

One was concerning the Tower of *London*, That Souldiers should have been put into it: For Sir JOHN SUCKLING, and some others of the Conspirators, under pretence of raising Forces for the *Portugall*, had gathered men in *London*, who were to possesse themselves of the Tower.

The Lieutenant, Sir WILLIAM BALFORE, was commanded by the King himselfe to admit those Souldiers into the Tower. But he perceiving that it was a Plot to let the Earle of *Strafford* escape, disobeyed that Command of the Kings, as appeared by his Examination:

In which is likewise specified, that the Earle offered 2000. *l.* in Marriage with his daughter to the Lieutenants Sonne, if he would consent to the Earles escape.

Another branch, and that the chiefe of this designe, was to bring up the English Army; which was in the North, as yet undisbanded, and to engage it against the Parliament, to awe the Houses in divers things concerning the Kings Prerogative and maintaining Episcopacy, as Master PERCY signified in the forementioned Letter.

To joyne with these Forces, and strengthen the Plot, a French Army was to be landed at *Portsmouth*, and that Towne for the same purpose, was to be put into Master JERMIN'S hands.

The Irish Army, consisting of eight thousand, almost all Papists, when the Earle of *Strafford* had escaped out of the Tower, was to be brought over under his conduct, and engaged in the same Service.

All these things were confessed upon severall Examinations.

The Parliament were most grieved to finde the King so farre in it; and then recalled to minde, how His Majesty on the 28. of *April* before, had told the Houses, That he could not allow of the disbanding

disbanding of the Irish Army for divers reasons best knowne to himselfe.

The Conspiracy being in some part detected, PERCY, JERMYN, and SUCKLING fled the day before they should have been examined, being the sixth of *May*, and passed into *France*, where SUCKLING not long after dyed.

But afterwards, upon the reading of a Letter in the House upon the 14. of *June*, sent by Master PERCY out of *France* to his Brother the Earle of *Northumberland*, WILMOT, ASHBURNHAM, and POLLARD, (three Members of the House of Commons, mentioned in that Letter, as privy to this Conspiracy) were commanded to withdraw, and then called in severally, examined, and committed, WILMOT to the Tower, ASHBURNHAM to the Kings Bench, and POLLARD to the *Gate-House*; from whence they were not long after released upon Bayle; as being found guilty, not in so high a degree as others were.

GORING, upon his Examination, dealt so cleerly with them, and so farre purged himselfe from evill intentions, that he was not at all committed by the Parliament.

ONEALE, who proved most guilty of that part of the Conspiracy, for bringing up the English Army against the Parliament, was presently after apprehended, and committed to the Tower, whence it was generally thought he would be brought to Tryall for his life, and suffer; but he made an escape.

The Parliament considering what great disturbance they began to finde in settling the State; what conspiracies had been on foot; and doubtfull of the Kings sincere affection towards them; considering also what great disbursements of money were to be made for payment of two Armies, and other charges for settling the State; to which purpose money

was to be borrowed upon the Publike Faith; by a joint consent of both Houses, moved the King to signe a Bill for continuance of this present Parliament, That it should never be dissolved till both Houses did consent, and agree that publike grievances were fully redrest.

A Bill was drawne up to that purpose, and the King, the same day that he signed the Bill for execution of the Earle of *Strafford*, being the 10. of *May*, 1641. signed that also for continuance of the present Parliament.

But in this place it is fit to insert what had past before in this kinde.

The King upon the 15. of *February* before, had signed a Bill, presented to him by both Houses, for a Parliament to be held in *England* every third yeare; That the Lord Keeper; and Chancellor of the *Dutchy*, for the time being, should be sworne to issue forth the Writs; and upon default to lose their places.

The same day in the afternoone there was a Conference betweene the two Houses, to returne the King thanks; upon which it was concluded that the whole House should go to the King to *White-Hall*, and that the Lord Keeper, in the name of both Houses, should returne their thankfulness to his Majesty, which was accordingly done with such Expressions of joy; by Order from the Parliament, were that night made about *London*, with ringing of Bells, making of Bonfires, with such usuall things.

It is observable in the course of Histories, how much Kings in such limited Monarchies, as that of *England*, do in time by degrees gain upon the peoples Rights and Priviledges. That those things, which by constitution of the Government, the people may challenge as due from the Prince, having been long forborne, become at last to be esteemed such Acts

of

of extraordinary grace, as that the Prince is highly thanked for granting of them.

Such was the case of this Trienniall Parliament, as both Houses afterward, when the unhappy division began, and the King upbraided them with this favour, could plainly answer, That it was not so much as by Law they might require, there being two Statutes then in force, for a Parliament once a yeere.

The King himselfe also at the time when he granted that Trienniall Parliament, could not forbear to tell them, That he put an obligation upon them in doing it, which they had scarce deserved.

For hitherto (said he) to speake freely, I have had no great encouragement to grant it; if I should looke to the outward face of your actions or proceedings, and not to the inward intentions of your hearts; I might make question of doing it.

But that Grant which the King since passed upon the tenth of *May*, for continuance of the present Parliament, not onely afterward by himselfe, was much upbraided to them, but by many Gentlemen, who were not well affected to their Parliament, and all the Faction of Prelaticall Clergy, in their ordinary discourse, was censured a greater grace then was fit for the King to grant.

To such men, their discourses and writings, afterward, when the great distraction happened, and the *Warre* was breaking out, the Parliament in many of their Declarations answered;

That though there were in it some seeming restraint of the Regall Power in dissolving Parliaments; yet really it was no taking that Power from the Crowne; but suspending the execution of it for this time and occasion only. Which was so necessary for the Publike Peace, that without it they could not have undertaken any of those great Charges; but must have left both the Armies to disorder and confusion, and the whole Kingdome to blood and ruine.

For.

For to pay the Armies, and defray other necessary charges, money was to be borrowed upon the Publike Faith; which had been nothing worth, if that Parliament could have been dissolved at the Kings pleasure.

And where it was objected, That no King ever granted the like before; they answered, It was evident, that no King before ever made so great a necessity for a Parliament to require it. And besides that, in the constitution of Englands Government, it was never the meaning of the Law-givers; that the King should dissolve any Parliament, whilst the great Affairs of the Kingdome were depending; and though the King had used to do so; it was neverthelesse unlawfull.

The Scots in their Remonstrance 1640. told the King, That he had broken their Lawes in dissolving the Parliament there, against the consent of their House.

And it is very well understood by those that are skilfull in Lawes of both Nations; that English Parliaments have originally the same freedome.

It was neverthelesse probably then thought by all, that the King would not have assented to that Act, if at that time the freshnesse of those fore-mentioned grievances in the peoples hearts, and the present discovery of that odious Treason, of bringing an Army against the Parliament, had not made it unsafe for him to deny.

That opinion was more confirmed by the following Actions, since time; and the unconstancy of some Lords and Gentlemen, had raised him a Party. When that knot, which by Law he could not againe untie, he indeavoured to cut a sunder by the Sword; as was afterwards observed in the Parliaments Declarations.

CHAP.



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 downe the High Commission Court, and Starre-Chamber; with other occurrences of that time. The Queene Mother departeth England. The King goeth into Scotland.



He Parliament, conceiving themselves somewhat strengthened and secured by by that Act of continuance, began to fall upon the maine businesse of the Kingdome; but their first desire was to ease themselves of that unsupportable charge of keeping two Armies in pay. It was therefore resolved, that both the Armies should forthwith be disbanded.

The Earle of Holland was nominated by the King, and well approved of by the Parliament, to go down as General, for disbanding of the English. And for the speedy disbursement of so great a summe, which was to be raised out of the Poll-Money (of which I shall speake anon) and the six Subsidies; much Plate was appointed with more then ordinary haste to be melted and coyned.

The Reader will here perchance desire to be satisfied, by what meanes the Scottish Army; which the King in the beginning of the Parliament, was so desirous

sirous to have driven out of the Kingdome, and stiled Rebels, should continue undisbanded till this time.

The Cessation of Armes, which was made before, to expire about the end of *December* last, was at that time renewed by the Parliament for a Moneth longer; who presently after tooke it into consideration, that the Scots should be satisfied for all their charges they had been at, and losses sustained since that unhappy Warre that the King had raised against them.

In the *February* following, after a serious debate concerning that businesse, the necessities of the Scots being well weighed, and their demands considered, it was not onely agreed that their Ships, taken since that Warre, should be restored, and 4000. *l.* in ready money given to them to rigge those Ships; but for the maine of all, it was resolved upon by both Houses, to give the full summe of 300000. *l.* in these words expressed, *Towards a supply of the losses and necessities of our Brethren of Scotland*; and that the Parliament would in due time take into consideration the manner of raising, and daies of payment.

Whereupon the Scottish Commissioners three daies after returned thankfulness to the Parliament, not onely for that great summe of 300000. *l.* but for the stile of Brethren which they had given them.

And the same weeke, to continue, and further strengthen the amity of both Nations, the Parliament of *England* Ordained that all Books, Libels, and Proclamations against the Scots, should be called in; and a thanksgiving to God should be in all Churches thorow *England*, for the happy conclusion of that peace.

But before the time came that the Parliament, pressed with so many great and weighty Affaires, could have leisure to consider and fully determine the times for payment of that great summe to the Scots (which was not till the 19. day of the following *June*, when it

it was concluded, that they should receive 100000. *l.* of it at *Midsomer* come twelve Moneth, and the other 200000. *l.* at *Midsomer* two yeares after) the Scots presented many Papers to the House at severall times, for money to supply the wants of their Army, which were friendly entertained, and considered by the Parliament; for that Army was kept long undisbanded; insomuch as about the end of the following *May*, there was in Arreare due to the Scottish Army (besides the gift of 300000. *l.*) 120000. *l.*

So great a charge was the Parliament of *England* content to be at, rather then suffer the Scots to go, till businesse were better settled; which gave occasion to many of the Clergy, and others not well affected to them, not onely in discourse, but written Libels, to taxe the Parliament, and impute it to them as a crime of too much distrust of the King; and that they kept a forraigne Army to awe their owne Prince.

But certaine it is, that since that time when the forenamed Conspiracies began to breake out, the Houses, not well assured of the King, nor fully trusting the English Army, were content that the Scots should not be disbanded, untill the other were; being also doubtfull of that Irish Army, which the King (as is before expressed) had told them he could not disband; for some reasons best knowne to himselfe.

Nor was that Army of Scots disbanded till *August*, at the same time when the English Army was, by the Earle of *Holland*, appointed Generall to that purpose. And both the Armies quietly departed, conducted to their owne homes by Order from Justices of Peace, through the severall Counties.

To defray so vast a charge as the payment of two great Armies, the Parliament, besides the grant of six Subsidies, imposed a Taxe seldome or never knowne, which was that of the Poll-Money, wherein the whole Kingdome were to be personally assessed. Every Duke at 100. *l.* a Marquesse at 80. *l.*

Earles at 60 *l.* Viscounts and Barons at 40 *l.* Knights of the Bathe 30 *l.* other Knights 20 *l.* Esquires 10 *l.* every Gentleman dispending 100 *l.* per annum, was seized at 5 *l.* and all others of ability to pay a competent proportion; the meanest head of the whole Kingdome was not excused under six pence.

This Bill of Poll-Money was offered by the Houses to the King, together with two other of great concernment, one for putting downe the High Commission Court, and the other for putting downe the Starre-Chamber.

But the King shewed some reluctancy in that businesse, desiring to passe only that Bill of Poll-Money for the present, and to deliberate about passing of the other two. At which the House of Commons, being certified so much by the Lords, were not well contented, and voted that his Majesty should passe all three, or none at all.

Notwithstanding, the King upon the second of *July*, did accordingly passe the Poll-Money, and demurred upon the other two. But understanding that the matter was so ill taken, and loath, upon mature deliberation, to displease the Kingdome at that time, he came againe upon the following Tuesday, being the fifth of *July*, and passed the other two, for putting downe the High Commission and Starre-Chamber.

Many of the Courtiers, and neereest servants about the King, were very sorry that his Majesty, seeing that he passed those two Bills so soone after, had not freely done it at the same time (as was desired) together with the Poll-Money: Because it might be thought an unwillingnesse in him, and that his heart (which was then feared) did not perfectly concurre with his Peoples desires: Whereby much of the thanks, which so great a grace freely and forwardly expressed, might have deserved, did seeme in a manner lost.

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The King therefore at the passing of those two Bills, told them as much, That He could not but be sensible of those reports of discontent, which he had heard was taken by some, for his not passing them before; and thought it very strange, that two things of so great importance, should be expected from him, without an allowance of time to consider of them: That he wondred they could harbour any discontent, if they remembred how much he had done this Parliament; as his granting that the Judges hereafter should hold their places quam diu se bene gesserint; bounding the Forrest Lawes; taking away Ship-money; establishing the Subjects property in Tonnage and Poundage; granting the Trienniall Parliament; free Justice against Delinquents. With other things; Concluding graciously, That He would omit nothing which might give them just content.

And when he had signed the forenamed Bills, after a short mention of the journey which he intended speedily to take into *Scotland*; he propounded to them a thing very acceptable, concerning his Nephew the Prince Elector Palatine, that he could not but (at the desire of that Prince) send an Ambassadour to assist him at the Dyet at *Ratisbone* with the Emperour; and fearing that he should not receive so good an Answer, as might in justice be expected. For the better countenancing that businesse, he intended to publish a *Manifesto* in his owne name, but would not do it but by consent and advice of Parliament; without which he conceived it would be a thing of no validity.

Which *Manifesto* was afterwards made by the full consent of both Houses, and Sir THOMAS ROE, a Member of the House, and a Gentleman of great abilities, was sent to the Emperour at *Ratisbone* about it; but without any good successe.

At the same time the Queene Mother of *France*, as was before desired by the Parliament, was to take

her leave of *England*. The King consented to her departure; but Money wanting for the Provision of her Journey, the Parliament allotted ten thousand pounds to her, out of the Poll-Money. This great Lady had arrived in *England* almost three yeares before, and so long been entertained by the King, her Sonne in Law, with great respect, and an allowance answerable to support her State, 100. l. per diem.

It was her mis-fortune, (how farre her crime I cannot tell) that during her abode here, the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland* were imbroyled in great troubles; which the People were apt to impute in some measure to her counsels, knowing what power the Queene her Daughter had with the King.

Others taxed her not at all, but looked upon other causes, the same counsells, which long before her arrivall had distempered *England*; but the people made their judgement upon it, from her actions or successes in other places.

But however it were, the Queene was fearefull of the people here, and had not long before desired to have a guard allowed her, pretending feare of her life, by reason of some attempts, which she conceived made against her; upon which a Guard was set about her house.

Her Regency in *France* had not beene happy, nor according to the interest of that Kingdome; though that, perchance, may be accounted a fault not so particular to her, as commonly incident to the Regency of Queene Mothers in that Land: In so much as THUANUS commends the saying of CHARLES the ninth (a Prince whom otherwise he doth not praise) upon his death bed, *That since he must dye at that age, (being foure and twenty) he thanked God he had no Sonne, least France should fall under a Regency, of which he had found the sad effects.* His Mother was KATHERINE DE MEDICIS of the same Family with this Queene.

After

After the time of her Regency, her actions had been such, that the King her Sonne would not harbour her in his owne Kingdome; nor was she welcome into the Territories of her Sonne in Law the King of *Spain*. But the people there were no lesse desirous of her departure, then afterward in *England*.

Insomuch as she became a strange example of the instability of humane fortunes, that so great a Queen, and Mother to so many mighty Princes, should want a quiet Harbour for her age.

Not long after her departure from *England*, she died at *Culleine*, and might seeme a parallel in some things, to the same Empreffe, who founded that City, and there planted a Roman Colony, AGRIPINA, wife to CLAUDIUS CESAR, and Mother to NERO. They both had tasted of power, been active in it, but not pleasing to the people. They were both taught, that the greatnesse of their Sonnes, was not so much advantage to their Power, as they had hoped; and had learned, that all power dependent upon another, is of small validity, and lesse stability; as TACITUS observes, speaking of the same AGRIPINA, *Nil rerum mortalium tam instabile, & fluxum est, quam fama potentie non sua vi nixa.*

About two Moneths before the departure of this Queene, the Princesse MARY, eldest daughter to the King; not yet ten yeares of age, was married with great triumph at *White-Hall*, to the young Prince of *Orange*, WILLIAM; Bishop WRENNE, being then Deane of the Kings Chappell, performed the solemnity on Sunday the second of *May*, 1641.

The Marriage had been before debated of in Parliament, and consented to; The King himselfe upon the ninth of *February* having declared to the Lords what large Propositions the Ambassadors of the States had made to him upon that purpose.

The people in generall were pleased with this Marriage, and glad the King had chosen out a Pro-

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testant Prince, and servant to a State, which had been long confederate with *England*, and whose interest carried them the same way, Professors of the same Religion, and in that kinde of Discipline, to which the greatest part of Parliament and People were inclined; and hoped (though at that time it was not so fully declared as afterward) to reforme the Church of *England* to, as that of *Scotland* already was. By this Match of the Kings owne chusing, they began to hope that the Spanish Faction in Court was not now at all prevalent, but that things might hereafter be carried according to the right English way.

In this hope they were the more confirmed, seeing the Parliament go on without any opposition from the King, no dissention having yet happened, nor likely to happen, as they conceived; for that Conspiracy of bringing up the Army against the Parliament, which we touched before, was not yet discovered, nor at all thought of, though within few daies after it broke out.

But some there were, who suspended their joy, and were not much confident that this Marriage would bring happinesse to *England*, unlesse the King were perfectly right with his People, and wished the same thing they did; considering at one side the condition of the Prince of *Orange*; and that he might be ambitious of more then was due to him; and for that reason ingage himselfe in a reciprocall way for the King against his People, if occasion served.

On the other side, they considered the States as Politicians of this world, and men who had other interests then that of Religion; and if dissention should in *England* happen, betweene Prince and People (which was never but feared in some degree) might be apt to side with the King against the just freedom of the Subject; which must needs depresse the strength of *England*, and keepe it from so much greatnesse, as might ecclipse their owne; the King of

of *Spain* being now weake, and no such feare from him, as might inforce them to need *Englands* strength as heretofore.

But the Parliament about the beginning of this *July*, were busied in such a multiplicity of Affaires, which by severall Committees they daily did, concerning the reformation of domesticall abuses, that it were an endlesse, and indeed an improper thing for an Historian to describe them all: The Records will at large satisfie those that are curious in particulars; onely some of the chiefe I will briefly touch which happened before the King went into *Scotland*.

Upon the fifth of *July*, 1641. the Committee appointed for that purpose, made their report to the House of Commons, of the Charge against MATTHEW WRENNE Bishop of *Ely*, whose Accusation was before mentioned, consisting of many Articles; which all tended to the introducing of Superstition, and too neare approaches to the Roman Religion, as those Articles will declare.

After some time spent in debate upon the Articles, it was resolved upon the question, and voted, That it was the opinion of the House, That Bishop WRENNE was unworthy and unfit to hold or exercise any Office or Dignity in Church or Commonwealth; And further voted, That there be a Message sent to the Lords, to desire them to joyne with the Commons, in petitioning His Majesty to remove the said Bishop both from his Person and Service.

About the same time also the Charges against those Judges before mentioned, who gave their extrajudiciall opinions for leavying of Ship-money, being five in number, Judge BRAMSTON, Baron TREVER, Baron WESTON, Baron DAVENPORT, Judge CRAWLEY, were read in the House of Commons, and severall Members appointed to present those particular Charges against every Judge, which they

they all did, making large Speeches in aggravation of their Crimes : Against Judge BERKLEY there was a higher Charge, so great as amounted to High Treason.

The King was now wholly intent upon his journey into *Scotland*, which he determined to take upon the tenth of *August*, to which both Houses had once agreed ; but afterwards upon mature consideration, desired the King to deferre it fourteene daies longer for divers reasons.

That the distempers of the Kingdome were such, as could not well be composed, unlesse His Majesty would stay the desired time, there being many weighty affaires to be taken into consideration, and no course yet set downe for the Government of the Kingdome in his absence.

The King, notwithstanding their often and earnest pressing this suit, was stedfast to the first day, alleadging that the affaires of *Scotland* did necessarily require his presence there at that time, and that he would passe any thing of just concerne before he went, and that he had to the same purpose many times desired them to hasten their businesses for him before such a time.

The King accordingly upon the tenth of *August* departed out of *London* toward *Scotland* ; but the same day before he tooke his journey, coming to the Lords House, he passed divers Bills which the Houses had prepared for him ; some concerning the publike, as the Bill for Knighthood, the Bill for free making of Gunpowder and Saltpeter ; and others concerning the Estates and affaires of private men.

Helikewise signed the Commission for passing of Bills in his absence ; the Commissioners appointed were the Lord Keeper, the Lord Privy Seale, the Earle of *Lindsey*, the Earle of *Essex*, Marquesse *Hartford*, the Earle of *Bath*, and the Earle of *Dorset*.

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He signed them also another Bill, whereby he made the Earle of *Essex* Generall of all his Forces on this side *Trent*, by which he had power to raise Forces in case of necessity.

But to another request, which both Houses had made to him the day before, which was, That the Earle of *Pembrooke* might be made Lord Steward, in the Earle of *Arundels* place, during his absence, (for the Earle of *Arundell* was then going over with the Queene Mother) and that the Earle of *Salisbury* might be appointed Lord Treasurer ; he said he would take further time to consider of it.

By this time many jealousies began to arise in the hearts of people, many divisions, and differences of opinions, concerning the Parliament, which being by degrees fomented by such persons as were disaffected to it, by reason of their owne losses, and particular interests ; whose number could not be small, did fatally prepare the way to that miserable confusion which after followed.

Bishops had been much listied at, though not yet taken away, whereby a great party whose livelihood and fortunes depended on them, and farre more, whose hopes of preferment looked that way ; most of the Clergy, and both the Universities, began to be daily more disaffected to the Parliament ; complaining that all rewards of learning would be taken away ; which wrought deeply in the hearts of the young, and most ambitious of that Coat.

Another thing which seemed to trouble some, who were not bad men, was that extreame License, which the Common People, almost from the very beginning of the Parliament, tooke to themselves, of reforming, without Authority, Order, or decency, rudely disturbing Church-Service, whilst the Common-Prayer was reading, tearing those Bookes, Surplaces, and such things : which the Parliament, either too much busied in variety of affaires, or (perchance

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chance too much) fearing the losse of a considerable Party, whom they might have need of against a real and potent Enemy, did not so farre restraints as was expected, or desired by those men.

To this were added those daily reports of ridiculous Conventicles, and preachings made by Tradesmen, and illiterate people of the lowest ranke, to the scandall and offence of many: Which some in a merry way would put off, considering the precedent times, that these Tradesmen did but take up that which Prelates and the great Doctors had let fall, preaching the Gospel; That it was but a reciprocal invasion of each others callings, that Chandlers, Salters, Weavers, and such like preached, when the Archbishop himselfe; instead of preaching, was daily busied in Projects about Leather Salt, Sope, and such commodities as belonged to those Tradesmen.

Many people by degrees grew disaffected to the Parliament, being daily poysoned by the discourses of the friends, kindred, and retainers to so many great Delinquents, as must needs feare such a Parliament; who, though they be no considerable party, in respect of the whole Common-wealth; yet ply their particular interests, with more eagerneffe then most do the publike.

Some are taken off by time and their owne inconstancy; when they have looked for quicker redresse of grievances, then the great concurrence of so many weighty businesses (in a long discontinued and reforming Parliament) can possibly admit, how industrious soever they be, distracted with so great a variety; those people, after some time spent, grew weary againe of what before they had so long wished to see; not considering that a Prince, if he be averse from such a Parliament, can finde power enough to retard their proceedings, and keepe off for a long time the cure of State; when that happens, the people tired with expectation of such a cure, do usually

usually by degrees forget the sharpnesse of those diseases which before required it; or else in the redressing of many and long disorders, and to secure them for the future, there being for the most part a necessity of laying heavy Taxes, and draining of much Money from the people, they grow extreemly sensible of that present smart, feeling more paine by the Cure for a time, then they did by the lingring disease before, not considering that the causes of all which they now indure, were precedent, and their present suffering is for their future security.

It was the generall opinion of all Gentlemen at that time, That a Parliament so much and long desired, as this was, after so great and constant a violation of the Lawes and Liberties of *England* in the Kings former Government, could scarce in possibility ever grow into the dislike of the people, or at least so great a part of the people, as might be able (which within one year was after seene) to make a Warre against it, and indanger the utter ruine and subversion of it. But I have spoken before of some causes, which might seeme strong enough to ingage a part of the people against the Parliament; whose particular interests and livelihoods were neerely touched; how farre any proceeding might distaste others, who were uninterested in their private fortunes or callings, I cannot tell any certaine reason: But I remember within the compasse of a year after, when this Civill Warre began to breake out over all the Kingdom, and men in all companies began to vent their opinions in an argumentative way, either opposing or defending the Parliament Cause; and Treatises were printed on both sides: Many Gentlemen who forsooke the Parliament, were very bitter against it for the proceedings in Religion, in countenancing, or not suppressing, the rudenesse of people in Churches (which I related before) acting those things which seemed to be against the Discipline of the English Church,

and might introduce all kindes of Sects and Schismes. Neither did those of the Parliament side agree in opinions concerning that point; some said it was wisely done of the Parliament; not to proceed against any such persons, for feare of losing a considerable party, as is said before. Others thought and said, That by so doing they would lose a farre more considerable party of Gentlemen; then could be gained of the other. They also affirmed, That Lawes and Liberties having been so much violated by the King, if the Parliament had not so farre drawne Religion also into their cause, it might have sped better; for the Parliament frequently at that time, in all their expressions, whensoever they charged the corrupt Statesmen of injustice and Tyranny; would put Popery, or a suspition of it, into the first place against them. I remember, when the Warre was begun, among those little Treatises, which were then published, as many there were without any names to them, I found one, in which the case is thus expressed, to recite the words of it. *Perchance (saith he) too much insisting upon Religion, and taxing the King for affecting Popery, hath by accident weakened the Parliament, and brought Parties to the King. It may seeme a great Paradox that the best and onely necessary of all things, Religion, being added into the scale of Lawes and Liberties, should make the scale lighter then before. Neither can it be true but by accident; as thus: The strange intercourse betwixt Rome and the English Court; The Kings owne Letters to the Pope; His favouring of Priests, and such things; though they may give a State just cause of suspition, that their Religion is undermining: Yet because it cannot be so absolutely proved to the sight of all the people, that the King favoured Popery, as that he violated the Lawes and Liberties of the Kingdome; which latter was visible to all; the former, concerning Religion, remains in the peoples reason, as a controverted question (the King still protesting for Religion) and the disputes*

disputes about that amusing the People, make them by degrees forget that crime of the Kings, which was without controversie, and evident, the violation of Lawes and Liberties: And more then so; for some supposing that the Parliament unjustly taxed him in Religion, did in time believe, that he was not so guilty of the other, as they would make him; which I have heard some of late maintaine. From whence may follow a strange conclusion; That the Kings dealing so much with Rome, to the disadvantage of the Protestant Religion, should now turne to his owne advantage in a Protestant Kingdome. And we may make this as paradoxicall a supposition, That if the King had never done any thing prejudiciall to the Protestant Religion, he would have found fewer Protestants this Parliament to take his part. For then, there being no dispute at all about Religion, the crimes of his State mis-government had plainly and inexcusably appeared to all; as we have seene that some of our former Kings, for the like violation of Lawes and Liberties, when there was but one Religion, and therefore no dispute about it, have been heavily censured in Parliament, no man appearing in their justification. And why should not a Parliament thinke that such things are cause enough to be stood upon, and to justifie their quarrell before God? as if the Almighty did not abhorre Injustice, Oppression, Tyranny, and the like, in any Kingdome, unlesse the profession of Religion were also depraved. Nay, he abhorreth it more in that place where the purest profession of Religion is.

Besides, that frequent naming of Religion, as if it were the onely quarrell, hath caused a great mistake of the question in some, by reason of ignorance, in others of subtilty; whilest they wilfully mistake, to abuse the Parliaments Cause, writing whole Volummes in a wrong stated case; as, instead of disputing whether the Parliament of England lawfully assembled, where the King virtually is, may by Armes defend the Religion established by the same power, together with the Lawes and Liber-

ties of the Nation, against Delinquents, detaining with them the Kings seduced Person: They make it the question, Whether Subjects, taken in a generall notion, may make Warre against their King for Religions sake?

Such was the sence of many Gentlemen at that time, which adhered to the Parliament. But to proceed in the Narration.

The Parliament had been of late sensible of the losse of some from them, and having detected divers Conspiracies and Machinations of dis-affected people against them, and fearing more, had in May last framed a Protestation, which was solemnly taken by all the Members of both Houses, and sent thorow England to be taken by the people; the forme of it was in these words:

I A. B. in the presence of Almighty God, promise, vow, and protest, to maintaine and defend, as farre as lawfully I may, with my life, power, and estate, the true Reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England, against all Popery and Popish Innovations within this Realme, contrary to the said Doctrine; and according to the duty of my Allegiance, I will maintaine and defend his Majesties Royall Person, Honour and Estate, as also the Power and Priviledge of Parliaments, the lawfull Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, and every Person that shall make this Protestation, in whatsoever he shall do in the lawfull pursuance of the same; and to my power, as farre as lawfully I may, I will oppose, and by all good waies and means endeavour to bring condigne punishment on all such as shall by force, practise, counsels, plots, conspiracies or otherwise, do any thing to the contrary, in this present Protestation contained: And further, That I shall in all just and honourable waies, endeavour to preserve the union and peace betwixt the three Kingdomes of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and neither for hope, feare, or any other respects, shall relinquish this Promise, Vow, and Protestation. It

It were not amisse in this place briefly to mention some alterations, which had been made before the time that the King tooke his journey into Scotland; though they were not done immediately about that time, but some weekes or Moneths before, because they concerne some Noble men, of whom we shall have occasion hereafter to make mention in the course of this History.

The Lord COTTINGTON upon the 17. of May, 1641. had resigned his place, Master of the Wards, the Lord Viscount SAY and SEALE succeeded him in that Office.

Within few daies after the Lord Treasurer, Doctor JACKSON Bishop of London, resigned his Staffe, and the Office was committed to five Commissioners. About that time the Earle of Leicester, lately come from being Ambassadour in France, was by the King made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The Earle of Newcastle was removed from being Governour to the Prince, and the Marquesse of Hartford appointed in his roome.

THE



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PARLIAMENT
OF
ENGLAND.

The Second Book.

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 endeavours of the English Parliament for relief of that Kingdom.

THE businesse of *England* by this absence of the King was at a great stand. In such a concurrence of high affairs & so great an expectation to find redress of pressing Grievances, nothing was so irksome to the People as delay. To retard the cure, was little
A a better

better then to destroy. And the Sequel within a short time, proved worse, then the wisest men could imagine, or the most jealous possibly suspect; though jealousies and fears were then grown to a great height, & the Parliament of *England* less then ever, assured of the Kings real affection to them. Nothing of State was transacted in Parliament, during the Kings absence. Some debates there were only about Church-service, and alterations to be made in the Book of Common-prayer, in which notwithstanding nothing was concluded. One businesse only came to be discussed; of which the King himself gave occasion; who within few daies after his arrival in *Scotland*, signified by a Letter to the Lords, That he was engaged to the Spaniard by promise to let him have four thousand souldiers out of that lately disbanded Irish Army, which the Earle of *Strafford* had before raised; his desire was to make good his promise by consent of Parliament. But the House of Commons whom the Lords had invited to a Conference for that purpose, would not consent that any Irish should go to assist the Spaniard; some reasons were then given, but more particular cause was shewed about ten daies after, when a second Letter came from the King, in which his Majesty declared, That the Spanish Ambassador claimed his promise, from which in honor he could not recede. Notwithstanding since he had found that Ambassador so reasonable, as that he was content to accept of two thousand; he hoped the Parliament would not deny that. The House took it into consideration; and within two dayes, the Lord of *FAWKLAND* a Member of the House of Commons at a conference delivered to the Lords, gave reasons in the name of that House, why it was very unfit to grant the Kings desire, because the Spaniard was not only an Ally, & confederate, but an assistant to the Emperor against the Prince

Prince

Prince Elector, his Majesties Nephew; who by the power and oppression of that Emperor had bin long deprived of his inheritance; And at this time, when the King had published a Manifesto in behalf of his Nephew, and to that purpose sent an Ambassador to the Dyet of *Ratisbone*, it would seem a contradiction in the King to assist the Enemies of the said Prince Elector, and a drawing of his own Sword against himself: besides the great prejudice it must needs bring to the Protestant cause, which this present Parliament so much intended, and laboured to promote. Upon these reasons it was thought fit not to consent to the Kings desire in that point. And immediately the two Houses of Parliament rejourned themselves from that day, being the eighth of *September*, till the twentieth of *October*, and appointed a standing Committee of fifty Members during that recess.

Before the Accessse and meeting again of the Parliament, Letters came from the English Committee in *Scotland*, and were read before that standing Committee of *Westminster*, importing the discovery of a Treasonable plot against the lives of Marquesse *HAMILTON*, and others, the greatest Peeres of *Scotland*; the conspirators being the Earle of *Crayford*, and some others. How it was discovered, or how prevented, or whether the King had any privity to it (though one of that country have since written very plainly charging the King with it) because the State of *Scotland* were very silent in it, the Parliament of *England* took the lesse notice of it: Only the standing Committee, for avoiding the like attempts at *London*, and fearing that such might flow from the same spring, appointed strong guards to be placed in many parts of the City, till further directions might be given from the two Houses at their Accessse. The malignancy, which at that time began to appear in people,

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of that condition and quality, which wee before mentioned, and was not only expressed in usual discourse among their companions, but vented in scurrilous and bitter Libels against those Lords and Commons, who were generally reputed the most Sedulous for the common-wealth, was cause sufficient to increase the feares and jealousies of the Parliament.

But that fatall fire, which so sadly wasted the three Kingdoms, broke out there, where it was least feared; and those that seemed most secure, were the first sufferers. About the end of *October 1641* during the Kings abode in *Scotland*, the most barbarous and bloody Rebellion that ever any age, or Nation were guilty of, broke out in *Ireland*. The atrocity of it is without a paralell, and as full of wonder was the close carriage of so black and far-reaching a Designe. The innocent Protestants were upon a suddain disseised of their Estates, and the persons of above two hundred thousand men, women, and children murdered, many of them with exquisite and unheard of tortures, within the space of one month.

That which increased the amazement of most men, was, The consideration that the ancient hatred, which the Irish (a thing incident to conquer'd Nations) had borne to the English, did now seeme to be quite buried and forgotten; forty years of peace had compacted those two Nations into one body, and cemented them together by all conjunctures of alliance, intermarriages, and consanguinity, which was in outward appearance strengthened by frequent entertainments, and all kinds of friendly neighbourhood. There seemed in many places a mutuall transmigration (as was observed by a noble Gentleman, whose place in that Kingdom gave him means to know it, out of whose faithfull relation of that Rebellion and Massacre, I have partly

Sir Job Temple.

partly collected my discourse of it) into each others manners. *Many English strangely degenerating into the Irish manners & customes; and many Irish, especially of the better sort, having taken up the English language, apparel, and decency of living in their private houses.* The present Government was full of lenity and moderation; and some redresse of former grievances had then been newly granted by the King to his Irish subjects; The same Gentleman in his History of the Irish Rebellion (where the Reader may more fully enforme himself of particulars) affirms, that he could never hear of any one Englishman that received any certain notice of this conspiracy, till that very evening before which it was to be put in execution. Some intimations had been given by Sir WILLIAM COLE in a Letter to the Lords Justices Sir WILLIAM PARSONS, and Sir JOHN BURLACE, with the rest of the Councell, concerning dangerous resorts, and meetings of some persons who were judged fit instruments for such a mischief.

This horrid plot contrived with so much secrecy was to take effect upon the 23 of *October*. The Castle of *Dublin*, the chief strength of that Kingdom, and principall Magazine of the Kings Armes and Ammunition, where all those Armes which were taken from the late disbanded Irish Army, and others which the Earl of *Strafford* had provided, were deposited, was to be seized by nine of the clock that day by the Rebels; to which purpose many of the Irish Gentry of great quality were the night before come to *Dublin*, to be in readinesse for the performing of that exploit. It was further agreed among those conspirators, that upon the same day, all other his Majesties Forts and Magazines of Armes and Ammunition in that Kingdom should be surprized, and all Protestants and English that would not joya with them, should be

be cut off. But it pleased God to prevent the seizure of that Castle, and so to save the Kingdom from being wholly lost in one day, and that by a means strange and unexpected. HUGH MAC MAHON Esquire, grand-son to the famous Rebel TYRONE, a Gentleman of a plentiful fortune in the county of *Monagan*; and one that had served in Armes under the King of *Spain* as Lieutenant Colonel, a principal Agent in this Rebellion, and coming with others (as aforesaid) into *Dublin* the day before that great Designe was to be put in execution, being the 22 of *October*, admitted into his company at a Tavern in that City, one OWEN CONALLY, of Irish extract, but a protestant, and servant to Sir JOHN CLOTWORTHY a Member of the English Parliament. To this OWEN he revealed so much, as they were drinking, that the honest man escaping from him, though not without great danger to himself, at the present, informed the Lord Justice PARSONS that night about nine of the clock, of a dangerous Designe upon the whole Kingdom; which being taken into present consideration, MAC MAHON was apprehended, and after his examination, the Lord MAQUIRE also, another principal actor; who were both committed to close custody, and the Castle secured with all diligence. But many conspirators of great note escaped that night out of *Dublin*, as BIRNE, MORE, PLUNKET, and others.

The Lords of the Counsel, amazed at the discovery of so horrid a Treason, did notwithstanding endeavour (since there was no prevention; for MAC MAHON had plainly told them, when he was examined, that by that time all the counties of *Ireland* were risen) to use the best remedies to that desperate disease; and hoping that perchance the news how the plot for seizing of *Dublin* castle was disappointed, might somewhat d^{is}hearten

ten the conspirators in remote parts, and encourage the good Subjects, with more confidence to stand upon their guard; issued forth a Proclamation presently, and by careful messengers spread it into as many parts of the Kingdom as they could. The effect of which proclamation was to signify the discovery of the Treason, and exhort all men to their duty in suppressing of it.

But the generall Designe was past prevention; and that very day came in some poor English protestants, and others in a short time, every day, and almost every hour; shewing how they had been robbed, their houses surpris'd by the Rebels, whose outrage daily increased in rapine and murdering, and firing Towns and Villages in divers counties. To oppose therefore the growth of that desperate malady, the Lord Justices (dispatching Letters to the King in *Scotland*, and the Earle of *Leicester*, lately made Lieutenant of *Ireland* by the King, and yet resident at *London*, of their lamentable condition) examined with all diligence how they were provided for such a War. They found in *Dublin* Stores, Armes for ten thousand, with Artillery, Powder, Match and Lead proportionable, laid in by the late Earle of *Strasford*, though designed by him another way, yet reserved by Gods providence for this service. But the Officers and souldiers of the old standing army were so much dispersed into remote places of the Kingdom for the guard of other Forts; that there was scarce any possibility of drawing a considerable company together to defend *Dublin*, or make head against the Rebels in the North. The greatest mischeif to the State, and advantage to the Rebels, was, That there was no Money in the Exchequer; besides, the Kings Revenues, and Rents of English Gentlemen due for that halfe year, were either in Tenants, or Collectors hands

in the country, and must unavoidably fall into the Rebels power; so that although their disease were present, the only means of cure was remote, which was a dependence upon some supplies from the Parliament of *England*.

Upon the very day designed for surprisall of the Castle at *Dublin*, the 23 of *October*, the Northern Rebels broke out in the Province of *Ulster*, and in few dayes got possession of so many Towns, Forts, and Gentlemens Houses, within the counties of that Province, as might seeme almost incredible, if we consider only the cheif actors, men of no great skill in Martiall affairs, or any policy: such as Sir PHELIM ONEALE, and his Brother, with the rest; and not rather (which indeed was the true reason) the generall engagements of the Irish, and their deep dissimulation, concurring with the great credulity of the English, upon the causes aforementioned, of so long intermixed cohabitation, and friendly Relations betwixt them. Both these were the causes which afterward encreased the Massacre of the English, who when the fire brake out, implored the friendship of their Irish neighbors, Landlords, or Tenants; committing into their hands and protection their treasure, wives and children, with all that was dear unto them, in hope that former friendship might prevail. But they generally either betrayed them into the power of other Rebels, or perfidiously, and cruelly murdered them with their own hands: which extreme falshood, and cruelty in the Irish was thought to be much encreased by the charmings of their Priests, who told them, That it was a mortall sin to protect, or relieve any of the English.

That intermixture of the Nations, did also at this sad time, make the English lesse able to defend themselves, then if they had lived singly by parties of their own. For where the English were able

able to make any head, or stand upon their guard (though in such an amazement and suddain surprisall) they defended themselves beyond beleif, till the Irish (principled by their Preists) offered them fair Quarter; with assurance of lives and goods, safe conduct, and free passage to what places they pleased; confirming such covenants with deep oathes, and protestations, and sometimes their hands and Seales. But when they had the deceived English in their power; the Souldiers spoiled, stripped, and murdered them at their pleasure. So were many served, as at *Armagh* by Sir PHELIM ONEALE, and his Brother; at *Belterbert* by PHILIP ORELLEY; at *Longford*, *Tullough*, and other Castles in the County of *Fermanagh* by other of those Rebels. But if the English, who stood to defend their private houses, and so were the more easily cut off, could have deserted their habitations at the first rising, and joyned themselves into bodies, they might happily have made a better resistance. Whilest these inhumane cruelties and Massacres were acting in miserable *Ireland*, and daily spreading themselves in every part of that Kingdom; many Counties in several Provinces declaring themselves, and following the barbarous example of those in *Ulster*; the sad newes was brought to the Parliament of *England*.

The first Letters, which before were mentioned, sent from the Lords Justices upon the 25 of *October*, were carried, and delivered at *London* on the last day of that month by OWEN O CONALLY the happy discoverer of the first Plot; with a full information of all particulars within his knowledge: which by the Lords, who were first acquainted with it, was delivered at a Conference to the House of Commons; who presently ordered, *That the House forthwith should be resolved into a Committe, to consider the matter offered concerning the Rebellion in Ireland, as likewise to provide for the safety of England.* By

which Committee it was agreed that 50000 pound should presently be provided; and that the Loane of it should be entreated from the City of *London* upon Publick security. 2 That a Select Committee of both Houses be named to consider the affairs of *Ireland*. 3 That OWEN O. CONALLY, who discovered this great Treason, should have 500 pound presently paid him; and 200 pound *per annum* Pension, till Provision in Land of a greater value be made for him. 4 That Papists of quality be secured in their severall Counties within *England*. 5 That no persons whatsoever, except those, who are Merchants, shall be admitted to go over into *Ireland*, without Certificate from the Committee of both Houses appointed for the affairs of *Ireland*.

These things were reported to both Houses, and willingly assented too, within two dayes after the discovery first made unto them of that Rebellion. And (notwithstanding those present distractions in *England*, which began then to appear) part of every day, during that *November*, was allotted to the consideration of *Ireland*. Within four dayes after the beginning of which month, they ordered many particulars of great import for the releif of it, consisting of supplies of Money, Magazines of Victuals, Ammunition of all sorts, courtes to be taken for raising Forces for the occasions of that Kingdom; and shipping for guard of their Sea coasts; as more particularly appeareth in the records of Parliament.

Whilst the English Parliament were thus ordering the affaires of bleeding *Ireland*; other Letters from the Lords Justices bearing date the fifth of *November* were brought, and communicated to both Houses. Who in earnest zeal to the promotion of that businesse, voted two hundred thousand pounds to be raised for suppressing the Irish Rebellion, securing *England*, and payment of the Publick debts. For which, the City of *London* must of necessity be made use

use of; (collections through the Kingdom being too slow for such an urgency) And to encourage the City in it, an Order was made to secure them for monies formerly lent, and to allow them the full Interest of eight *per cent.* for altogether.

Whilst the *English* Parliament were thus busied about the releif of *Ireland*; the horrid Rebellion with a swift motion run throughout that unhappy Kingdom, many Counties daily joyning with them, and divers Lords and Gentlemen, who for many daies had lived unsuspected in *Dublin*, went into the Country to side with the Rebels, and act their parts in those inhumane outrages; the Lords Justices, and Privy Councell were enough troubled to secure *Dublin*, to victuall the Castle, and prepare defence against those dangers, which threatned the City; and were made much more by the feares of spoyled people resorting thither.

But the care of the Privy Councell extended further (notwithstanding the troubles there) then to the City of *Dublin*; and having a Magazine of Armes within the Castle, resolved so to dispose of them, as that resistance might be made against the Rebels in other parts. Some Armes were happily disposed to such Gentlemen (Sir HENRY TICHBORNE, Sir CHARLES COOTE, and others, of whom more hereafter) as to their lasting honor did excellent service. But another part were worse then losse, those which were distributed to the Lords and Gentlemen of the English Pale; who afterwards declared themselves for the Rebels, and used the Arms to the destruction of those, who put them into their hands. That English Pale is a large circuit of Land possessed at the first conquest of *Ireland* by the English, and ever since inhabited by them; containing divers Counties, as *Dublin*, *Meth*, *Louth*, *Kildare*, &c.

The Lords of the Councell thought fit to trust those

Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale both with Commissions and Armes (though many of them professed Papists) hoping that this great confidence would work so far upon their hearts, if any truth or loyalty were left there, as to keep them at least, from joyning with the Enemy; but if they were honest, would enable them to oppose the threatenning incursions of the Northren Rebels. This great Trust the Councell were more encouraged to repose in these perfidious Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, because themselves had appeared at *Dublin* of their own accords, professing truth and loyalty, with deep and solemne Protestations, and that they were most forward, and ready to concur with their Lordships in that service.

But so great an affliction was to fall upon unhappy *Ireland*, that all those Lords that were Papists, after they had received Commissions, and Armes, notwithstanding all their deep vowes, did most perfidiously soon after desert their houses, and openly declare themselves in actual Rebellion: such as were Viscount MONGANNET, GORMANSTON, and COSTELOE, DILLON, BIRNE, BELLER, TALBOT, and many others.

The Condition of *Dublin* was more lamentable every day then other; and not so much afflicted were they with feares, and dangers, which threatned themselves, as that extream sorrow, which compassion must needs work in them, toward all the suffering English which resorted thither. *Dublin* was the Sanctuary of all the despoiled Protestants; and by that meanes, the sad stage, upon which all horror was represented; and what mischeifes soever were acted in other parts, were there discovered and lamented. Their eyes were sad witnesses of the Rebels cruelty, in those despoiled English which daily resorted to the City; but their eares much more afflicted with relation of those horrid tortures which

which had been used to those who died in other parts. Their eyes could not but extremely suffer from such wretched Spectacles as daily from all parts presented themselves; People of all conditions, and qualities, of every age and Sex spoiled, and stripped, with no coverings, but ragges, or twisted straw, to hide their privities; some wounded almost to death, others frozen with cold, some tired with travell, and so furbated that they came creeping on their knees; others famished beyond all relief. And besides the miseries of their bodies, their minds tortured with the losse of all their fortunes, and sad remembrance of their husbands, wives, or children most barbarously murdered before their faces. In this most lamentable plight, with wasted bodies and distracted mindes did they arrive at *Dublin*; some to be relieved, some entombed (which was more then their murdered friends could obtaine from the Rebels) insomuch as they appeared like walking ghosts in every street, and all the Barnes, Stables, and out-houses were filled with them, where they soon died after they had recovered the City, in so great numbers, that all the Church-yards of *Dublin* could not contain them: but the Lords were enforced to take in large peeces of ground on both sides of the River, to set apart for burying places.

But that part of this wofull Tragedy, which was presented to their eyes, was the least, and but the shadow of that other, which was related to their cares, of which the Readers and all posterity may share the sorrow. Many hundreds of those which had escaped under their oathes, lawfully taken upon examination, and recorded with all particulars, (as may be seen at large in the Records) delivered to the Councell what horrid Massacres the bloody villains had made of men, women, and children; and what cruell inventions they had to torture those, whom they murdered; scarce to be equalized by any the

the most black, and balefull story of any age.

Many thousands of them at severall places (too many to be here inserted) after all despites exercised upon them living, put to the worst of deaths; some burned on set purpose, others drowned for sport and pastime; and if they swam, kept from landing with poles, or shot, and murdered in the water; many were buried quick, and some set into the earth breast-high, and there left to famish. But most barbarous (as appears in very many examinations) was that cruelty, which was shewed to great bellied women; whom the villaines were not content to murder, but ripped up their bellies, and many times took delight to see the Hogges eat the abortive Infants. But I am loath to dwell upon so sad a narration.

The greatest part of these inhumane cruelties were acted by the Irish upon the poor unarmed Brittaines, before any provocation given unto them: and the bloud of so many thousand innocent persons sacrificed to their meer malice, as many afterwards were sacrificed to their revenge; as whensoever the Irish received any blow from English Forces, the English Protestants that lived among them, were murdered in great numbers.

By this time the Lords of the Councill had armed as many as they were able, and given Commissions for raising of severall Regiments, which were put into the hands (for the most part) of gallant men, as their actions after testified to the world; Sir CHARLES COOTE an active, and valiant man, (who was also made Governor of *Dublin*) with great speed made up his Regiment out of the poor, robbed, and stripped English, which had fled to *Dublin*; Sir HENRY TICHBORNE, a worthy Commander was dispatched away with a Regiment of Foot, to keep *Tredagh* from the approaching Rebels: The Lord LAMBERT also, Sir THOMAS LUCAS, Captain ARMESTRONG, Captain

YARNER,

YARNER, with others raised by Commissions souldiers there.

This was done about the middle of *November*; at which time also the Earle of *Ormond* with his well armed Troop of Horse came to *Dublin*; where within few dayes after he was by a Commission sent from the Earl of *Leicester*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* (as likewise by the Kings approbation from *Scotland* signified in a Letter) made Lieutenant Generall of all the Forces there.

For the Earl of *Lecister* at that time was not enabled so far with necessaries for the service of *Ireland*, as to repair thither in person.

The Earl also sent over to the Lords at *Dublin* (together with an Order of the Lords and Commons of the Parliament in *England*) comfortable Letters in this time of distresse, to let them know that the King had referred the whole businesse of *Ireland* to the Parliament of *England*; who had undertaken the charge, and management of the War, had declared a speedy, and vigorous assistance, had designed for their present supplies the summe of 50000 pound, and taken order for all further provisions necessary.

But that they might not be altogether destitute of reall comfort, the Parliament of *England* sent them over at the same time Twenty thousand pound, which arrived most seasonably at *Dublin* (their treasure beginning utterly to fail) for paying those new Companies which they had raised.

About the end of *November*, the Lords Justices, and Councill of *Ireland* considering the miserable desolations brought upon that whole Kingdom, and what miseries were further threatened, Commanded by Proclamation a Publike, and religious Fast, to be weekly observed upon Friday in the City of *Dublin*, to implore the

mercy

mercy and assistance of Almighty God, and divert his heavy indignation from them.



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 entereth into the House of Commons. The Protestation of the twelve Bishops; and how it was censured by the Lords and Commons. Divers unhappy obstructions of the releif of Ireland.

BUT to leave *Ireland* struggling against her sad and wofull calamities, and returne again to the Affairs of *England*; at that same time about the end of *November 1641* the King returned from *Scotland*, was by the *City of London* entertained, feasted, and conducted to his Palace at *White-hall*, with as pompous Solemnity, and costly expressions of Love and Duty, as ever any King of *England* was.

Of which extraordinary testimonies of affection toward him, the King seemed very sensible, and returned Thanks to the City; inviting, within few dayes after, the chief of them to *Hampton Court*, where

where they were feasted, and divers Aldermen knighted by his Majesty.

While the King resided at *Hampton Court*, the House of Commons presented to him a Remonstrance or Declaration of the state of the Kingdom; wherein all the chief grievances, and oppressions, which the Nation had groaned under, since the beginning of his Raigu untill that time, were recited; but with as much tenderneffe of expression, and respect to his Person (for such care they took, as it appeared in that Petition of theirs which accompanied the Remonstrance) as so much truth could possibly be uttered. For all the fault is laid upon ill Ministers, who are there called a Malignant Party.

That Remonstrance, some little time before the Kings return out of *Scotland*, had bin with much earnestneffe debated in the House of Commons: and at that time when it was Voted, so much divided was the House, that not above nine voices carried it.

So fierce, and long were the disputations about it, and arguments urged on both sides, that not only the day, but a great part of night was spent in it. For the House arose not untill two of the clock in the morning.

The prevailing part alleadged for it (as it was afterward expressed in their Petition to the King) that *Their intention was only to inform his Majesty, his Peers, and all other his loyall Subjects; with no purpose at all of laying the least blemish upon his Person, but to represent how much his Royall Authority and Trust had been abused, to the great prejudice and danger of his Majesty, and all his good Subjects.*

It was alleadged by many Gentlemen in ordinary discourses, who were of the same opinion that the prevailing Voters in Parliament were, That such a Remonstrance might be of good use, and that the

King having perchance been ignorant in some degree, of how much evill had formerly been wrought, might by this Remonstrance be not only brought to a knowledge of his past Errors, but a salubrious fear of offending again, by considering how publick and manifest to the World the defaults of Princes in point of Government must needs appear.

The other side were of opinion, That this Remonstrance in stead of directing him for the future, would teach him only to hate the makers of it, as upbraiders of his crimes, and those that went about to lessen or blemish (and so the King seemed to relish it, as appeared in his Answer printed) his Reputation with the people. They held it fitter at such a time, when the Kings Affections were dubious toward the Parliament, to win him by the sweeter way of concealing his Errors, then by publishing of them, to hazard the provocation of him, with whom it was not behoveful to contest, unless they were in hope to change his disposition for the future, or ascertained of their own power, and resolved to make full use of it.

For mine own part, I will make no judgement at all upon it; nor can we truly judge by the success of things. But such an unhappy Genius ruled those times (for Historians have observed a Genius of times, as well as of climates, or men) that no endeavours proved successfull; nor did any actions produce the right (though probable) effects.

Who would not in probability have judged that the forementioned costly, and splendid entertainment, which the City of *London* gave to the King, would have exceedingly endeared them unto him, and produced no effects but of love and concord? Yet accidentally it proved otherwise. For many people, ill-affected to the Parliament, gave it out in ordinary discourse (*Non ignota loquor*, it is a known truth) that the City were weary of the Parliaments

ments tedious proceedings, and would be ready to joyn with the King against them. Whether it begat the same opinion in the King or not, I cannot tell; but certainly some conceived so, by actions which immediately followed, expressing a greater confidence against the Parliament then before; displacing some from such Trusts, as they had conferred on them: Insomuch that the City presently after, finding what ill use was made of these expressions, were enforced to declare themselves in a Petition to both Houses; That since some ill-affected People had interpreted their Loyal and affectionate entertainment of the King, as a sign that they would wholly adhere to him, and desert the Parliament; they openly professed the contrary; and that they would live and die with them for the good of the Common-wealth.

After which, the City, no lesse then the Parliament, did seem to be distastad both by the King and Queen.

The fears and jealousies that now reigned, were of a sadder nature then the fears of any former times had been; two years before, the people feared, that whilst this King lived, they should never see a Parliament; but now they began to fear that no Parliament could do them good.

At this time began that fatal breach between King and Parliament to appear visibly, and wax daily wider, never to be closed, until the whole Kingdom was by sad degrees brought into a ruinous War.

From henceforth no true confidence appeared between him and that high Court; every day almost contributed somewhat to the division, and Declarations upon severall occasions were published to the world; of which, though the language for the most part were fairely couched, and sweetned with frequent intermixtures of gracious expressions from the King, and affectionate professions from the Parli-
ment;

ment; yet the substance was matter of expostulation, and many intervening actions (which we shall endeavour to expresse particularly) did so far heighten them, and sharpen by degrees the stile, till those Paper-contestations became a fatall Prologue to that bloody, and unnaturall War, which afterward ensued.

The King to answer that Remonstrance before mentioned, published a Declaration to justifie his own Honor and Government; and at the same time sent a Message to the Common Councill of *London*, complaining of tumultuary assemblies of People from the City, daily resorting to *Westminster*, to the disturbance of that place, and his Palace of *White-hall*.

For people about that time in great numbers used to present Petitions to the Parliament, and make Protestations of their fidelity to them, in these times of fears and jealousies, which grew now so great, that the House of Commons, upon the same day that the King sent that complaining Message to the City, Petitioned him to allow them a Guard for security of their Persons while they sat: alleading in the Petition that there was *a Malignant Party bitterly envenomed against them, who did darly gather strength and confidence, and were now come to that height of boldnesse, as to give out insolent, and menacing speeches against the Parliament it self.* It was therefore their humble desires that they might have a Guard out of the City, commanded by the Earl of *Essex*, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesties Household, of whose fidelity to King and Common wealth no question was ever made.

Which Petition was denied by the King; but with a solemn engagement of himself by the *Word of a King*, that the security of all, and every one of them from violence was, and ever should be as much his care, as the preservation of himself and his Children, and if
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this generall assurance would not suffice to remove these apprehensions, he would command such a Guard to waite upon them, as he would be responsible for to Almighty God.

The next day after that the King had thus answered the Petition of the House, being the fourth of *January* 1641 he gave unhappily a just occasion for all men to think that their fears and jealousies were not causelesse. For upon that day the King came to the Parliament in Person, attended with a great number of Gentlemen, Souldiers, and others armed with Swords and Pistols to the number of about three hundred, who came up to the very door of the House of Commons, and placed themselves there, and in all passages neer unto it: The King in Person entered the House of Commons, and demanded five Members of that House to be delivered to him. The manner of it was, seating himself in the Speakers Chair, he asked him whether those five Members were there or not? The Speaker Mr. *WILLIAM LENTHALL*, returned to his Majesty an humble and discreet answer, That he had neither eyes to see, nor tongue to answer any thing, but what he was commanded by the House.

The names of those Members whom he demanded were Mr. *DENZILL HOLLIS* second Sonne to the Earl of *Clare*, Sir *ARTHUR HASLERIG*, Mr. *PYM*, Mr. *HAMDEN*, and Mr. *STRODE*: All Gentlemen of great esteem, and reputation in the House. Two of them Mr. *HOLLIS*, and Mr. *STRODE* having before suffered many years of sharp and harsh imprisonment from the King after the dissolution of that Parliament in the fourth year of his Reign, for matters done in Parliament contrary to the Priviledges of that High Court. The King had the day before by his Attourny Generall Sir *EDWARD HERBERT*, a Member also of the House of Commons, demanded the deliverance of those five fore-mentioned

mentioned Gentlemen; and sent a Sergeant at Armes to apprehend them, pretending that he meant to charge them, and together with them, the Lord MANDEVILLE eldest son to the Earl of MANCHESTER a Member of the House of Lords, with Articles of high Treason, and other misdemeanors: which Articles were to this purpose;

1 That they had endeavoured to subvert the Government, to deprive the King of his legall power, and to place on Subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical power.

2 That they had endeavoured by foule aspersions upon his Majesties Government, to alienate the affections of his people from him.

3 That they endeavoured to draw His late Army from His Obedience, to side with them in traiterous Designes.

4 That they trayterously invited and encouraged a forraign power to invade His Majesties kingdom of England.

5 That they trayterously endeavoured to subvert the very Rights and Beeings of Parliament.

6 That they have endeavoured by force, and terror to compell the Parliament to joyne with them in their trayterous designes, and to that end have actually raised and countenanced tumults against the King and Parliament.

7 That they have trayterously conspired to Leavy, and actually have Leavyed Warre against the King.

But

But the House of Commons hearing this demand, to prevent such further breaches of Parliament Priviledges as might ensue, upon the same day ordered upon the Quest ion; That if any persons should come to the lodgings of any Member of that House, and there offer to seale their Trunkes or Doors, or to seize upon their Persons, That then such Members should require the aide of the Constable to keep such persons in safe custody, till the House did give further Order. And they further declared, That if any Person should offer to arrest, or detain the Person of any Member of that House, without first acquainting the House therewith, and receiving further order from thence; that it should be lawfull for such a Member, or any Person in his assistance, to stand upon his, and their guard of defence, and to make resistance, according to the Protestation taken, to defend the Priviledges of Parliaments.

These things had passed the day before that the King had so entered into the House of Commons. His Majesty finding that those five Members were not there (for they by consent of the House, upon some informations of what would happen; had absented themselves) from the Speakers Chair, where he fate, made a Speech to the House, wherein he told them, That he was very sorry for that occasion; but yet, no King of England that ever was, should be more carefull to maintain the Priviledges of Parliament then he would be; that those five Members were dangerous men; but he protested in the word of a King; That he never intended any force; but to proceed against them in a legall and fair way. But sithence he could not now do that, which he came for, he would trouble them no more: but expected, as soon as those five Members came to the House, that the House would send them to him: or else he would take his own course to find them.

But this great breach of Priviledges of Parliament was encreased by many circumstances. For the day before being the third of January, contrary to the fore-

forementioned order of the House of Commons, the Chambers, Studies, and Trunks of those five Members by a Warrant from the King were sealed up; Sir WILLIAM KILLIGREW, and Sir WILLIAM FLEMEN, with others being employed in that service. And within two dayes after, upon the sixt of *January*, a Proclamation was made by the King for the apprehending and imprisoning of those five Members; wherein it was suggested, that through the conscience of their own guilt, they were absent, and fled, not willing to submit themselves to Justice.

Whereupon the House of Commons in vindication of their own Priviledges, and those five Gentlemen, published within a few dayes after, a Declaration; in which that Proclamation of the Kings (entituled there, *A Printed Paper*) is declared to be false, scandalous, and illegall; and that notwithstanding the said Printed Paper, or any Warrant issued out, or any other matter yet appearing against them, or any of them, they may and ought to attend the service of the said House of Commons, and the severall Committees then on foot: And that it was lawfull for all Persons to lodge, harbour, or converse with them, or any of them; and whosoever should be questioned for the same, should be under the protection, and Priviledge of Parliament.

The House of Commons further declared, That the publishing of severall Articles purporting a form of a Charge of high Treason against the Lord MANDREYLL, and the forenamed five Members, by Sir WILLIAM KILLIGREW, Sir WILLIAM FLEMEN, and others in the Innes of Court, and else where, in the Kings name, was an high breach of the priviledge of Parliament, a great scandall to his Majesty, and his Government, a seditious act manifestly tending to the subversion of the Peace of the Kingdome, and an injury, and dishonour

to

to the said Members, there being no legall charge, or accusation against them.

Whereas there is mention made in the late recited words of this Declaration, concerning the Innes of Court, we cannot omit, that about the same time (so unhappy a Genius of division reigned among all sorts) there wanted not some men disaffected to the Parliament, who went up and down, perswading the young Gentlemen of the Innes of Court to make offer of their service to the King, as a guard of defence, if any danger threatned his Person. Upon which, divers of those young Gentlemen, to ingratiate themselves, repaired to the Court, and were kindly received by the King and Queen.

The Parliament at that time further declared, That the Priviledges of Parliament, and the Liberties of the Subject so violated and broken, could not be fully and sufficiently vindicated, unlesse his Majesty would be pleased to discover the names of those persons, who advised his Majesty to issue out such Warrants for sealing of the Chambers and Studies of the said five Members; to send a Sergeant at Armes to the house of Commons to demand those members; to issue out Warrants for their apprehension; to come thither himself in Person; to publish Articles in the forme of a Proclamation against the said Members in the foredeclared manner; to the end that all such persons, who advised him to these actions, might receive condigne punishment.

According to this, the Houses humbly desired his Majesty that he would so far satisfie their just and legall request, as to let them know those informers (for the Law in two severall Statutes provides that satisfaction, that if in time of Parliament, the King accuse a Member of the same, of what crime soever, he ought to signifie to the Parliament, who were the informers) but the King refused to do it. Upon which the House of Commons examined his Atturney General Sir E D-

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WARD HERBERT, who had preferred the afore-
said Articles; he confessed nothing to them concern-
ing any other Person, or informer; but only that
he received the Command from the King himself, and
knew nothing further of it. The same the King tes-
tified concerning his said Attourny in a Letter to the
Lord Keeper; wherein he justifieth the Attourny his
action, as being no otherwise then the duty of a ser-
vant required. But the Parliament made another
judgement of it, as namely that Sir EDWARD HER-
BERT had broken the Priviledge of Parliament in
preferring the said Articles, and done an illegal act;
upon which he was committed to prison.

These actions of the King, did exceedingly afflict
all honest Protestants, especially at such a time, when
the affairs of bleeding *Ireland* did so much and so
speedily require the assistance of *England*; which
must needs by these unhappy distractions be retarded,
and the totall losse of the Protestant Cause there much
endangered. But the City of *London* was not the
least sensible of it; who in a deep and sorrowfull ap-
prehension of this designe, Petitioned the King with
an expression of all the fears and dangers which they
conceived themselves in at that time. The things
which they enumerate in their Petition are, *That his
Majesty had put out a Person of Honor and Trust from be-
ing Lieutenant of the Tower; That he had lately forti-
fied White-hall with men and munition in an unusuall
manner: Some of which men had abused with provok-
ing language, and with drawn swords wounded divers
unarmed Citizens passing by.* To explain this branch
of their Petition, the Reader must be informed, That
the King the very next day after he had entred the
House of Commons, as aforesaid, went in his
Coach into the City of *London*, whither he had heard
that those five Members had retired themselves; and
was every where humbly entreated by the Citizens,
in flocks about his Coach, That he would be pleased

to

to agree with his Parliament, and not infringe the
Priviledge thereof. The King perceiving which way
the affections of the City went, returned again to
White-hall, where he staid about a week after. Du-
ring which time (by what advice, or to what inten-
tion I cannot tell) he built there a little Court of
Guard, and entertained some Gentlemen, and o-
thers, who, as the Petition declares, gave those af-
fronts to divers Citizens that passed by. They com-
plain likewise in the Petition of *the late endeavours
used to the Innes of Court: the calling in divers Cano-
niers, and other assistants into the Tower: the late dis-
covery of divers Fire-works in the hands of a Papist.*
*But most of all (say they) our feares are increased by
your Majesties late going into the House of Commons at-
tended with a great number of armed men, besides your
ordinary Guard, for apprehending divers Members of
that House, to the endangering of your sacred Person,
and of the Persons and Priviledges of that Honorable
Assembly. The effects of all which feares tend, not only
to the overthrow of the whole trade of this City and
Kingdom; which your Petitioners already feel in a deep
measure; but also to the utter ruine of the Protestant Re-
ligion, and the Lives and Liberties of all your loyall
Subjects. The Petitioners therefore most humbly pray
your sacred Majesty, that by the advice of your great
Conncell in Parliament, the Protestants in Ireland may
be speedily relieved, the Tower put into the hands of
Persons of Trust, that by removall of doubtfull, and
unknown Persons from about White-hall, and West-
minster, a known and approved Guard may be appoin-
ted for the safety of your Majesty, and Parliament; and
that the Lord MANDEVILL and the five Members
of the House of Commons lately accused, may not be re-
strained of Liberty, or proceeded against otherwise
then according to the Priviledges of Parliament.*

The King, though he conceived this Petition (as
himself expressed) of an unusuall nature, yet wil-

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ling to give content to the City, returned a Gracious Answer to their particulars; That for *Ireland*, he conceived he had expressed as much care on his part; as possibly he could, and would not fail for the future. What he had done concerning the Tower, had been to satisfy their fears before, in displacing one of good Trust, and putting in another of unquestionable Reputation; and what preparation of strength soever he made there, was with as great an eye of safety and advantage to the City, as to his own Person. For his Guard entertained at *White-hall*, he allcaded the disorderly and tumultuous conflux of people to *Westminster*, to the danger of his Royall Person, not punished at all by course of Law; and if any Citizens were wounded, he was assured it happened by their own ill demcanours: that he knew no other endeavours to the Innes of Court, then a gracious Intimation, that he accepted the tender of their loyall affections, encouraging them to continue the same upon all occasions. That he knew of no Fire-works in the hands of Papists. For his going to the House of Commons, that he intended no course of violence, though that way had been justifiable; for he was assured that no Priviledge of Parliament could extend to Treason; which he knew would be proved against them upon cleer grounds, and they in due time should be acquainted with it; and that his proceedings against them should be according to the Lawes.

The King presently after his answering of that Petition, sent another Message to the Parliament, that for the present he would wave his proceedings against those five Members; and returned a gentle Answer at that time to the Petitioners of *Buckinghamshire*, who came to the number of about 2000 in behalf of their Knight Mr. *HAMDEN*, a Gentleman much honored by them, and by most of the whole Kingdom; in which Petition they prayed that Mr. *HAMDEN*, and the

the rest, that lie under the burden of that accusation, might enjoy the just priviledges of Parliament.

It was then grown a custom, which proved accidentally very unhappie to the Kingdom, however it were meant, to come in great numbers to *Westminster*, when they presented Petitions to the Parliament; though the people petitioning were unarmed, and no just fear from them in the opinion of those who affected the Parliament; yet those who thought themselves not well relished by the people in general, took occasion from thence, either to fear indeed; or at least to pretend fear, alleadging that the Parliament was disturbed by such a numerous confluence of people, and the freedom of the Houses in some degree infringed, that some of the meaner sort were too apt to cast out rude words against such as they thought to be no good members of the Common-wealth, of what degree soever they were.

From hence was occasion taken by some, to justify that Guard about *White-hall*, and afterwards to excuse the Kings absenting himself from the Parliament: And from this ground did the twelve Bishops, about a week before this City-Petition, frame their Petition and Protestation (for so it was called) to His Majestie and the Peers, which was to this purpose:

They protested themselves to abominate all actions or opinions tending to Poperie, or any Malignity against the State; but were willing and ready to perform their duties in Parliament: But whereas, coming to perform that duty and service, they have been rudely menaced, affronted, and put in fear of their lives by multitudes of people, and can finde no redresse or protection upon complaint made, they therefore humbly protest before His Majestie and the noble Peers, that saving to themselves all their Rights and Interests of sitting and voting in that House at other times, they dare not sit or vote in the House of Peers, until His Majestie shall further secure them. And
because

because their fears are not vain, but upon true grounds and objects, they do in all duty and humility therefore protest before His Majesty and the Peers, against all Laws, Orders, Votes, Resolutions and Determinations, as in themselves null, and of none effect, which in their absence since the 27 of this instant December 1641 have already passed, as likewise against all such as shall hereafter passe, during this their enforced absence from the said House. Which Protestation they desired the King to command the Clerk of that House to record.

The Lords of Parliament immediately delivered by the mouth of the Lord Keeper at a Conference, to the House of Commons, That seeing this Protestation was of dangerous consequence, and deeply entrenching upon the fundamental Priviledges and Being of Parliament, therefore they thought fit to communicate it to the house of Commons. The Commons thanked their Lordships for imparting it to them with so much affection and speed, and for expressing their sense thereof; and came to this resolution, To accuse those twelve Bishops of high Treason.

Master G L Y N N therefore was sent to the Lords; who at their Bar, in the name of all the Commons of England, accused those twelve Prelates of high Treason, for endeavouring to subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, and the very Being of Parliaments; and to desire the Lords that they might be forthwith sequestred from Parliament, and put into safe custodie; and that their Lordships would appoint a speedie day for the Commons to charge them. The Lords instantly sent the Black-Rod to finde out these Bishops, and apprehend them: so that by eight of the clock at night they were all taken, and brought upon their knees to the Bar, and ten of them committed to the Tower: two of them, in regard of their age, were committed to the Black-Rod. The twelve

twelve Bishops were these: J O. Eborac. T H O M A S Duresme, R O B E R T Coven. and Lichfield, J O S. Norwich, J O. Asaph, G U I L. Bath & Wells, G E O. Hereford, R O B. Oxon. M A T T H. Ely, G O D F R E Y Gloucester, J O. Peterborough, M O R. Landaff.

Such work as this was daily made to the Parliament of England; whereby not onely the relief of Ireland was wholly obstructed, but all redresse of the grievances of England, and settlement of the State there, was so long retarded, till both Kingdoms were at last involved in the same War and Confusion. It was a strange thing that so barbarous and bloody a Rebellion should break out in Ireland, without any the least suspicion or fear of such a Calamity, without any cause given by the innocent English Protestants: and surely it may seem as strange a thing, if well considered, that the revenge of so horrid and inhumane a Massacre should be thus hindered; and indeed might be thought almost impossible, unlesse the raising of the one, and hindering the other, proceeded from the same cause.

There was a great hope about the beginning of December, that Ireland would speedily be relieved; and Forcetransported out of Scotland within a short time to that purpose, considering what careful provisions the Parliament of England (as is before related) had made upon the first notice of it. But at that time the King was returned from Scotland; and in a Speech to the Parliament, in which he conjured them to proceed in the businesse of relieving Ireland, he likewise took notice of a Bill for pressing of Soldiers for Ireland, depending in the House of Peers, and declared his dislike of putting it in that way; being, as he said, a great infringement and diminution of his Royal Prerogative; telling them withal, that he was little beholding to that man, who began such a dispute concerning the bounds of his ancient and undoubted Prerogative. But he offered at last that the Bill

Bill might passe with a *Salvo jure* both to King and People, leaving such debates to a time that might better bear it.

This Speech of the King's was much distast'd by both Houses, as a great breach of Parliament-priviledge, insomuch as they framed a Petition to him, wherein they expresse, That the King, by taking notice of the debate in the House of Lords concerning a Bill for pressing of Souldiers, had broken the fundamental Priviledge of Parliament, which is, that *he ought not to take notice of any matter in agitation or debate in either House, but by their information and agreement; and that he ought not to propound any condition or limitation to a Bill in debate and preparation, or to manifest his approbation or dislike of the same, until it be presented to his Majesty in due course of Parliament; and that every particular Member of either House hath free liberty of speech, to propound or debate matters according to Order of Parliament; and that the King ought not to conceive displeasure against him for such opinions or propositions.* They intreated likewise a reparation for that great breach of Priviledge; and for prevention of the like, that the King would make known who they were, by whose mis-information and evil counsel he had done it, that they might receive condign punishment.

This businesse took up some time, and was one unhappie impediment to the sudden relief of *Ireland*, notwithstanding the high necessities of that Kingdom, and the affections of *England* in general to it; and so heavily went on all preparations, that it was long before the House of Commons could finde means to enable the Lord Lieutenant to send over so much as one Regiment, for defence of the Castle and City of *Dublin*, which was commanded by a worthy Gentleman Sir SIMON HARCOURT; who being designed Governour of the City of *Dublin*, was sent away by Order of Parliament with his Regiment,
and

and landed there on the last day of *December* 1641, to the great comfort of that City, being much distressed and terrified by the neer approach of the Irish Rebels.

Another obstruction of the relief of *Ireland* happened about three weeks after, when the Scots delivered eight Propositions to the English Parliament, touching the sending over of Two thousand five hundred Scots, which were then in readinesse, into the north of *Ireland*. Both Houses of Parliament consented to all the Propositions; but the King excepted against one of them, being the third, which was, *That the Scots desired to have the keeping of the Town and Castle of Carrickfergus, with power to remain there, or enlarge their Quarters at discretion; and if any Regiments or Troops in that Province should joyn with them, that they receive Orders from the chief Commander of the Scottish Forces.* Against this Article the King took exceptions, and desired the Houses to take it again into consideration, as a thing of importance, which he doubted might be prejudicial to *England*: But if the House desired it should be so, himself would speak with the Scottish Commissioners, to see what satisfaction he could give them therein. The Scots told his Majesty, that since it was agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament, and that the strength of his Majesties argument was, *That Article implied too great a Trust for Auxiliary Forces, they were in good hope that his Majesty, being their native King, would not shew lesse trust in them, then their neighbour-Nation had freely done.* Upon which the King at last was content to admit the Article, and the advice of his Parliament.

This fatal obstruction of *Ireland's* relief, did but second another immediately before: For at the first, the Commissioners of *Scotland* had not power given them from the State there, to treat for sending over a lesse number then ten thousand men; which the

Lords were unwilling to yeeld to. But that obstacle seemed to be removed by the zealous affection of the House of Commons; who according to those Instructions of the State of *Scotland* to their Commissioners, voted the sending over of ten thousand Scots. But the House of Lords, after long debate, would not yeeld unto it, unlesse the House of Commons would give assurance that ten thousand English might be as speedily sent over: which the Commons as much desired, and promised their endeavour in it; but that the English then could not be so soon raised, much lesse transported, as the Scots, every man understood. There was no other reason given, that ever I understood, but onely That it was dishonorable for *England*, that *Ireland* should be reduced by the Scots: and this was the discourse of Papists, and other persons disaffected to the Cause, among the people everywhere.

Though it were much wondered at by all good Protestants, that so nice a point of Honour should be stood upon, when their Religion and Cause lay bleeding in *Ireland* after so sad and deplorable a kinde; which began to deject the spirits of the poor Protestants in *Ireland*, and make them suspect some secret workings under-hand against the good affections expressed by the House of Commons, and those Lords who were well-affected to the State: for they by the greater number were over-voted, so many Popish and ill-affected Lords, besides four and twenty Bishops (for the Bishops voices in Parliament were not then taken away) sitting in that House.

It was then also generally talked, and much complained of among the well-affected people, that the King had been so backward in proclaiming those barbarous Irish, Rebels: and not onely talked among the people, but alleadged by the Parliament it self (in their own Declaration afterward, when the breach

between

between King and Parliament grew greater) as a signe that those inhumane Rebels had been countenanced by the Court of England, in that the Proclamation whereby they were declared Traitors, was so long with held, as till the first of January, though the Rebellion broke forth in October before; and then no more then forty Copies were appointed to be printed, with a special command from His Majestie not to exceed that number; and that none of them should be published, till the Kings pleasure were further signified, as by the Warrant appears, a true copie whereof was printed: so that a few onely could take notice of it. And this (say they) was made more observable by the late contrary proceedings against the Scots, who were in a very quick and sharp manner proclaimed, and those Proclamations forthwith dispersed with as much diligence as might be, thorow all the Kingdom; and ordered to be read in every Church, accompanied with publike Prayers and Execrations.

That Declaration of the Lords and Commons, in which this is expressed concerning the Kings slowe proclaiming of the Irish Rebels, was published when the King was gone to *Tork*; at which he was much distasted in many particulars, and returned Answer to them. Among others, because that of *Ireland* seemed to lie heavie upon his reputation; it is just that the Reader should see the King's own Answer to that point, that he may the more fairly judge; which shall be therefore inserted, in the very words of the Kings Declaration.

To countenance those unhandsome expressions whereby usually they have implied Our connivence at, or want of zeal against the Rebellion of *Ireland* (so odious to all goodmen) they have found a new way of exprobration, That the Proclamation against those bloodie Traitors came not out till the beginning of January, though that Rebellion broke out in October; and then

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by special Command from Us, but forty Copies were appointed to be printed. It is well known where we were at that time, when that Rebellion broke forth, in Scotland; that we immediately from thence recommended the care of that business to both Houses of Parliament here, after We had provided for all fitting Supplies from our Kingdom of Scotland; that after Our return hither, We observed all those Forms for that service, which We were advised to by Our Council of Ireland, or both Houses of Parliament here: and if no Proclamation issued out sooner (of which for the present We are not certain, but think that others before that time were issued by Our directions) it was, because the Lords Justices of that Kingdom desired them no sooner; and when they did, the number they desired was but twenty, which they advised might be signed by Us; which We for expedition of the service, commanded to be printed (a circumstance not desired by them) thereupon We signed more of them than Our Justices desired: all which was very well known to some Members of one or both Houses of Parliament, who have the more to answer, if they forbore to expresse it at the passing of this Declaration; and if they did expresse it, We have the greater reason to complain, that so envious an aspersion should be cast upon Us to Our People, when they knew well how to answer their own Objection.

This was the Kings Answer to that point of the Parliaments Declaration concerning Ireland. But the House of Commons in another Declaration, though long after, charge the King upon the same particular, with more circumstances of aggravation: as, *That although the Rebels had most impudently styled themselves The Queens Army, and professed that the cause of their rising was, To maintain the King's Prerogative, and the Queens Religion, against the Puritan Parliament of England; and thereupon both Houses of Parliament did humbly and earnestly advise His Majesty to wipe away this dangerous Scandal, by proclaiming them*
Rebels

Rebels and Traitors to His Majesty and the Crown of England, which then would have mated and weakned the Conspirators in the beginning, and have encouraged both the Parliaments here, and good people there, the more vigorously to have opposed their proceedings: yet such was the power of evil counsel about him, that no Proclamation was set forth to that purpose, till almost three months after the breaking out of this Rebellion; and then Command given that but forty should be printed, nor they published, till further direction should be given by His Majesty. But the business of Ireland was more particularly touched in subsequent Declarations, which in their due time and place may hereafter be related.

That Proclamation against the Irish Rebels, came not out above two days before the King entred the House of Commons; as is before expressed; by which act so great a disturbance was made, and the relief of Ireland so much retarded.

It was likewise complained of to the King by the House of Commons, within three weeks after, that since the Ports by order of both Houses (as is before mentioned) had been stopped against all Irish Papists, many of the chief Commanders, then in the Head of the Rebels, had been suffered to passe by His Majesties immediate Warrant. Of which the King cleared himself in Answer to them, that by examining his own memory, and the notes of his Secretaries, he could not finde himself guilty of granting any such Warrants.



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 denied entrance into Hull by Sir JOHN HOTHAM.

IT was wonderful that nothing at all could advance or further this great and necessary work of reducing Ireland, when so many courses were propounded and undertaken: as about the middle of February, both Houses of Parliament had found a way, which they conceived to be most substantial and firm to carry on that War; namely, by adventuring for proportions of Land in Ireland; there being, by their account, within the four Provinces of Ulster, Connaught, Munster and Leinster two millions and an half of Acres of Land forfeitable from the Rebels in those Provinces, to be shared among those Adventurers in the City of London, or other Counties thereabout, that would bring in or subscribe such Sums of money as were thought fit, and which were upon good and serious

rious consideration set down in particular; whereby, if an happy Conquest were made upon those bloody Rebels, a large recompence might be made to all those English who either in Person or Purse had contributed to so good a work. The King was well contented with these Propositions; offering withal to go himself in Person into Ireland (but that was not thought fitting by the Parliament); and so far it passed, that an Act was made to that purpose; enabling the Parliament with power to carry on that War; until Ireland should be declared to be wholly subdued; and that no Peace or Cessation of Arms should be at any time made with those Rebels, unless both Houses of Parliament assented to it.

But while these things were acting, other business, wherein the safety and security of England was concerned, fell into debate; which was touching the Militia of the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales; to be settled in every County upon such persons as the Parliament should approve. A Petition to this purpose was sent to the King, presently after they had received a Message from him, dated the twentieth of January, wherein the King in fair language desires the Parliament, since that particular Grievances and Distractions were too many, and would be too tedious to be presented by themselves, that they would comprise and digest them into one entire Body, that so His Majesty and themselves might be able to make the more clear Judgement of them; and that it should then appear, by what His Majesty would do, how far he hath been from intending or designing any of those things, which the too-great fears and jealousies of some persons, seem to apprehend; and how ready he would be to equal or exceed the greatest examples of most indulgent Princes in their Acts of Grace and Favour to the People.

This Message was received with thanks by the Parliament; who resolved to take it into speedie and serious

rious consideration. But to enable them with security to discharge their duties in those affairs, they desired the King to raise up to them a sure ground of safety and confidence, by putting in the mean time the Tower, with other principal Forts, and the whole *Militia* of the Kingdom, into the hands of such persons as the Parliament might trust, and should be recommended to him by both Houses. This Petition of theirs was not well relished by the King, as appeared by his Answer. But the thing was of so great consequence, that one Answer could not suffice.

Many reiterated Petitions were presented, and many Answers returned upon this subject, which are extant upon Record; where the King often promiseth to be careful, that no hands, but those who are very faithful to the Common-wealth, shall be by him entrusted with any part of the *Militia*; but the nomination of any persons to those places, he will reserve to himself, it being a principal and inseparable flower of his Crown, vested in him, and derived to him from his Ancestors, by the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom. The Parliament on the other side affirming, that nothing could enable them to suppress the Rebellion in *Ireland*, and secure themselves, but the instant granting of that humble Petition; which they hoped the King would not absolutely deny: That it was their duty to him and the Common-wealth, to represent unto him whatsoever they found so absolutely necessary; for the preservation of both which, the Laws both of God and man enjoyn them to see it put in execution.

During the debate of this business, and before any absolute conclusion was made of it, the King took a journey to *Canterbury*, upon what reasons, shall be anon declared. It was before related, that the King after his entering into the House of Commons to surprise the five Members, had stayed a week at *Whitehall*,

hall, and then retired to *Hampton-Court*; the next day after, divers Citizens, with a great shew of Boats, and Guns in them, brought the five Members to *Westminster*, with many expressions that they would not forsake them, who fate to defend their Religion, Laws and Liberties.

The King now resident at *Hampton-Court*, seemed extremely distasted at the Citie; and pretended the reasons of his absence from Parliament to be fear for his Person, by reason of Tumults that might be raised: but true it is, after this time, he never could be brought near the Citie or Parliament either in body or minde.

Within few days after the King had been at *Hampton-Court*, he sent for divers of his servants, who were then Members of the Parliament, to leave the House, and give their attendance upon his Person: But two, the chief of them, ROBERT Earl of *Essex*, lately made Lord Chamberlain of his Household; and HENRY Earl of *Holland*, Groom of the Stool, chose rather to obey his Writ whereby they were called to assist in Parliament about the highest affairs of *England*, then to obey this private Command of his, to come and attend at *Hampton-Court*, alleading in excuse, that their attendance in Parliament was truer service to him as King, then any other could be. For this, the King presently after sent a Messenger to demand the Staff of the one, and the Key of the other, being the Ensignes of their Offices; which they willingly resigned to the Messengers hands.

From *Hampton-Court*, about the midst of *February*, the King and Queen went to *Canterbury*, and so to *Dover*, with the Princessse MARY their eldest daughter, married, not a yeer before, to WILLIAM son to the Prince of *Orange*. The Queen her self passed from thence into *Holland*; under pretext of keeping her daughter company to her husband; (the Lady was then about ten yeers of age) which was

not at all hindered by the Parliament. But the Queen carried with her all or the greatest part of the Crown-Jewels of *England*, which immediately she pawned in *Holland*, and with that money bought Arms and Ammunition for that sad War which ensued not long after, between the King and the Parliament of *England*.

The King's stay at *Canterbury* and *Dover* was not long, nor the places so remote, but that some business might passe, though with great trouble of those Lords, and others, Members of the House of Commons, who posted between, upon all occasions. The greatest thing which was done in that time, was, that the King at *Canterbury* signed the Bill for taking away Bishops Votes in Parliament.

When the Queen and her daughter had taken Sail, the King came back to *Greenwich*, whither he sent for the Prince and Duke of *York* to come to him, and attend him in his journey to the City of *York*, which was the place which he intended to reside at, and to that purpose immediately went on his way as far as *Theobalds*; to which place he was followed with a Petition from both Houses, presented to him upon the first of *March* 1641. The substance of it was, to intreat his Majesty that he would at last be pleased to grant their necessary Petition concerning the *Militia* of *England*; which if he did refuse, in these times of distraction, they must be enforced, and did resolve to dispose of it for the safety of the Kingdom, in such manner as had been propounded to his Majesty. They likewise intreated him to continue his abode near *London*, and his Parliament, and not to take his son the Prince out of those parts: and in conclusion, desired his Majesty to be informed by them, his great Council, that by the Laws of *England*, the power of raising, ordering and disposing of the *Militia* within any Citie, Town, or other place, cannot be granted to any Corporation by Charter, or other-

otherwise, without the authority and consent of Parliament.

The King denied to give any other Answer concerning the *Militia*, then what he had before done; That he conceived himself not safe in any place near *London*; and that he would take such a care of the Prince his son, as should justify him to God as a Father, and to his Dominions as a King.

The Parliament, upon occasion of that short Answer of the King to their Petition, voted presently that that Answer was a flat Denial; and that all was truth which they had averred in their Petition, concerning the danger of his removal so far from the Parliament, and likewise carrying of his son away. It was likewise ordered by the Lords and Commons, that the Earl of *Northumberland* Lord Admiral, should give speedie directions for all the Ships belonging to the Navie Royal, to be speedily rigged, and fitted for the service of the Common-wealth.

A Declaration was drawn then by both Houses, and presented to the King at *Newmarket*, upon the ninth of *March*, by the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Holland*, with some Members of the House of Commons, wherein were represented to him some of the old Grievances expressed in the first Remonstrance at his return out of *Scotland*: as, That the designe of altering Religion had been carried on by those of greatest authority about him, for divers yeers: That the War against *Scotland* was procured in order to that designe: That the Rebellion in *Ireland* was contrived here in *England*, out of many presumptions gathered from several examinations there. They speak likewise of his attempt for bringing his Army against the Parliament, of which before mention was made, of his Warrants granted contrary to promise, for transportation of *JERMYN*, *DIGBY*, and other Delinquents; of that great breach of Parliament-Priviledge, in coming to the House of Commons to

surprife those Members: by all which they endeavour to prove their fears and jealousies grounded upon true substantial reasons, and necessary for the safety the Common-wealth entrusted to them; and that the Kings fear to reside near *London*, is altogether without ground, and pretended for nothing but to perplex the Common-wealth, proceeding from evil and traitorous Counsels; affirming, that His Majesties absence would cause men to believe, that it was out of designe to discourage the undertakers, and hinder the other provisions for relieving *Ireland*; that it would hearten the Rebels there, and all disaffected persons in this Kingdom.

The King expressed much indignation when he received this Remonstrance; complaining of the manner of it, that it was onely an upbraiding, not an invitation or perswasion of him to return to the Parliament; and told them, that in all *ARISTOTLE'S* Rhetoricks there was no such argument of Perswasion; and that he would answer it in another Declaration, which within few days after was drawn up, and published; wherein, with deep protestations, he vindicates the truth of his Religion, and justifies his other proceedings, denying those Warrants for transporting Master *JERMYN* and others, in that manner which they urge them: taxes them with their needlesse feats; and uncertain expressions of advertisements from *Rome*, *Venice*, *Paris*, and other places: recites the many gracious Acts which he had already passed this Parliament, to satisfie his People; and protests in conclusion, that he is most desirous to reside near his Parliament, and would immediately return to *London*, if he could see or hear of any provisions made for his security.

The King sent them another Message from *Huntingdon* on the 15 of *March*, being then upon his removal to the City of *Tork*; wherein he expresses his care of *Ireland*; and not to break the Priviledge of

of Parliament; but chiefly, to let them know that he understands his own Rights; forbidding them to presume, upon any pretence of Order or Ordinance (to which he is no party) concerning the *Militia*, or any other thing, to do or execute what is not warranted by those Laws; and withal recommending to them the substance of his Message of the twentieth of *January* last; that they compose and digest with all speed such Acts as they shall think fit, for the present and future establishment of their Priviledges.

These were the heads of some Declarations, Petitions, and Answers: for about this time, and for three months after, such Messages, Remonstrances, Petitions and Answers grew so voluminous upon all occasions, as might, recited *verbatim*, make a large History.

Thus is the King gone to *Tork*, while the Parliament sit at *London*, declaring in vain, and voting (as they did upon receipt of his last Message) by consent of both Houses,

1. That the King's absence so far remote from his Parliament, is not onely an obstruction, but may be a destruction to the affairs of *Ireland*.

2. That when the Lords and Commons in Parliament shall declare what the Law of the Land is; to have this not onely questioned and controverted, but contradicted; and a Command that it should not be obeyed, is an high breach of the Priviledge of Parliament.

3. That they which advised the King to absent himself from the Parliament; are enemies to the peace of this Kingdom; and justly to be suspected as favourers of the Rebellion in *Ireland*.

It may seem strange to a Reader, that the King, without any, but such bootlesse opposition as Pen and Paper can make against him, even in the sight and notice of a Parliament, whilst they not onely beheld his actions, but seemed to discern the designs,

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and foresee the effects which would flow from them, could be able to carry the work on so clearly and so far, until the whole Kingdom were thereby involved in a most calamitous and destructive War. I will not presume to publish any opinion of mine own, how or when this ruine of the Kingdom should have been prevented; but onely relate what was then done, that posterity hereafter may judge of it.

It was not unknown to the Parliament, at least not unsuspected (for it was usually talked among the people of that time) that the Queen, when she passed into *Holland*, carried with her the Crown-Jewels, to pawn or sell there: which if she did, they could not be ignorant what the intention was, or what the effect was like to prove; nor could it be unknown to them how unlawful the act was, and therefore how fit to be prevented; for they indicted her afterwards of high Treason for that fact, and were able to tell the world in a Declaration, how great a crime it is in a King himself to make away the Ornaments of the Crown, and in particular, the Jewels of it; yea, in such Kings as did it onely to spend or give away, not to maintain War against their own People, for whose preservation not onely those, but whatsoever they possesse, was first bestowed on them.

They seemed to oppose the Prince his departure from *Hampton-Court*, to attend the King his Father into the North, because it might increale fears and jealousies in the People: but the King carried him away.

Above all the rest, they were not ignorant how wonderful an obstruction to all businesse of Parliament, and to the settling of *England*, or relieving of *Ireland*, that far remoyal of the Kings Person from the Parliament must needs prove, and which themselves sufficiently expressed: That the very Journey it self, though no worse designe were in it, was in no kinde excusable, as most inconvenient, for the reasons
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aforesaid, and convenient in nothing that was ever alleadged for it. Yet the King passed quietly thither.

One designe of the King, which indeed was thought the chief of that his Northern Expedition, was prevented by the Parliament by an open and forcible way, which was the seizing upon the strong Town and Fort of *Hull*, with all that Magazine of Arms which was there deposited. But it was very remarkable what means had been used on both sides, to prevent, if it had been possible, that open denial of the King's entrance into *Hull*, and that the matter should not have come so far: Which the King conceived so great an affront to him, that it grew the subject of many large and voluminous Declarations afterward, from either Part.

For the prevention of that, before it happened, the King from *York* had sent a Message to the Parliament upon the eighth of *April* 1642, that he intended to go in Person over into *Ireland*, to chastise by force of Arms those barbarous and bloodie Rebels; and to that purpose, he thought fit to advertise the Parliament that he intended to raise forthwith, by his Commissions, in the Counties neer *Westchester*, a Guard for his own Person (when he should come into *Ireland*) consisting of two thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse, which he would arm at *Westchester*, from his Magazine of *Hull*.

But at the same time, the Lords and Commons in Parliament had sent a Petition to the King, for leave to remove the Magazine at *Hull* to the Tower of *London*; alleadging that the Stores of Arms and Ammunition in the Tower were much diminished, and that the necessity of Supplies for the Kingdom of *Ireland* (for which they had been issued from thence) daily increased: That the occasion for which the Magazine was placed at *Hull*, was taken away, there being no danger now from *Scotland*. They likewise alleadged that it would be kept in the Tower with lesse charge, and
more

more safety, and transported from thence with much more convenience for the service of *Ireland*.

The King seemed very angry at this Petition, alleadging, among other things, that if any of those Arms were designed for *Ulster* or *Leinster*, the conveyance of them would be more easie and convenient from *Hull*, then from *London*. But most of all he seemed to be exasperated (for the Parliament had used timely prevention) that they had sent to keep out from thence the Earl of *Newcastle*, whom the King in that Answer termeth *A Person of honour, fortune, and unblemished reputation*, and committed that Town and Fort (without his consent) to the hands of Sir JOHN HOTHAM.

The Parliament, as it appeared by their expression in a Declaration at that time, were much confirmed in that opinion which they had of the King's aiming at *Hull*, when he went Northward, by an intercepted Letter from the Lord GEORGE DIGBY, dated from *Middleborough* in *Zealand* the 20 of *January* 1641, to Sir LEWIS DIVES, wherein he writes, that if the King will declare himself, and retire to a safe place, he should be able to wait upon him from thence, as well as out of any part of *England*, over and above the service which he might do for him there in the mean time. The like expressions he used in another Letter to the Queen, intercepted in the same Packet, intimating some service he might do her in those parts; and desired a Cypher, whereby to hold correspondencie with her in writing. This young Lord, of whom we spake before about the death of the Earl of *Strafford*, a man of excellent parts, and one that had been acceptable to the Parliament, until his Speech about that businesse, and some other miscarriage detected upon the same occasion, was much alienated in heart from the Parliament, because that Speech of his (which he had printed against Command) was ordered to be burned by the hands of the Hang-

Hang-man; so that afterward he became a great cherisher, as appeared in divers things, of those divisions which were growing between the King and Parliament, and was voted against in the House of Commons, as a disturber of the publike peace, for appearing armed at *Kingston* upon *Thames* in an unutil and illegal manner, with other circumstances there-to belonging. Whereupon the Lords in Parliament sent for him; and if he appeared not within twenty days, proclaimed him Traitor. But he in the mean time was transported by Sir JOHN PENNINGTON into *Holland*, by a Warrant under the Kings hand, as the Declaration of the Lords and Commons to the King in *March* following expressed.

During the time that the King and Parliament were (as aforesaid) busied about getting the Magazine of *Hull*, the Parliament proceeded by degrees in setting the *Militia* in divers Counties, and putting the Commands into such hands as they reposed confidence in; as likewise to take charge of the Navie, and provide by that means against any forraign force that might assault the Kingdom. And because the Earl of *Northumberland* Lord Admiral, by reason of indisposition of health, was disenabled then for commanding the Fleet in his own person, they thereupon recommended to his Lordship the Earl of *Warwick* (a man of such ability in Sea-affairs, and such untainted reputation, as they durst highly trust) to supply his Lordships room in that employment. But understanding that the King had chosen Sir JOHN PENNINGTON into that Command, a Message was sent from both Houses to the King on the 28 of *March*, to intreat him that the employment might no longer be detained from the Earl of *Warwick*, as a noble person chosen by both Houses of Parliament in that Service, the Charge whereof was to be born by the Common-wealth.

The King refused to admit of the Earl of *Warwick*,

mick, taking great exception at the Message from both Houses, as appeared by his Letter to the Lord Keeper concerning it, that they would take upon them the nominating of the chief Sea-Commander. But the Earl of *Warwick*, within few months after, though not without some opposition of divers Gentlemen, who had before been placed in Command by the King, and strove to carry away their Ships to His Majestie, was possessed of the whole Navie: of which some more particulars may hereafter be related.

Upon the 23 of *April* 1642, the King, attended by some Noble-men, and no great train of Gentlemen and Souldiers, came before the walls of *Hull*, to demand entrance there; but he found the Gates shut, and the Bridges drawn up, by the command of Sir JOHN HOTHAM a member of the House of Commons, and by the Parliament entrusted with the Government of that Town. Sir JOHN HOTHAM appeared upon the Wall, and kneeling down there, intreated his Majestie that he would be pleased not to command that, which he must be enforced (though extremely grieved to disobey his Majestie in any thing) to deny at that time; alleading that he could not admit his Majestie, without breach of trust to the Parliament, beseeching the King to give him leave to send to the Parliament, to acquaint them with his command, and take their direction.

The King, upon this denial, grew into choler, and after some hot words, seeming not to believe that the Parliament had commanded any such thing; & to that purpose speaking, demanded of Sir JOHN HOTHAM, that if he had Order from the Parliament to keep out his Person, he should shew it in Writing; for otherwise he would not believe it. But Sir JOHN HOTHAM, because the Order was not in those expresse words, as naming the Kings particular person, though he knew the sense and meaning of the Parliament, did not produce any Writing; onely beseeching the King not

not to command him that which he might not do: Whereupon the King, after some hours spent in vain about the Town, proclaimed Sir JOHN HOTHAM Traitour; and returned, when he had received out of the Town his Son the Duke of *York*, and his Nephew the Prince Electour, whom Sir JOHN the day before had admitted into the Town, entertained, and lodged there that night.

The next day the King, in a Message to the Parliament, complained of that affront offered by Sir JOHN HOTHAM, accusing him for that he had traiterously and seditiously stroved to put his disobedience upon the Parliament, the King seeming to believe that HOTHAM had done it upon his own head, without any direction or authority from them: And within two days after, sent another Message to the Parliament, complaining in a sharper manner then before, of that great indignity, which, if they afforded him no reparation, would make the World believe that his priviledges were lesse then any Subjects in the Land; and that it was more lawful to rob him of his proper Goods, then the meanest Member of the Kingdom. He sent also, at the same time, a Letter to the Maior of *Hull*, commanding him, and all Officers of that Town, to take care that no part of the Magazine should be removed, or transported out of the Town, under any pretence of Order or Power whatsoever, without his Royal Assent, under his Hand. He caused likewise all Passages between *Hull* and *London* to be stopped up, and by that means apprehended a servant of Sir JOHN HOTHAM's, going with a Letter to the Parliament concerning the proceedings before mentioned.

The Parliament immediately, upon notice of these things, declared their reasons for *Hull*, and that the stopping of Passages, and intercepting of Messengers or Letters to or from the Parliament, or in their service, was an high breach of the Priviledges of Parliam-

ment, which by the Laws of the Land, and their Protestation, they were bound to defend, and punish the violators; authorizing, by Ordinance of both Houses, all Sheriffs, Justices, Constables, and other Officers, to aid them employed in the said service, for their more speedie, free, and safe passage; giving Order also to the said Officers within the Counties of *York* and *Lincoln*, to suppress any Armies raised to force *Hull*, or stop the passages before mentioned, in disturbance of the Kingdom's peace.

It was voted by them, two days after, that Sir JOHN HOTHAM had done nothing *but in obedience to the Command of both Houses of Parliament*. Resolved also it was upon the Question, *That this declaring of Sir JOHN HOTHAM Traitor, being a Member of the House of Commons, was an high breach of the Privilege of Parliament*. Resolved again, *That declaring Sir JOHN HOTHAM Traitor, without due Proesse of Law, was against the Liberty of the Subject, and Laws of the Land*.

An Order of Assistance was then given to the Earl of *Stamford*, the Lord WILLOUGHBY of *Parham*, Sir EDWARD AYS COUGH, Sir CHRISTOPHER WRAY, Sir SAMUEL OWFIELD, and Master HATCHER, as Committees of both Houses sent down to *Hull*, and the two Counties of *York* and *Lincoln*, for service of the Kingdom, that all Sheriffs, Justices, Maiors, &c. should be assisting to them upon all occasions.

To that Declaration, Votes, and Orders of Assistance of both Houses of Parliament, the King, on the fourth of *May*, returned an Answer, wherein at large he expresses how hainous the affront was, and how much he accounts himself injured by the Parliament, in not repairing him against HOTHAM; labouring to prove by ancient Statutes there cited, that Sir JOHN HOTHAM's denial of entrance to him, was absolutely high Treason by the Law of the Land.

Upon

Upon this subject; within the space of one week, two other Declarations and Answers passed between the King and both Houses, too large to be here inserted: but the scope of the King's Declarations in general, are to vindicate his own Rights and dignity allowed him as King, by the Laws of the Land; wherein he seemeth not to take notice of the present occasion, or such things as are conceived dangers, and thought necessary to prevent, by a Parliament sitting. The Parliament on the other side, with all humility, and reverent expressions to the Kings Person, seeming to take no notice of any affront offered or intended to his Majesty himself, but onely of preserving *Hull*, the *Militia*, and *Navie*, out of the hands of those wicked Counsellors, which they conceived to be too prevalent with him, to the danger of ruining the Kingdom and himself; both which they laboured to preserve; and were lawfully called to it by that Authority which belongs to Parliaments, by the Fundamental Constitution of English Government. They desire to inform the King, that his Interest in Towns, Arms, or the Kingdom it self, is not of that kinde that private men have interest in their Goods, to sell or dispose of at pleasure; but onely as entrusted to him for the good of all: in performance of which trust, none but the Parliament, while it sitteth, are or ought to be his Counsellors and directors: that there can be no good or useful disputation, where the Principles are not granted: and it was ever heretofore taken (say they) for a certain Principle, That the Parliament sitting is the onely Judge of what is dangerous to the Common-wealth, and what useful, as likewise what is lawful in those cases; which the King, by advice of no private Counsel whatsoever, ought to control, or contradict: which Principle till the King will be pleased rightly to apprehend, Disputations and Declarations are endlesse, and no true understanding between him and his people can be begotten.

Of

Of all these things if a Reader desire to be satisfied in particular, he may finde the questions all fully stated by the Parliament, and the King's desires expressed by himself, in two large Declarations; one called the Parliaments third Remonstrance, dated the 26 of *May*, 1642; and the King's Answer to that Remonstrance.

But things began to go on in an high manner; the Parliament authorizing Sir JOHN HOTHAM to issue out Warrants to Constables, and other Officers, to come with Arms for the defence of *Hull*: and the King on the other side, forbidding any such Warrants, bringing, or training, without an expresse Authority under his hand.

The King had summoned the Gentry of that County to attend him at the City of *Tork*, which they accordingly did, upon the 12 of *May*, 1642; where he caused, after he had spoken some few words to them, to be read aloud in their hearing, his Answer to the Declaration of both houses concerning *Hull*, the Answer of the Parliament to his two Messages concerning *Hull*, together with his Reply to the same, and his Message to both houses, declaring the reasons why he refused to passe that Bill of the *Militia*: after which, he proceeded in a Speech to them, wherein he strove to make them apprehend, that traitorous attempts might be against his Person; and for that reason he desired a Guard of Horse and Foot to be levied there for his defence. He complained likewise that the Committee of Parliament consisting of four Members of the house of Commons, FERDINANDO Lord FAIRFAX, Sir HUGH CHOLMLEY, Sir PHILIP STAPLETON, and Sir HENRY CHOLMLEY, refused to obey his Command: for they being there employed in their own County by the Parliament, to do service to the State, were commanded by the King to depart out of the County; which they durst not do, against the intention of the Parliament, who employed them

them there. But the King in that Speech to the County, bade them take heed of those four Gentlemen, not knowing what doctrine of disobedience they might preach to the people, under colour of obeying the Parliament. The King's Speech and Declaration read, seemed to be much applauded by many Gentlemen, and their servants: as when those things which came from the Parliament were read, the same persons expressed much scorn, hissing, and reviling the language and reason of them.

But divers of the Gentry, and greatest part of the Free-holders, began with sorrow to consider that this division of the King from his great Council, could produce nothing but misery to the Kingdom, and dishonour to himself: and therefore they humbly answered his Propositions concerning a Guard, That they were willing to do any service, or expose their lives to any hazard for the safety of his Majesties Royal Person; yet they thought themselves unworthy to advise him in a thing of so high consequence; but humbly beseeched him to impart the grounds of his fears and jealousies to his high Court of Parliament, of whose loyal care and affections to the King's honour and safetie, and prosperitie of the whole Kingdom, they were most confident. And in behalf of the four fore-mentioned Members of Parliament lately employed to attend your Majestie (said they) from both Houses, being all Gentlemen of quality and estate in the County; we humbly crave your Majesties leave to expresse our confidence in their unstained loyalty to your Majestie, so far as that you may securely admit their attendance to negotiate their employments, until they shall be recalled by the Parliament. And we do all engage ourselves for their fidelity, as being most assured that your Royal Person shall be secure in the General loyalty of your Subjects in this County, without any extraordinary Guard.

The King was presented also, the next day, with a Petition

Petition from many thousands, who termed themselves *peaceably-affected Subjects in the County of York*, in which expressing their loyalty and affection to him, they speak thus: *We are confident that no so absolute and hearty observance of your Majesties just commands can be demonstrated, as when you shall in Parliament declare them: If they be divided (which God forbid) our hearts eventremble to consider the danger, and diminution of the honour and safety of your Self and Kingdom; since it is clear to every understanding, that it is not a divided part of one or several Counties, can afford that honour and safety to your Majesty, as the whole Kingdom: Which you may command, no ground of fear or danger remaining, if a good confidence were begot betwixt your Majesty and the Parliament; whose grave and loyal Counsels are, as we humbly conceive, the visible way, under God; to put a speedie end to the troubles in Ireland; and establish your Throne in Righteousnesse. And lastly, we humbly supplicate that we may represent our unfitness to become Judges betwixt your Majesty and Parliament in any thing, or dispute the Authority of either; which we humbly conceive do fortifie each other, &c.*

The King was not well satisfied, or pleased with this Petition, but persisted still in his former way of raising Forces, under the name of a Guard; whilst the Parliament were voting to maintain those Gentlemen their Committee in the North, in such things as they have done, and shall further do in obedience to their commands, for preservation of the Kingdom's Peace; as also to maintain their Ordinance concerning the *Militia*, and to issue out Commissions into all parts of the Kingdom, and appoint certain days for all the Trained Bands to be exercised in each County according to that Ordinance; and that some Members might be sent into the several Counties, to see the Ordinance performed; and the Magazines of those several Counties in *England and Wales* to be forthwith put

put into the power of the Lord Lieutenants of the said Counties, being such as were entrusted by the Parliament. And whereas the King had made Proclamation for all the Gentlemen and others of that County to attend him in Arms as a Guard; the Parliament three days after declared, that it was against the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, that any of the Subjects thereof should be commanded by the King to attend him at his pleasure, but such as are bound thereto by special service; and that whosoever, upon pretence of his command, shall take Arms, and gather together with others in a warlike manner, to the terrour of the King's people, shall be esteemed disturbers of the publike peace: and that the Sheriffs of those Counties where such raising or drawing of armed men should be, should immediately raise the power of the Countie to suppress them, and keep the King's Peace according to Law.

So different and directly contrary, at this time, were the Commands of the King and Parliament, in all things, that the Lords in Parliament having been informed that the King was resolved to adjourn the next Term from *Westminster* to *York*, and had given command to the Lord Keeper to issue Proclamations and Writs to that purpose, voted that such a removal of the Term, while the Parliament sate, was illegal; and ordered that the Lord Keeper should not issue any Writs, or seal any Proclamation tending to that end.



CHAP. III.

Many Members of both Houses leave the Parliament, and repair 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 York. Some Votes of Parliament concerning the King's proceedings. A Petition, with nineteen Propositions sent from the Parliament to the King.

THe King proceeded in his earnest endeavour of raising Forces, as a Guard for his Person : which in some measure he had effected, by many fair expressions of love and grace to the people of those Northern Counties, and serious Protestations of the cleanness of his intent from any violation of Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, or making War against the Parliament. But the Kingdom was not much affrighted with any Forces which the King could so raise ; nor could any other attempt of his in the Northern parts, make the people fear a Civil War, until they saw that great defection of the Parliament Members ; which began before the end of *April*, and continued for the greatest part of that *May* : for at that time did the Lords one after another, and sometimes by numbers, abandon the Parliament sitting,

sitting, and go to the King at *York* ; infomuch that in a very short space, those Lords became the greater number ; and their departure began therefore to seem lesse strange, then the constant sitting of the rest. The Lords who left the Parliament, were these : the Duke of *Richmond*, Marquettie *Hartford*, the Earls of *Lindsey*, *Cumberland*, *Huntingdon*, *Bath*, *Southampton*, *Dorset*, *Salisbury* (although *Salisbury*, within few days after, repenting himself, made a secret escape from *York* to *London*, and joyned himself again to the Parliament, with whom he continued constant ever after) *Northampton*, *Devonshire*, *Bristol*, *Westmerland*, *Barkeshire*, *Monmouth*, *Rivers*, *Newcastle*, *Dover*, *Carnarvan*, *Newport* ; the Lords *MATREVER'S*, *WILLOUGHBY* of *Eresby*, *RICH*, *HOWARD* of *Charleton*, *NEWARK*, *PAGE*, *CHANDOYS*, *FAWCNERIDGE*, *PAWLET*, *LOYELACE*, *SAVILLE*, *COVENTRY*, *MOHUN*, *DUNSMORE*, *SEYMOUR*, *GREY* of *Ruthen*, *CARREL*. Within the same compasse of time, many of the house of Commons, though no great number ; in respect of those who continued in that house, did likewise so far break that trust which was reposed in them, as to forsake their seats in Parliament ; some of them, as was reported, invited by Letters from the King, and others of their own accord.

At the revolt of so many members from the Parliament, the Kingdom in general began to fear ; and all that loved the Nations Peace, were in an high measure dismayed ; among whom nothing was to be heard, in all meetings and discourses, but sad presages of misery to the Kingdom, if Almighty God did not in a miraculous way prevent it : They concluded that no other way could have been found out to endanger the overthrow of that Parliament ; which many open attempts and secret conspiracies could not do : That as the ruine of *England* could not in probability be wrought but by it self ; so the Parliament could

could not be broken (a Prologue to the other) but by her own Members, and that sentence verified, *Perditio tua ex te*. Though the opinions of men differed concerning the censure of those Members; while some condemned, others in some degree excused them; according as affection and private interests did lead them: yet concerning the Effects which that Revolt in all probability must produce, all rational men concurred in opinion, that nothing but Calamity and Ruine could flow from it. What else (said they) can this Revolt do, but nourish and increase the King's disaffection to the Parliament? What, but encourage his distance from it, and attempts against it? What, but secure the Irish Rebels, and endanger the losse of that Kingdom; cherish Papists, obstruct Justice, and give impunity to all Delinquents? Nothing else had power to undermine and shake the dignity and reverence belonging to that high Court; whilst not onely the People by that diminution of their number, were perswaded to esteem of it as an imperfect Parliament; but the King might take that advantage of it (which proved true in his succeeding Declarations and Writings, what he never did before) as to call them a Faction, or pretended Parliament; and such like.

In censuring those Lords and Commons who deserted the Parliament, the People, as was said before, did much differ. Some considering how great the number was; that many of them were of whole estates, of good reputation, and able parts, began to think, or at least to say, that the Parliament was not free enough; that those Members (which was also their own excuse) were curbed by a prevalent faction in the Houses, and over-awed by tumults from the City of London. Upon that occasion, they called to minde in what manner the names of nine and fifty Members of the House of Commons had been posted up at the Exchange, for dissenting from the rest

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about condemning of the Earl of *Strafford*; besides what menacing speeches had been given by rude people to some Lords, whom they thought ill-affected.

Others answered, that although such things had been rashly and foolishly done by some unadvised persons, yet it could not be feared that any tumults from the Citie would ever violate a Parliament sitting; and that the tumultuous appearance of such multitudes from the Citie, was rather intended for encouragement and security of the Parliament against such invasions as might be made upon them, to aw their just freedom, and treacherous Conspiracies which by report were made against them by people disaffected to that high Court; which that Plot of bringing the Army against them formerly, and late resorts of armed persons about *White-hall*, gave them cause to fear: That no fears of danger could be pretended from the House it self against any Member; but such as that Member was bound to undergo and suffer, rather then betray so great a trust of the people: That it was to be presumed, no Member of Parliament who was well-affected to his Country, could suffer any thing from the house it self; whose ends and counsels must needs be supposed to tend to the publike good, or else our Ancestours, who constituted that Frame of Government, were much deceived: That it was very improbable the Liberty of Subjects should be violated by that Court, which is the onely defence and conserver of it, and without which, it had always suffered from Princes; yea, such Princes as were not very wicked.

They alleadged that it was very dishonourable for those Lords, being the greater number, to pretend fear for deserting the Parliament: for if it were upon a true dislike of any proceedings there, they were enow to have stayed, and perchance have cured those inconveniences; and too many to have suffered in a good Cause; though Honour would command one man

man alone, lawfully called to it, to maintain a truth with any hazard. On the other side, they were too many to flee, to encourage the King against his Parliament, and thereby foment that dissention which could produce no good effect.

It was alleadged by many men, that some of those Lords were Noble-men of honourable and vertuous repute. Though that were not denied, nor could any certain signe from the former demeanours of the Lords in general, arise, to distinguish who were likely to adhere to the Parliament, and who to desert it (for they were deceived on both sides, in some particulars) yet certainly it was averred, that those Lords whom the people had most especially trusted in, as true Patriots, proved to be part of those who continued in the House; and those whom the people in general distasted or distrusted, happened to be among those who upon this occasion forsook the Parliament.

It was likewise frequently spoken, that those Members of the House of Commons who deserted it, were men generally of as able parts as any that continued there. It was no wonder, (replied others) but very probable that they were such men, and such as had, or thought they had good parts enough to be looked upon, by a Prince: for those men (though we should esteem them all of equal honesty) were likeliest to fall off. There is a difference between Wisdom and good Parts, such as we count Eloquence, Wit, polite Learning, and the like: and that Wisdom which is least adorned with such dresses as these, is usually at such times most safe in it self, and freest from being corrupted; as that Beauty is, which is set off with the least witchery of Attire: for that Beauty which is curiously decked, as it is most subject to be tempted by others; so it is most apt to be proud of it self, and by consequence, to betray it self to such a temptation as is great enough. So it hath been often seen in this case (as was observed by an old

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Parliament-man) that those Gentlemen of fine parts, when other men of a plainer wisdom have had the honour in a constant way to do excellent service for the Common-wealth, have been won from their Countrey's cause; as soon as Majestie hath at all vouchsafed to tempt them, or that perchance their opinion of themselves hath made them meet or seek such a temptation. Besides that danger of invitation from a King, it hath been too often known, that men of such parts, or that think so of themselves, have been apter to take pet, and grow angry, when any Speech of theirs hath not received that honour which they expected, or any other affront hath been offered to them; and what such an anger may make proud and ambitious spirits to do, even against their own Country, and the dictates of their Conscience and Reason, the world hath been taught by many examples, some of high consequence, and very remarkable, such as C O R I O L A N U S the Romane, and J U L I A N the Spanish General, which for the eminence of the persons, and extraordinary effects which they wrought in the world, must needs fall into Record; when the actions of mean and private men are buried in oblivion. Besides, there are many, whose Callings make them capable of easer and greater gratifications from the King than other men; as Lawyers and Divines; who will therefore be apt to lean that way where the preferment lies. Such discourses were frequent in all companies at that time, for different affections did at all meetings beget such argumentative language.

What sense and apprehension the Parliament had of so many Members forsaking their station, shall appear anon, by a Vote passed in the House of Commons, and presented to the Lords by Master DENZIL HOLLIS, after some intervening passages have been related.

Whilst the King encouraged and strengthened by this great accession of reputation to his side, pursued

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his designe of raising Forces in the North; the Parliament, after that they had on the twentieth of *May* petitioned the King to disband such Forces, and rely for his security (as his Predecessours had done) upon the *Laws*, and affections of his People, contenting himself with his usual and ordinary Guards; declared that otherwise they held themselves bound in duty towards God, and the Trust reposed in them by the People, and by the Fundamental Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom, to employ their care and utmost power to secure the Parliament, and preserve the Kingdom's Peace; and immediately it was voted in Parliament, and resolved upon the Question, *That it appears that the King, seduced by wicked Counsel, intends to make War against the Parliament, who in all their consultations and actions have proposed no other end unto themselves, but the care of his Kingdoms, and the performance of all duty and loyalty to his Person.* It was likewise resolved upon the Question, *That whensoever the King maketh War upon the Parliament, it is a breach of the Trust reposed in him by his People, contrary to his Oath, and tending to the dissolution of this Government.* As also, *That whosoever shall serve or assist him in such Wars, are Traitors by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, and have been so adjudged in two Acts of Parliament; 11 RICH. 2. and 1 HEN. 4: and that such persons ought to suffer as Traitors.*

But those Lords who had forsaken the Parliament continuing still with the King in the Northern parts, the Parliament by an Order of the 30 of *May*, summoned nine of them, who first had gone away, to appear at *Westminster*; viz. the Earls of *Northampton*, *Devonshire*, *Dover*, and *Monmouth*; the Lords *HOWARD* of *Charleton*, *RICH. GREY* of *Ruthen*, *COVENTRY*, and *CAPEL*: but they utterly refused to come away, returning an Answer in writing; which the Parliament judged to be a slighting and

and scornful Letter: Upon which, a Vote was passed against them in the house of Commons, and presented on the 15 of *June* to the Lords, by Master *HOLLIS*; with an Oration of his own concerning the importance of the business; the greatest part of which Speech being here inserted, may give light to the Reader concerning the condition of the Kingdom at that time; and the judgement of the Houses upon it.

His Speech began thus:

“My Lords, By command of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the house of Commons; I come hither to your Lordships in behalf of the Parliament, or rather in behalf of the whole Kingdom, labouring with much distraction, many fears, great apprehensions of evil and mischief, intended against it; and now hatching and preparing by that malignant party, which thirsts after the destruction of Religion, Laws and Liberty; all which are folded up, cherished and preserved in the bosome of the Parliament.

“It hath ever been the policie of evil Counsellors (who are the greatest enemies we have in the world, or can have) to strike at Parliaments, keep off Parliaments, break Parliaments, or divide Parliaments, by making Factions, casting in Diversions and Obstructions, to hinder and interrupt the proceedings of Parliament; all against the Parliament.

“Your Lordships have had experience of this Truth this Parliament; a succession of designs upon it: First, to awe it, and take away the freedom of it by the terrour of an Army; then, to bring Force against it, actually to assault it, and with the Sword to cut in sunder this onely Band, which ties and knits up King and People, the People among themselves, and the whole frame of this Govern-
ment,

ment in one firm, and I hope indissoluble knot of Peace and Unity.

God diverted those designs, did blowe upon them; presently, another is set upon, which was, To obstruct and hinder our proceedings, that in the mean time the flame of Rebellion might consume the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and distempers, distractions and jealousies be somented here at home, to tear out the bowels of this Kingdom, the Parliament being disabled from helping it, by occasion of so many diversions, so much businesse cut out unto it, many obstructions and difficulties; especially that great one, from whence all the rest receive countenance and support, his Majesty's absenting himself, not concurring with us, and so withdrawing both his presence and influence; by which means such remedies could not be applied as were necessarily, and what was done, was done with infinite trouble to the Parliament, and excessive charge to the Subject, double, treble, what otherwise would have served the turn: So the Subject is grieved, and oppressed with charge, and the blame of all is laid upon the Parliament, and the Parliament unjustly said to be the cause of all these Evils, which the authors of them had made so great, and so confirmed and secured by the frequent interruptions of the Parliament, that they could not suddenly nor easily be suppressed or removed.

Well, by God's infinite blessing, the Parliament was in a fair possibility to wade thorow this likewise; and though the Night had been black and stormy, some Day began to appear: miraculously our Armies have prospered in *Ireland*, and God be praised, the malevolent practices of these Vipers at home, as they appeared, were in some sort mastered; and the Parliament began to act and operate towards the settling of the great Affairs both of Church and State, and providing for the defence and safety of this Kingdom,

dom, against either forraign Invasion, or any striving of the disaffected party among themselves.

Then three ways are together assayed for the weakning and invalidating the proceeding and power of the Parliament, and making way for the utter subversion of it.

1. Force is gathered together at *York*, under pretence of a Guard for His Majesties Person, to make an opposition against the Parliament, and by strong hand to support and protect Delinquents, so as no Order of Parliament can be obeyed, but on the other side is slighted and scorned, to make the Parliament of no reputation, to be but *Imago Parliamenti*, a meer shadow, without substance, without efficacy.

2. To send out in His Majesties name, and as Declarations and Messages from him, bitter invectives against the Parliament, to perplex it, and engage it in expence of time to answer them: and besides, cunningly to insinuate and infuse into the people by false colouts and glosses, a disopinion and dislike of the Parliament, and if it be possible, to stir up their spirits to rise against it, to destroy it, (and in it, all other Parliaments) to the ruine of themselves, their wives and children.

3. The third Plot is: The Members are drawn away, and perswaded to forsake their duty and attendance here, and go down to *York*, thereby to blemish the actions of both Houses, as done by a few and an inconsiderable number, and rather a Party than a Parliament, and perhaps to raise and set up an anti-Parliament there.

My Lords, this is now the great Designe, whereby they hope by little and little the Parliament shall even bleed to death, and moulder to nothing, the members dropping away one after another: a desperate and dangerous practice, and as your Lordships well observed (when you were pleased to communicate the businesse to us) an effect of the

“evil Counfels now prevailing; and tending to the
 “dissolution of the Parliament, of this Parliament,
 “which under God must be the preserver of three
 “Kingdoms, and keep them firm and loyal to their
 “King, subject to his Crown, save them from being
 “turned into a Chaos of disorder and confusion, and
 “made a dismal spectacle of misery and desolation;
 “this Parliament, which is the last hope of the long-
 “oppressed, and in other Countries even almost
 “wholly-destroyed Protestant Religion: this Parli-
 “ment, which is the onely means to continue us to be
 “a Nation of freedom, and not of slaves; to be ow-
 “ners of any thing: in a word, which must stand in
 “the Gap, to prevent an in-let and inundation of all
 “misery and confusion.

“My Lords, this Parliament they desire to destroy;
 “but I hope it will destroy the destroyers, and be a
 “wall of Fire to consume them, as it is a wall of Brass-
 “to us, to defend King, and Kingdom, us, and all
 “we have.

“Your Lordships wisely foresaw this Mischiefe,
 “and as wisely have endeavoured to prevent it, by
 “making your Orders to keep your Members here;
 “as that of the ninth of *April*, and several other Orders
 “enjoyning them all to attend; thereby restraining
 “them from repairing to *York*, where the Clouds
 “were observed to gather so fast, threatening a storm,
 “and such preparations to be made against the Parlia-
 “ment, that it necessitated both Houses to passe a
 “Vote, *That the King, seduced by wicked Counsel,*
 “*intended to make War against the Parliament: and all*
 “*who shall serve and assist in such Wars, are declared*
 “*to be Traitors:* which Vote passed the 20 of *May*:
 “so setting a mark upon that place, and their opini-
 “on concerning those who should at this time resort
 “thither.

“Yet now, in such a conjuncture of time, when
 “the Kingdom had never more need of a Parliament,
 “and

“and the Parliament never more need of all the help
 “and assistance, of the best endeavour and advice of
 “every Member; the Safety, and even Being of three
 “Kingdoms depending on it; after such Orders and
 “Commands of your Lordships Houle to the contra-
 “ry; such a Vote of both Houses; and expressly
 “against their Duty; being called thither by Writ
 “under the Great Seal, which is the King's greatest
 “and highest Command, and not controllable, nor
 “to be dispensed with by any other Command from
 “him whatsoever; and called to treat and consult *de*
 “*arduis Regni*, the great urging and pressing affairs of
 “the Kingdom, never more urgent, never more pres-
 “sing: notwithstanding all this, these Lords, the
 “Earls of *Northampton, Devonshire, Dover, Mon-*
 “*mouth*; the Lords, *HOWARD of Charlton, RICH,*
 “*GREY, COVENTRY, and CAPEL*, have left
 “their stations, withdrawn themselves, and are gone
 “to *York*; and being summoned to appear by an Or-
 “der of the 30 of *May*, in stead of obedience, return
 “refusal, by a slighting and scornful Letter, which
 “hath been so adjudged both by your Lordships, and
 “the House of Commons.

“My Lords, the House of Commons hath like-
 “wise, upon the consideration and debate of this bu-
 “sinesse, finding it so much to concern the safety of
 “the Kingdom, and the very Being of the Parlia-
 “ment, passed this Vote; *That the Departing of these*
 “*nine Lords from the Parliament without leave, after*
 “*such a time as both Houses had declared, That the*
 “*King, seduced by wicked Counsel, intended to make*
 “*War against the Parliament; and their still continuing*
 “*at York, notwithstanding their Summons and Com-*
 “*mand, is an high Affront and Contempt of both Hou-*
 “*ses; and that the said Lords did as much as in them*
 “*lay, that the service of Parliament might be deserted,*
 “*and are justly suspected to promote a War against the*
 “*Parliament.*

“The

“ The House in further prosecution of their duty
 “ in this Particular, and in pursuance of their Prote-
 “ station, which obliges them to endeavour to bring to
 “ condign punishment all such high offenders against,
 “ not only the Priviledges, but the very Essence of
 “ Parliament, have sent me up to impeach these
 “ Lords, and desire that speedy and exemplary Justice
 “ may be done upon them.

“ And accordingly, I do here, in the name of the
 “ Knights, Citizens and Burgeses of the Commons
 “ House assembled in Parliament, and in the name of all
 “ the Commons of England, Impeach SPENCER Earl
 “ of Northampton, WILLIAM Earl of Devonshire,
 “ HENRY Earl of Dover, HENRY Earl of Mon-
 “ mouth, CHARLES Lord HOWARD of Charleton,
 “ ROBERT Lord RICH, CHARLES Lord GREY
 “ of Ruthen, THOMAS Lord COVENTRY; and
 “ ARTHUR Lord CAPEL, for these high Crimes
 “ and Misdemeanours following; viz. For that, contra-
 “ ry to their duty, they being Peers of the Realm; and
 “ summoned by Writ to attend the Parliament; and con-
 “ trary to an Order of the House of Peers of the ninth of
 “ April last, and several other Orders requiring the at-
 “ tendance of the Members of that House; and after a
 “ Vote past in both Houses the twentieth of May last,
 “ That the King, seduced by wicked Counsel, intended
 “ to make War against the Parliament; and that who-
 “ ever served or assisted him in that War, was adjudged
 “ a Traitor; did notwithstanding afterwards, in the
 “ same month of May; contemptuously, having notice of
 “ the said Votes and Orders, withdraw themselves from
 “ the said House of Peers, and repair to the City of
 “ York, where the preparations of the said War were,
 “ and yet are, in contrivance and agitation; they know-
 “ ing of such preparations: and being by an Order of
 “ the thirtieth of May duely summoned by the House of
 “ Peers, to make their appearance before that House upon
 “ the eighth day of June last past, they refused to ap-
 “ pear,

“ pear, and returned a scornful Answer by a Letter un-
 “ der their hands, directed to the Speaker of the Lords
 “ House, and remaining there upon Record.

“ For which Crimes and Misdemeanours, to the inter-
 “ ruption of the proceedings of Parliament, and great
 “ Affairs of the Kingdom, and tending to the dissolution
 “ of the Parliament, and disturbance of the Peace of the
 “ Kingdom; I am commanded, in the name of the said
 “ Commons, to demand of your Lordships that the said
 “ Lords may be forthwith put to their Answer; and re-
 “ ceive speedy and exemplary punishment, according to
 “ their demerits. The Commons saving to themselves
 “ liberty at all times hereafter, to exhibite any other or
 “ further Impeachment or Accusation against the said
 “ Lords, or any of them.

Upon this Impeachment of the nine Lords, the
 House of Peers, about a month after, being in their
 Robes, entred into debate of the said Impeachment;
 and after divers Speeches made by some Lords, set-
 ting forth the greatnesse of their Offence, they were
 censured, 1. Never to sit more as Members of that
 House. 2. That they should be utterly incapable
 of any benefit or priviledges of Parliament. 3. That
 they should suffer Imprisonment during their plea-
 sure. After which Censure, it was concluded that
 the said Lords should be demanded, in the behalf of
 both Houses of Parliament, to submit to the said Cen-
 sure.

About that time, when the Members of both Hou-
 ses of Parliament did daily forsake their station, and
 repair to the King at York, another accident fell out,
 which gave a great wound to the Parliament, and
 much encouragement to the King in his designes;
 which was the carrying away of the Great Seal of
 England from London to York.

EDWARD Lord LITTLETON, on whom the
 King, when the Lord Keeper FINCH fled out of
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England, as is before related, had conferred the keeping of the Great Seal (he being before Lord chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, and created a Baron of the Realm) had continued for some space of time, after the rest were gone to *York*, firm to the Parliament in all appearance, and upon all occasions voted according to the sense of those that seemed the best affected that way; and among other things, gave his Vote for settling the *Militia* by Ordinance of Parliament; infomuch that there seemed no doubt at all to be made of his constancy; till at the last, before the end of the month of *June*, a young Gentleman, one Master *Thomas Eliot*, Groom of the Privie Chamber to the King, was sent closely from *York* to him; who being admitted by the Lord Keeper into his private Chamber, when none else were by, so handled the matter, whether by perswasions, threats, or promises, or whatsoever, that after three hours time, he got the great Seal into his hands, and rid post with it away to the King at *York*.

The Lord Keeper *LITTLETON*, after serious consideration with himself what he had done, or rather suffered, and not being able to answer it to the Parliament; the next day, early in the morning, rode after it himself, and went to the King.

Great was the complaint at *London* against him for that action; nor did the King ever shew him any great regard afterwards. The reason which the Lord Keeper *LITTLETON* gave, for parting so with the great Seal, to some friends of his who went after him to *York*, was this; That the King, when he made him Lord Keeper, gave him an Oath in private, which he took, That whensoever the King should send to him for the great Seal, he should forthwith deliver it. This Oath (as he averred to his friends) his conscience would by no means suffer him to dispense withal; he onely repented (though now too late) that he had accepted the Office upon those terms.

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The Parliament, to prevent so sad a War, sent out two Orders; one, to all Sheriffs, Justices, and other Officers within 150 miles of the City of *York*, that they should take special care to make stay of all Arms and Ammunition carrying towards *York*, until they have given notice thereof to the Lords and Commons, and received their further direction; and to that purpose, to keep strict Watches within their severall limits, to search for, and seize all such Arms, and apprehend the persons going with the same: The other was to the Sheriff of *Lancashire*, and other adjacent Counties, to suppress the raising and coming together of any Souldiers, Horse or Foot, by any Warrant from the King, without the advice of the Lords and Commons in Parliament; as likewise to declare all that should execute any such Warrant from the King, disturbers of the peace of the Kingdom; and to command the Trained Bands to be assistant to the Sheriffs in that service.

These Orders of the Parliament were immediately answered by a Proclamation from the King, forbidding all his Subjects belonging to the Trained Bands, or *Militia* of this Kingdom, to rise, march, muster, or exercise by vertue of any Order or Ordinance of one or both Houses of Parliament, without Consent or Warrant from his Majesty. The Parliament notwithstanding proceed in settling the *Militia* of the Kingdom (having made on the second of *June* an Order for those revolted members to return to their duty again before the 16 of that month, under the forfeiture of an hundred pound, to be disposed to the Wars in *Ireland*, besides undergoing such punishment as the Houses should think fit) and had by this time at many places began to settle the said *Militia*.

Upon the same second of *June* also, the Lords and Commons sent a Petition to the King, with nineteen Propositions; which the King received with great

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great indignation, as appeared in his Answer to them both in general, and in divers Particulars concerning those Propositions, as esteeming himself injured in restraint of his Power and Prerogative. The Petition and Propositions were as followeth.

The humble Petition and Advice of both Houses of Parliament; with Nineteen Propositions, and the Conclusion sent unto His Majestie the second of June, 1642.

Your Majesties most humble and faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, having nothing in their thoughts and desires, more precious and of higher esteem (next to the honour and immediate Service of God) then the just and faithful performance of their duty to Your Majestie, and this Kingdom; And being very sensible of the great distractions and distempers, and of the imminent dangers and calamities which those distractions and distempers are like to bring upon Your Majestie and Your Subjects; all which have proceeded from the subtil informations, mischievous practices, and evil counsels of men disaffected to Gods true Religion, Your Majesties Honour and Safety, and the publique Peace and Prosperity of Your People, after a serious observation of the causes of those Mischiefs; Do in all humility and sincerity present to Your Majesty their most dutiful Petition and Advice, that out of Your Princely Wisdom, for the establishing Your Own Honour and Safety, and gracious tenderneſſe of the Welfare and Security of Your Subjects and Dominions, You will be pleased to grant and accept these their humble Desires and Propositions, as the most necessary effectual Means, through God's blessing, of removing those Jealousies and Differences which have unhappily fallen betwixt You and Your People, and procuring both Your Majesty and Them a constant course of Honour, Peace, and Happiness.

The Propositions.

1. That the Lords and others of Your Majesties Privie Council, and such great Officers and Ministers of State, either at home, or beyond the Seas, may be put from Your Privie Council, and from those Offices and Employments, excepting such as shall be approved of by both Houses of Parliament: And that the Persons put into the Places and Employment of those that are removed, may be approved of by both Houses of Parliament: And that Privie Counsellors shall take an Oath for the due execution of their places, in such form as shall be agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament.
2. That the great Affairs of the Kingdom may not be concluded or transacted by the advice of private men, or by any unknown or unsworn Counsellors; but that such matters as concern the Publike, and are proper for the high Court of Parliament, which is Your Majesties great and supreme Council, may be debated, resolved and transacted onely in Parliament, and not elsewhere: and such as shall presume to do any thing to the contrary, shall be reserved to the censure and judgement of Parliament: And such other matters of State as are proper for Your Majesties Privie Council, shall be debated and concluded by such of the Nobility and others, as shall from time to time be chosen for that place, by approbation of both Houses of Parliament. And that no publike Act concerning the Affairs of the Kingdom which are proper for Your Privie Council, may be esteemed of any validity, as proceeding from the Royal Authority, unlesse it be done by the Advice and Consent of the major part of Your Council, attested under their hands. And that Your Council may be limited to a certain number, not exceeding twenty five, nor under fifteen. And if any Councillours place happen to be void

in the interval of Parliament, it shall not be supplied without the assent of the major part of the Council; which voice shall be confirmed at the next sitting of Parliament, or else to be void.

3. That the Lord high Steward of *England*, Lord high Constable, Lord Chancellour, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord Treasurer, Lord Privie Seal, Earl Marshal, Lord Admiral, Warden of the Cinque-Ports, chief Governour of *Ireland*, Chancellour of the Exchequer, Master of the Wards, Secretaries of State, two Chief Justices, and Chief Baron, may always be chosen with the approbation of both Houses of Parliament; and in the intervals of Parliaments, by assent of the major part of the Council, in such manner as is before exprest in the choice of Counsellours.

4. That he or they unto whom the Government and Education of the King's Children shall be committed, shall be approved of by both houses of Parliament; and in the intervals of Parliament, by the assent of the major part of the Council, in such manner as is before exprest in the choice of Counsellours: And that all such Servants as are now about them, against whom both Houses shall have any just exceptions, shall be removed.

5. That no Marriage shall be concluded or treated for any of the King's Children, with any forraign Prince, or other person whatsoever abroad or at home, without the consent of Parliament, under the Penalty of a *Præmunire* unto such as shall be concluded, or treat any Marriage as aforesaid: And that the said Penalty shall not be pardoned or dispensed with, but by the consent of both houses of Parliament.

6. That the Laws in force against Jesuites, Priests, and Popish Recusants, be strictly put in execution, without any Toleration or Dispensation to the contrary: And that some more effectual course may be enacted by Authority of Parliament, to disable them
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from making any disturbance in the State, or eluding the Law by Trusts or otherwise.

7. That the Votes of Popish Lords in the house of Peers may be taken away, so long as they continue Papists: And that Your Majestie will consent to such a Bill as shall be drawn, for the education of the children of Papists by Protestants, in the Protestant Religion.

8. That Your Majestie will be pleased to consent that such a Reformation be made of the Church-Government and Liturgie, as both Houses of Parliament shall advise; wherein they intend to have Consultations with Divines, as is exprest in their Declaration to that purpose: And that Your Majestie will contribute Your best assistance to them, for the raising of a sufficient Maintenance for preaching Ministers thorough the Kingdom: And that Your Majestie will be pleased to give Your Consent to Laws for the taking away of Innovations, and Superstition, and of Pluralities, and against scandalous Ministers.

9. That Your Majestie will be pleased to rest satisfied with that course that the Lords and Commons have appointed for ordering of the *Militia*, until the same shall be further settled by a Bill: And that Your Majestie will recal Your Declarations and Proclamations against the Ordinance made by the Lords and Commons concerning it.

10. That such Members of either Houses of Parliament as have during this present Parliament been put out of any Place and Office, may either be restored to that Place and Office, or otherwise have satisfaction for the same, upon the Petition of that House whereof he or they are members.

11. That all Privie Counsellours and Judges may take an Oath, the Form whereof to be agreed on and settled by Act of Parliament, for the maintaining of the Petition of Right, and of certain Statutes made by this Parliament, which shall be mentioned by both
Houses

Houses of Parliament : And that an enquiry of all the breaches and violations of those Laws, may be given in charge by the Justices of the Kings Bench every Term, and by the Judges of Assize in their Circuits, and Justices of the Peace at the Sessions, to be presented and punished according to Law.

12. That all the Judges, and all the Officers placed by approbation of both houses of Parliament, may hold their places *quam diu bene se gesserint*.

13. That the Justice of Parliament may passe upon all Delinquents, whether they be within the Kingdom, or fled out of it : And that all persons cited by either House of Parliament, may appear, and abide the censure of Parliament.

14. That the general Pardon offered by Your Majesty, may be granted with such Exceptions as shall be advised by both Houses of Parliament.

15. That the Forts and Castles of this Kingdom may be put under the Command and Custodie of such persons as Your Majesty shall appoint, with the approbation of Your Parliament ; and in the intervals of Parliament, with approbation of the major part of the Council, in such manner as is before expressed in the choice of Councillours.

16. That the extraordinary Guards and Military Forces now attending Your Majesty, may be removed and discharged ; and that for the future You will raise no such Guards or extraordinary Forces, but according to the Law, in case of actual Rebellion or Invasion.

17. That Your Majesty will be pleased to enter into a more strict Allegiance with the States of the United Provinces, and other Neighbour Princes and States of the Protestant Religion, for the defence and maintenance thereof against all designs and attempts of the Pope and his adherents to subvert and suppress it ; whereby Your Majesty will obtain a great access of strength and reputation, and Your Subjects
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be much encouraged and enabled in a Parliamentary way, for Your aid and assistance in restoring Your Royal Sister and her Princely Issue to those Dignities and Dominions which belong unto them ; and relieving the other distressed Protestant Princes who have suffered in the same Cause.

18. That Your Majesty will be pleased, by Act of Parliament, to clear the Lord *Kymboiton*, and the five Members of the House of Commons, in such manner, that future Parliaments may be secured from the consequence of that evil president.

19. That Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to passe a Bill for restraining Peers made hereafter from sitting or voting in Parliament, unless they be admitted thereunto with the consent of both Houses of Parliament.

And these our humble Desires being granted by Your Majesty, we shall forthwith apply our selves to regulate Your present Revenue in such sort as may be for Your best advantage, and likewise to settle such an ordinary and constant increase of it, as shall be sufficient to support Your Royal Dignity in Honour and Plenty, beyond the proportion of any former Grants of the Subjects of this Kingdom to Your Majesties Royal Predecessours. We shall likewise put the Town of Hull into such hands as Your Majesty shall appoint, with the consent and approbation of Parliament, and deliver up a just account of all the Magazine, and chearfully employ the uttermost of our endeavours in the real expression and performance of our most dutiful and loyal affections, to the preserving and maintaining the Royal Honour, Greatnesse, and Safety of Your Majesty, and Your Posterity.

Hen. Elsyng, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

To

To these Propositions sent from the Parliament, the King returned such an Answer, as shewed that he was much displeas'd with the whole Businesse : For before his particular Answers to the severall Propositions, he complaineth in general, and those very sharp expressions of the method of their proceedings against him : and that the Cabalists of this businesse (for so he calls them) have used great art and subtilty against him, first to strengthen themselves with unlawful power, before they make their illegal demands. He taxes them, that first they had removed the Law it self, as a rub in their way, and pressed their own Orders and Ordinances upon the people (tending to a pure arbitrary power) as Laws, and required obedience to them, without the consent or concurrence of himself. That they had wrested from him the command of the *Militia*, (a thing inherent in his Crown) countenanced the Treason of *HOTHAM* against him, and directed to the people invectives against his Government, to weaken his just authority and due esteem among his Subjects; casting upon him aspersions of a strange nature, as, that he should favour a Rebellion in the bowels of his Kingdom. He complains likewise that they had broached (for so he calls it) a new Doctrine, namely, that the King is bound to passe all Laws that shall be offered to him by both Houses of Parliament: a point of policie fit for their present businesse, as destructive to all his Rights. That they have overawed his Subjects, in stifling all Petitions that did not please them; and filled the peoples ears with needlesse fears, and jealousies, and such like things, before they thought his Majestie sufficiently prepared to take those bitter Pills. For (saith he) *if they had unseasonably vented such Propositions, as the wisdom and modestie of their Predecessours never thought fit to offer to any of Our Progenitours, nor We in honour or regard to Our Regal Authority (which God hath intrusted Us with for the good of Our People) could receive without*

out just indignation (for such many of the present Propositions are) their hopes would soon have been blasted, and those persons to whom Offices, Honours, Power, and Commands were designed, by such ill timing of their businesse, would have failed of their expectation, not without a brand upon the Attempt. Therefore he saith, that they had made before-hand those fore-named preparations. The King seems to doubt likewise, because the Parliament have not told him that this is all they desire of him, that these Propositions are probably intended to make way for a Superfetation of a (yet) higher nature. And in the Propositions in general he observes, that the Contrivers of them (the better to advance their true ends) disguised as much as they could, their intents with a mixture of some things really to be approved by every honest man, others specious and popular, and some already granted by him: All which (saith he) are cunningly twisted, and mixed with other things of their main designe of ambition and private interest.

But the King desires not to be understood so, as if he intended to fix this designe upon both or either House of Parliament: for he utterly professeth against it, being most confident of the loyalty, good affections, and integrity of the intentions of that great Body, and knowing well that very many of both Houses were absent, and many dissenting from all those particulars of which he complains: but that he believes, and accordingly professes to all the world, that the malignity of this designe hath proceeded from the subtil informations, mischievous practices, and evil counsels of some ambitious turbulent spirits, disaffected to God's true Religion (using their own language) the Unity of the professors thereof, his Honour and Safety, and the publike peace and prosperity of the people. (And such other like General expressions.)

In particular, the King expressed himself with great
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indignation against ten of their Propositions, which were the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 15, 16, 19: averring, that if they did intend the establishment of his honour, together with the security of his people (as their profession is) they would not offer him such Propositions: for that Profession, joynd to these Propositions, appeared to his judgement as a mockery and scorn.

He averreth further, that their Demands are such, as that he were unworthy of that Royal descent from so many famous Ancestours, unworthy of the Trust reposed in him by the Laws, if he should devest himself of such a power so inherent in his Crown, and assume others into it; protesting, that if he were both vanquished, and a prisoner, in worse condition then any the most unfortunate of his predecessours had ever been reduced unto, he would never stoop so lowe as to grant those demands, and to make himself of a King of *England*, a Duke of *Venice*.

The severall Answers that the King made, and Arguments that he used to each severall branch of those Propositions, are too large to be here inserted, and may be read by those that would be further informed, in the printed Book of Parliament-Declarations and Ordinances.

CHAP.



CHAP. V.

An Order for the bringing in of Plate and Money into Guild-hall. The King's 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 Navie, as Lord Admiral. The Earl of Essex is voted in Parliament to be Lord General of all their Forces.

IN the tenth day of *June* following, an Order was made by both Houses of Parliament for bringing in of Money and Plate, to maintain Horse, Horse-men and Arms for Preservation of the Publike Peace, and defence of the King's Person (for that the Parliament in their expressions always joynd together with their own safety) and both Houses of Parliament. Wherein it was expressed, that whosoever should bring in any Money or Plate, or furnish any Horse-men and Arms for that purpose, should have their Money repayed with Interest, according to eight in the hundred; for which both Houses of Parliament did engage the Publike Faith.

Four Treasurers were ordained, whose Acquittances for the receipt of any Sum, should be a sufficient ground to the Lenders to demand their Money and

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Plate

Plate again with the Interest belonging thereunto. The Treasurers were Sir JOHN WOLLASTON Knight and Alderman of *London*, Alderman TOWES, Alderman WARNER, and Alderman ANDREWS. Commissaries also were appointed to value the Horse and Arms which should be furnished for that service.

It was desired in that Order, that all men resident in or about *London*, or within 80 miles, would bring in their money, Plate, or Horse within a fortnight after notice; and they that dwell farther off, within three weeks: and that those who intended to contribute within the time limited, but were not for the present provided of money or Horse, should subscribe, that it might be soon known what provision would be for effecting of that great and important Service. And in conclusion, it was declared, that whatsoever was brought in, should be employed to no other purposes but those before mentioned; the maintenance of the Protestant Religion, the King's Person, dignity and authority, the Laws of the Land, the Peace of the Kingdom, and Priviledges of Parliament.

Whilest this Order was drawing up, advertisement by Letters was given to the Parliament, that the Crown-Jewels were pawned at *Amsteldam*, and other places of the *Netherlands*; upon which money was taken up, and Warlike Ammunition provided in those Parts, as Battering-pieces, Culverins, Field-pieces, Morter-pieces, Granadoes, with great store of powder, pistols, carabines, great saddles, and such like. Whereby the Parliament thought they could not otherwise judge, then that the King did plainly intend a War against them, and had designed it long before.

They received intelligence at the same time, that the King had sent a Commission of *Array* into *Leicestershire*, directed to the Earl of *Huntington*, the Earl of *Devonshire*, and M^r HENRY HASTINGS, second son to the

the Earl of *Huntington* (for the Lord HASTINGS eldest son to that Earl, did then adhere to the Parliament) which three were chief in the Commission; but many other Knights and Gentlemen of that County were named in it. Together with this Commission of *Array*, the King sent a Letter also, containing the reasons of it, wherein he complaineth that the Parliament, by their Ordinance for the *Militia*, would devest him of that power which is properly inherent in his Crown. And for the occasion and reason of that Commission, he urgeth a Declaration of their own, using their very expressions and words in his Letter; that whereas it hath been declared by Votes of both Houses of Parliament, the fifteenth of *March* last, that the Kingdom hath of late been, and still is in evident and imminent danger, both from enemies abroad, and a Popish disconted party at home; he concludes, that for the safeguard both of his own Person and People, there is an urgent and inevitable necessity of putting his people into a posture of defence, &c. Thus did the Parliaments Prologue to their Ordinance of *Militia*, serve the King's turn for his Commission of *Array*, *totidem verbis*. The copie of which Commission and Letter coming into the hands of the Parliament, it was resolved upon the Question by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, that *this Commission of Array for Leicester is against Law, and against the Liberty and Property of the Subject*: and resolved again upon the Question, within two days after, *That all those that are actors in putting the Commission of Array in execution, shall be esteemed as disturbers of the Kingdoms Peace, and betrayers of the Liberty of the Subject*. It was also ordered by both Houses, that this Commission of *Array*, and the fore-mentioned Votes, should be forthwith printed, and published thorow the Kingdom.

The King was not wanting to his own designe in the mean time, and whatsoever might give countenance

nance to the businesse he had in hand: but made a short Declaration to the Lords who then attended him at York, and others his Privie Council there, in these words:

We do declare, that We will require no obedience from you; but what is warranted by the known Laws, as We expect that you shall not yeeld to any Commands not legally grounded, or imposed by any other. We will defend all you, and all such as shall refuse any such Commands, whether they proceed from Votes and Orders of both Houses, or any other way, from all danger whatsoever. We will defend the true Protestant Religion established by the Laws, the lawful Liberties of the Subjects of England, and just Priviledges of all the three Estates of Parliament; and shall require no further obedience from you, then as We accordingly shall perform the same. We will not, (as is falsely pretended) engage you in any War against the Parliament, except it be for Our necessary defence against such as do insolently invade, or attempt against Us and Our Adherents.

Upon this Declaration of the King, those Lords and others of his Council made a Promise to him, and subscribed it with their hands, as followeth.

We do engage our selves not to obey any Orders or Commands whatsoever, not warranted by the known Laws of the Land. We engage our selves to defend Your Majesties Person, Crown and Dignity, with Your just and legal Prerogative, against all Persons and Power whatsoever. We will defend the true Protestant Religion established by the Law of the land, the lawful Liberties of the Subjects of England, and just Priviledges of Your Majestie, and both Houses of Parliament. Lastly, we engage our selves not to obey any Rule, Order or Ordinance whatsoever, concerning any Militia, that hath not the Royal Assent.

Subscribed

Subscribed by

L. Keeper, D. of Richmond, Ma. Hertford, E. of Linsey, E. of Cumberland, E. of Huntington, E. of Bath, E. of Southampton, E. of Dorset, E. of Salisbury, E. of Northampton, E. of Devonshire, E. of Bristol, E. of Westmerland, E. of Barkeeshire, E. of Monmouth, E. of Rivers, E. of Newcastle, E. of Dover, E. of Carnarvan, E. of Newport, L. MOWBRAY and MATREVERS, L. WILLOUGHBY of Eresby, L. RICH, L. CHARLES HOWARD of Charleton, L. NEWARK, L. PAGET, L. CHANDOYS, L. FALCONBRIDGE, L. PAULET, L. LOVELACE, L. COVENTRY, L. SAVILE, L. MOHUN, L. DUNSMORE, L. SEYMOUR, L. GREY of Ruthen, L. FAWKLAND, the Controller, Secretary NICHOLAS, Sir JOHN CULPEPER, Lord Chief Justice BANKS.

The King immediately wrote a Letter to the Lord Maior of London, the Aldermen and Sheriffs, forbidding by expresse Command any Contribution of Money or Plate, toward the raising of any Arms whatsoever for the Parliament; and that they should lend no Money, unlesse toward the relief of Ireland, or payment of the Scots. He published then a Declaration to all his Subjects, inveighing bitterly against the Parliament, for laying a false and scandalous imputation upon him of raising War against the Parliament, or levying Forces to that end: in which he invites all his loving Subjects, to prevent his own danger, and the danger of the Kingdom from a malignant party (taking up the Parliaments language) to contribute Money or Plate to him, and they shall be repayed, with consideration of eight in the hundred. And immediately upon it made a Profession before those forementioned Lords and Councillours about him (calling God to witnesse in it) disavowing any preparations

tions or intentions to levie War against the Parliament: upon which, those forementioned Lords, and others, then present at *York*, made this Declaration and Profession, subscribed under their hands.

We whose names are under-written, in obedience to His Majesties Desire, and out of the Duty which we owe to His Majesties Honour, and to Truth, being here upon the place, and witnesses of His Majesties frequent and earnest Declarations and Professions of His abhorring all designs of making War upon the Parliament; and not seeing any colour of Preparations or Counsels that might reasonably beget the belief of any such Designe, do professe before God, and testifie to all the world, that we are fully perswaded that His Majestie hath no such intention; but that all his endeavours tend to the firm and constant settlement of the true Protestant Religion, and the just Priviledges of Parliament, the liberty of the Subject, the Law, Peace and Prosperity of this Kingdom.

The King strengthened with Arms and Ammunition from *Holland*, and more strengthened (for as yet he wanted hands to weild those Arms) by this Protestation of Lords in his behalf concerning his intention of not making War against the Parliament, whereby the people might more easily be drawn to side with him, proceeded in his businesse with great policie and indefatigable industry. His Pen was quick in giving answer to all Petitions or Declarations which came from the Parliament; and with many sharp expostulations, in a well-compiled Discourse, on the 17 of *June*, answered a Petition of the Parliament; which Petition was to this effect, that he would not disjoyn his Subjects in their duty to himself and Parliament, destroying the Essence of that high Court; which was presented to him at *York* by the Lord HOWARD, Sir HUGH HOLMELY, and Sir

Sir PHILIP STAPLETON: And within three weeks, both in his own Person, and by his Messengers, with Speeches, Proclamations, and Declarations, advanced his businesse in a wonderful manner. At *Newark* he made a Speech to the Gentry of *Nottinghamshire* in a loving and winning way, commending their affections toward him; which was a great part of perswasion for the future, coming from a King himself. Another Speech he made at *Lincoln*, to the Gentry of that County, full of Protestations concerning his good intentions, not onely to them, but to the whole Kingdom, the Laws and Liberties of it. In that short time also, by the help of many subtil Lawyers, whom he had about him, he returned a very long and particular Answer, with arguing the case in all points, to a Declaration which the Parliament had before made against the Commission of *Array*, expounding that Statute 5 HEN. 4, whereupon that Commission was supposed to be warranted. The proofs and arguments on both sides, are to be read at large in the Records, or in the printed Book of Ordinances and Declarations, where a Reader may satisfie his own judgement. Within that time also the King sent out a Proclamation against levying Forces without his Command, urging Laws and Statutes for it: And another long Proclamation to inform the people of the legality of his Commissions of *Array*, and to command obedience to them. Another he sent forth against the forcible seizing or removing any Magazine of Ammunition of any County; and another, forbidding all relieving or succouring of *Hull* against him. Upon which, the Parliament declared, that those Proclamations, without their assent, were illegal; and forbade all Sheriffs, Maiors, &c. to proclaim them, and all Parsons and Curates to or publish them.

From *York* the King removed to *Beverley*; from whence he sent a Message to both Houses, and a Proclamation

clamation concerning his going to *Hull*, to take it in; requiring, before his journey, that it might be delivered up to him. But that Message of his came to the House of Peers, after they had agreed upon a Petition, which was drawn up, to move the King to a good accord with his Parliament; to prevent a Civil War; to be carried to him, and presented at *Beverley*, by the Earl of *Holland*, Sir JOHN HOLLAND, and Sir PHILIP STAPLETON. That very Petition seemed to them so full an answer to the King's Message, that both Houses resolved to give no other answer to that Message, but the said Petition. But immediately after, a Declaration was published by both Houses of Parliament, for the preservation and safety of the Kingdom, and the Town of *Hull*; with assurance of both Houses to satisfy all losse sustained by any service done for the safety of the said Town, by reason of overflowing of water upon the grounds there, to all persons who should be found faithful in their several services.

The King continued resolute in his intention of gaining *Hull*: By what means he attempted it, and how those attempts proved to be frustrate, is now the subject of a short Discourse.

The Town of *Hull* was not more considerable to the Kingdom as a Maritime and strong place, then it was now made remarkable to the world in many high and famous circumstances of this Civil War: for which cause, I shall the more particularly insist upon it.

Hull was the place which (being intrusted with so rich a Magazine of Ammunition) did probably allure the King to forsake a Parliament sitting at *London*, and visit the North. *Hull* was the place where the King in person did first finde his Commands denied, and his attempts resisted in an actual way; which proved the subject of so many Declarations and Disputations of State and Government: and *Hull* is the place which must now bear the first brunt of his armed indignation. The

The King with an Army of three thousand foot, and one thousand horse, was removed from *York* to *Beverley*, a Town distant from *Hull* six miles; and intending to besiege *Hull* by Land (expecting also that Sir JOHN PENINGTON with some of his ships should stop the passages, and cut off provisions from relieving the Town by Sea, though that expectation were made frustrate by the Earl of *Warwick* his seizing on the Navie Royal) proclaimed that none, on pain of death, should convey any provision or relief thither. He disposed many men in cutting of Trenches, to divert the current of fresh water that ran to *Hull*, and sent two hundred horse into *Lincolnshire* under the command of the Lord WILLOUGHBY son to the Earl of *Lindsey*, and Sir THOMAS GLENHAM, to stop all relief of it from *Burton* upon *Humber*.

Sir JOHN HOTHAM perceiving the King's intentions and endeavours, and knowing him to be in person within an hour and half march of the Town, having first sent three Messengers, one after another, with humble Petitions to him, who were all laid fast by the King, and not suffered to return; called a Council of War, in which it was debated, Whether or not they should permit the enemies to march near the Town with their Ordnance, holding them play from off the Walls and Out-works, until the Tide came to its hight, and then draw up the Sluce, and let them swim for their lives. But a more merciful advice prevailed, which was, (for prevention of so many deaths) to draw up the Sluce presently, having the advantage of a Spring-tide, and drown all the Countrey about *Hull*. But Sir JOHN HOTHAM, before it was done, gave the inhabitants and owners of land thereabout sufficient and timely notice to remove their Cattel, and all their goods, and assured them (which was ratified by the Parliament upon the Publike Faith) that whatsoever damage they received thereby,