next day save one, in a long Oration he endeavoured to cleare himselfe; but all in vaine was that endeavour, though his deportment were very humble and submissive, and his Speech full of perswasive Rhetorick, it could not prevaile to divert the Judgement, though many in the House were moved to a kinde of Compassion.

He, either secretly informed by friends, or himself perceiving by evident signes, how things were likely to go with him, conceived it best to use a timely prevention, and the next day disguised fled, and soone crossed the Seas into *Holland*.

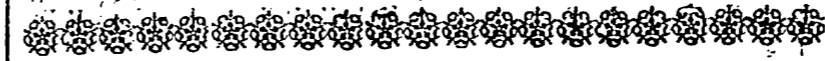
Aftrer his flight, he was voted by the House of Commons guilty of High Treason for foure causes:

1. Disobeying the House, in refusall to speake at their command, when he was Speaker in Parliament, in the fourth yeare of King CHARLES.
2. For threatning some Judges in the matter of Ship-money.
3. For his illegall and cruell Judgements in the Forrest businesse, when he was Lord Chiefe Justice of the Common Pleas.
4. For drawing that injurious Declaration after dissolution of the last Parliament.

Upon which a Charge was drawne up against him, and carried up to the Lords upon the 14. of *January*, three weeks after his flight, by the Lord FAWKLAND; who

who presented it with a very pithy and sharpe Oration against the man.

These two last Delinquents (though men of eminent place in the Common-wealth) as they did not long trouble the Parliament, nor much retard the progresse of publike businesse, preventing their Trialls by timely flight, so can they take up no large roome in this Historiall Narration.



CHAP. VIII.

The Tryall and death of the Earle of Strafford. Conspiracies detected during the agitation of it. An Act for continuance of this present Parliament. With a mention of that Grant of the Trienniall Parliament in February before.

BUT now a greater Actor is brought upon the Stage, THOMAS Earle of *Strafford*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, a man too great to be let escape; no sooner accused but surprized, and secured for a Tryall.

Which Tryall of his, if we consider all things, the high nature of the Charge against him; the pompous circumstances, and stately manner of the Triall it selfe; the time that it lasted; the pretiousnesse of that time so consumed; and lastly, of what moment and consequence the successe of it must prove, I may safely say, that no Subject in *England*, and probably in *Europe*, ever had the like.

So great it was, that we can hardly call it the Triall of the Earle of *Strafford* onely; the Kings affections toward his People and Parliament, the future successe

of

of this Parliament, and the hopes of three Kingdoms depending on it, were all tryed, when *Strafford* was arraigned.

Many Subjects in *Europe* have played lowder parts upon the Theater of the world, but none left it with greater noise; nor was the matter of his accusation confined within one Realme; three whole Kingdoms were his Accusers, and eagerly sought in one death a recompence of all their sufferings: That we may say of his case, as *CLAUDIAN* of *RUFFINUS*.

Offensis Ruffinum divide terris.

Within ten daies after the Parliament began, the Earle of *Strafford* newly returned from the North, was sitting in the House of Lords; when Master *PYME*, an ancient Gentleman of great experience in Parliamentary affaires, and no lesse knowne fidelity to his Country, came up to the Lords, and in the name of all the Commons of *England*, accused *THOMAS* Earle of *Strafford*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, of High Treason; and desired their Lordships that he might be sequestred from Parliament, and forthwith committed to Prison; as also to let them know, that the Commons within very few daies would resort to their Lordships with the particular Articles and grounds of this Accusation.

The Earle was required to withdraw; and after a debate thereof, called in, was committed to safe custody to the Gentleman Usher; And immediately after, upon the 13. day of *November*, a Serjeant at Armes was sent into *Ireland* for Sir *GEORGE RATLIFE*, a great Favourite of the Earles, and one that under him had bene very active in the oppression of *Ireland*; a man of subtle wit, and knowledge of the Law; as having before bene educated at the Innes of Court, and taken the degree of Barrister.

Sir *GEORGE* accordingly upon the fourth of *December* came in, and yelded himselfe to the Speaker; from

from whence he was committed to custody. And foure daies after the Lords of Parliament sent the Earle of *Strafford* to the Tower, with a strict command to the Lieutenant, that he should keepe a close guard upon him.

Much time was interposed betweene the severall proceedings against this Earle of *Strafford*, by reason of the multiplicity of weighty businesse which the Parliament then had. But before the end of *January*, a long Charge was read against him in the House of Commons, and a Message not long after sent to the Lords, to desire that he might be sequestred from all his places of Dignity and Honour, in *England* and *Ireland*.

The Charge against him consisted of nine Articles, which afterwards upon a further impeachment, were extended to eight and twenty. All those Articles are to be seene at large in the Records: But for further satisfaction of the Reader, I will give a brieve touch of the scope of them. The first and second being much alike, concerning his ruling of *Ireland*, and those parts of *England*, where his Authority lay, in an Arbitrary way, against the fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome, which Lawes he had indeavoured to subvert. Thirdly, his retaining part of the Kings Revenue, without giving a legall account. Fourthly, The abusing of his Power, to the increase and encouragement of Papists. Fifthly, That he maliciously had indeavoured to stir up Hostility betweene *England* and *Scotland*. Sixthly, That being Lieutenant Generall of the Northerne Army, he had wilfully suffered the Scots to defeat the English at *Newburne*, and take *Newcastle*; that by such a losse and dishonour, *England* might be engaged in a Nationall and irreconcilable quarrell with the Scots. Seventhly, That to preserve himselfe from questioning, he had laboured to subvert Parliaments, and incense the King against them. Eighthly and lastly, That these things.

things were done during the time of his Authority as Deputy of *Ireland*, and Lieutenant Generall of the Northerne Armies in *England*.

The Commons, saving to themselves a liberty of further impeachment against the said Earle, &c. do require his legall answer to all.

The further impeachment, consisting of 28. Articles, was for the most part branched out of these, and insisted upon in more particulars, concerning his Tyranny in *Ireland* over divers persons, contrary to Law. Concerning which the Reader must be referred to the Records themselves, as being too large to be here inserted.

The Earle of *Strafford* upon the 23. of *February* was brought before the Lords, to give in his answer; which he accordingly did; the King himself being there present to heare it read.

It was very large, and when it was done, he was sent back to the Tower, there to remaine till further Order.

A Committee being appointed to consider of that businesse, upon the fourth of *March* following made report in the House, That they would mannage and maintaine their Accusation of Treason against him; and thought it not fit to reply to his Answer, but call him to speedy triall.

Immediately upon which, a Conference was had with the Lords concerning that Triall, and some Circumstances which were thought fit to be used at it.

The Commissioners of *Scotland* had likewise a Charge against the Earle of *Strafford*; concerning those injuries, which, as they conceived, their Nation and Kingdome had suffered from him. But the substance of that Charge was implied in these Articles before specified, which the Parliament of *England* had exhibited against him.

Upon the 22. of *March*, 1640. that remarkable

ble Tryall of the Earle of STRAFFORD began.

Westminster Hall was the place chosen, where Scaffolds were raised on both sides, nine degrees in height; whereof seven were appointed for the Members of the House of Commons to sit on, who were all there in a Committee: The two upper degrees of the Scaffold, were appointed for the Commissioners of *Scotland*, and the Lords of *Ireland*, who were then come over.

In the midst, on a lower ascent, sat the Peeres of *England*, the Earle of *Arundell* being Lord high Steward, and the Earle of *Lindsey* Lord High Constable. The Throne was placed for the King: But the King comming thither (which he did every day of the tryall) sat private with the Queene and other Ladies, in a close Gallery, made of purpose to heare the proceedings, and tooke notes himselfe in writing of them,

The Earle of *Strafford* answered daily at the Barre, whilst the whole House of Commons, having put themselves into a Committee, had liberty to charge him, every man as he saw occasion: But though many of them did sometimes speake, yet the accusations were chiefly managed by two expert Lawyers, Master GLYNNE, and Master MAYNARD, both Members of the House.

Many foule misdemeanours, committed both in *Ireland* and *England*, were daily proved against him: But that ward which the Earle, being an eloquent man, especially lay at; was to keepe off the blow of High Treason, whatsoever misdemeanours should be layed upon him; of which, some he denied, others he excused, and extenuated with great subtilty; contending to make one thing good, That misdemeanours, though never so many and so great, could not by being put together make one Treason, unlesse some one of them had been Treason in its owne nature.

Every day the first weeke, from Munday to Saturday, without intermission, the Earle was brought from the Tower to *Westminster Hall*, and arraigned many houres together; and the successe of every daies tryall, was the greatest discourse or dispute in all companies.

For by this time the people began to be a little divided in opinions; The Clergy in generall were so much fallen into love and admiration of this Earle, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was almost quite forgotten by them.

The Courtiers cryed him up, and the Ladies, whose voices will carry much with some parts of the State, were exceedingly on his side.

It seemed a very pleasant object, to see so many *Sempronias* (all the chiefe Court Ladies filling the Galleries at the Tryall) with penne, inke, and paper in their hands, noting the passages, and discoursing upon the grounds of Law and State. They were all of his side; whether moved by pittie, proper to their Sex, or by ambition of being thought able to judge of the parts of the Prisoner.

But so great was the favour, and love, which they openly expressed to him; that some could not but thinke of that Verse:

*Non formosus erat, sed erat facundus Ulysses,
Et tamen equoreas torfit amore Deas.*

Ulysses, though not beautifull, the love
Of Goddes by eloquence could move.

But his Triall in this manner lasted, with few daies intermission, from the 22. of *March*, till the midst of *Aprill* following, the Earle having personally answered fifteene daies.

After all this long Triall, the House of Commons fell into debate about a Bill of Attainder against the Earle of *Strafford*; and voted him guilty of high Treason in divers particulars of that Accusation, in which they had proceeded against him; and in more particular

particular he was voted guilty of High Treason, for his opinion given before the King, at a secret Councell; which was discovered by some notes of Sir *HENRY VANE*, who was also a Privy Councillor, and present at that time; in which notes it was found that the Earle of *Strafford* had said to the King, *That he had an Army in Ireland, which his Majesty might employ to reduce this Kingdome to obedience.*

These notes Sir *HENRY VANE*, eldest Sonne to the before named Sir *HENRY* had found (as he alledged to the House) in his Fathers Cabinet, and produced before the House without his Fathers knowledge; who seemed extreme angry with his Sonne for it.

This is related the more at large, because it was the first occasion (that was open and visible) whereby so eminent a Member as the Lord *GEORGE DIGBY* was lost from the House of Commons, as will afterward appeare: For that Vote was opposed by the Lord *DIGBY*, and some others.

Nevertheless a Committee was appointed to draw up the Bill of Attainder, which was accordingly done, and read in the House of Commons on the 21 day of *April*, when the Earle was againe voted guilty of High Treason; which was carried by farre the greater part; for on the other side were but nine and fifty, of whom the Lord *DIGBY* was one; who made to that purpose a very elegant, though much displeasing, Speech in the House; Of which more hereafter.

That Bill of Attainder was sent up to the Lords, where after the reading of it, a great division was in that House, and many of the Lords much opposed it.

But Master *St. JOHN*, the Kings Solicitour, and a Member of the House of Commons, was appointed within few daies after to make good the Bill by Law, and give the Lords satisfaction, which was accordingly

ingly done upon the 29. of *April* in *Westminster* Hall; where the Earle of *Strafford* was present at the Barre, and the King and Queene seated in their usuall places.

Master St. JOHN opened the Branches of the Bill, and in a Discourse of two houres made it good by precedent Statutes, and the like, to the satisfaction of almost all that heard him.

But the King was not satisfied in conscience, as he declared to both Houses two daies after, to condemne him of High Treason; and told them, No feares or respects whatsoever should make him alter that resolution, founded upon his conscience: But confessed, that his misdemeanors were so great, he held him unfit to serve him in any Office whatsoever; with other expressions of that kinde.

The Kings Speech was somewhat displeasing to the Houses; but the City were out of patience, and within foure daies after came to *Westminster*, about five thousand of them, crying for Justice against the Earle of *Strafford*; and following the Lords, complaining that they were undone, and trading decayed for want of due execution of Justice.

The Lords gave them good words, and promised them to acquaint the King with it. But the next day they appeared againe with the same complaint. Their feares being more aggravated, by reason of reports, that attempts were made to get the Earle out of Prison; upon which occasion some Lords were sent to keepe the Tower, and assist the Lieutenant there.

But the King was hard to be removed from his resolution, although the Judges in the meane time had delivered their opinions in the House of Lords concerning the Earle of *Strafford*; and the Lords had voted him guilty of High Treason upon the fifteenth Article, for leavying of money in *Ireland* by force of Armes; and upon the nineteenth, for imposing an Oath

Oath upon the Subjects in *Ireland*, That they should not protest against any of the Kings Commands.

The King at last, wearied with these complaints, called a Privy Councell at *White-Hall*, where he spent a great part of the day; calling also the Judges to deliver their opinions before him, concerning the Earle of *Strafford*; and sent for foure Bishops, to resolve him upon scruple of conscience. After which he granted a Commission to the Earle of *Arundell*, the Lord Privy Seale, and the two Lord Chamberlaines; to signe that Bill for the execution of the Earle of *Strafford* three daies after, being Wednesday, the 12. of *May*, 1641. which was accordingly done upon the Scaffold on Tower Hill.

This was the unfortunate end of that Earle of *Strafford*, whose character and actions have beene in some manner before described.

Of whom we may truly say, That as his life and Councells had been of great moment and concernment in the State before, so did his death and Tryall by unhappy accidents prove to be.

The divisions and disturbances which his life could make, were not greater then those that his death occasioned.

APPIANUS observes of SYLLA the Dictator, That as his living power had rob'd the Romane Senate of their freedome; so did his very Funerall: Where so many of his old Souldiers and Hacsters followed the solemnity, that the Senators who were present, durst not with freedome expresse their thoughts of him; but were inforced to flatter him dead, as well as living.

How faire the Earle of *Strafford* did in his life time divide the Kings affections from his People and Parliaments (which was part of his Charge) I cannot surely tell; But certaine it is, That his Tryall and death (which has made me insist the longer upon it)

it) did make such a division in that kinde, as, being unhappily nourished by degrees afterward, has almost ruined the three Kingdomes.

The length of his Tryall, whilest two Armies at an heavy expence were to be paid, and other businesse at a great stand, did divide some impatient people (at least in some degree) from the Parliament; The manner of his condemnation divided the Parliament in it selfe; and the eager pressing of his death did discover or cause a sad division of the King from his Parliament.

Nine and fifty Members of the House of Commons dissented in Vote from the rest, upon the Bill of Attainder; Upon which some indiscreet persons (for so I must needs esteeme them, though it was never knowne who they were, or by whose notice it was done) the next day set up a paper upon the Exchange, with the names of those nine and fifty, and a Title over it, *The names of those men, who to save a Traytor, would betray their Country.*

They that were thus posted up, supposing it to be done or caused by some of their House, were much provoked at it, many of them growing by degrees disaffected to the Parliament, (not all, for there were among those dissenting Gentlemen very wise and learned men) and upon that unhappy distraction that fell out about a yeere after, forsooke the Parliament.

Upon the same Bill of Attainder, the Lord DIGBY made his foresaid Speech, which by a Command from the House (for he had printed it) was to be burnt by the Hangman, which was the visible cause of his deserting the Parliament, and proving so great an Actor against it, as shall hereafter be declared.

The worst consequence of all was, that the Kings heart did upon this occasion appeare to be quite alienated from the Parliament.

For

For to prevent the Earle of *Straffords* death, an escape for him out of the Tower was contrived. To further which, and to curbe the Parliament in other things by force of Armes, a great conspiracy was entred into by many Gentlemen of ranke and quality. The designe of this conspiracy had many Branches, as shall appeare in the Narration.

The persons of chiefest note in it, were Master HENRY PERCY, brother to the Earle of *Northumberland*, Master HENRY JERMIN, the great Favourite of the Queene, to whom he was Master of the horse, Master GORING, eldest Sonne to the Lord GORING, Master WILMOT, eldest Sonne to the Lord WILMOT, Colonell ASHBURNHAM, Captaine POLLARD, Sir JOHN SUCKLING, ONEALE an Irish man and a Papist, with divers others of a more inferiour ranke, such as were privy but to some part of the designe: For it seemes their Counsells were divided, and they not all guilty of the same things, as by their severall Examinations upon Oath appeared.

But that which grieved the hearts of honest men, and made them almost despaire of that happinesse which was before hoped for by this Parliament, was, That they discovered the King himself to be privy to this conspiracy against them; which was plainly testified by Colonell *Gorings* examination; as likewise by a Letter Written by Master PERCY to his Brother the Earle of *Northumberland*; where he names the Kings discourses with him, and the desire which the King had to joyne such as he thought fit with them.

The Conspirators had taken an Oath of secrecy among themselves.

The Report made in Parliament from Committees after the Examination of severall Gentlemen, concerning this conspiracy, discovered many branches of their designe.

P

One