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A study in the inter-action of political and religious forces
in the period between the fall of Richard Cromwell and the
Restoration of Charles II.

They who when Saul was déad, without a blow
Made foolish Ish-bosheth the crown forego;
Who banished David did from Hebron bring,
And with a general shout proclaimed him King.

(Absalom and Achitophel; Dryden's Works, IX 219.)

J. LESLIE NIGHTINGALE.

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N O T E .

As the thesis is largely concerned with the main stream of English history between May 1659 and May 1660, dates are invariably given in the English style, i.e. ten days behind the Continental style. When the Continental style is given, the letters N.S. (New Style) are added after the date.

The following are printed in red type :

All references and explanatory notes in text.
Appendix work.
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I. THE FALL OF RICHARD CROMWELL.

When the greatest of all English Puritans, Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, worn out with toil and strain, breathed his last on September 3rd 1658, his sceptre fell into the hands of his amiable but ineffective eldest surviving son. Born in 1626 and trained as a lawyer, Richard Cromwell had served as a Member of Parliament, but had had little or no experience as a soldier in the Great Rebellion. Though this fact later weakened his position with the Army, it told to his advantage in the country. His gracious manners, and Cavalier rather than Puritan tastes further suggested that he might be the person to change the Protectorate into a constitutional monarchy. (D.N.B. "Richard Cromwell"; Noble, Mems. House. Cromwell, I 158 ff.)

One of the bulwarks of the Oliverian government had been the loyal service of worthy and capable ministers and officials. These same ministers formed a steady phalanx of "lions beneath the throne" of the new ruler. (Noble, Mems. House. Cromwell, I 446.) Hallam has attempted to argue that Richard's fall was due not only to the fact that he was Oliver's son, but because of odious measures for which his ministers were largely responsible. He mentions especially St. John, Pierrepont, and Thurloe, and even suggests that had the Protectorate continued Richard inevitably must have sacrificed Thurloe at least to the deep seated hostility of the country. But though it is true that Thurloe was the target of bitter pamphlet attacks, accusing him of being the principal instrument of arbitrary government, and the person chiefly responsible for the banishment of good subjects, ("Twelve Queries humbly proposed", 1659, p.4.) yet the facts which Hallam marshals are insufficient to prove such discontent as he supposes to have existed. (Hallam, Const. Hist. I 679 footnote 1.)

At first all seemed well. Richard's accession was unopposed, and loyal addresses poured in from the country. (C.S.P. Dom. 1658-9 129; Reliq. Baxt. I 100; Harris, Charles II, 187-8 188-90 190-1 192-8;

Neal, Hist. Puritans, IV 209 211-2; Burton's Diary, III Intro. v-vi; Secret Hist Court Charles II, I 57; Merc. Pol. Mar 24-31; Oppenheim, "The Navy of the Commonwealth", E. H. R. XI /1896/ 36; Ramsey, R. Crom. 44-6; "Musarum Cantabrigiensis Luctus et Gratulatio: Ille in Funero Oliveri Angliae Scotiae Hibernae Protectoris; haec de Ricardi Successione Felicissima, ad Eundem! /66 pp. / 1658.) A Parliament which met on January 27 1659, elected on the most generous conditions allowed since 1640, seemed to show that England was beginning to settle down under the new form of government. Presbyterians and even some ex-Royalists, who had never been able to give their sympathy to the regicide Oliver, were decidedly more favourable to his civilian son. (Reliq. Baxt. I 100; "A Lively Pourtraict of our New Cavaliers" / 1661/ p. 8.) Scotland " lay very quiet " (Baillie's Letters II 425.) under General Monk, Oliver's devoted friend and servant, Henry Cromwell was at the helm in Ireland, and the faithful Lockhart was Governor of Dunkirk. Though there were some ominous rumblings from some malcontents in the Army, and some Republican irreconcilables (Thurloe, S. P. VII 374; Burton's Diary II 557; "XXV Queries modestly and humbly and yet seriously and sadly proposed to the Commons of England and their Representatives, and likewise to the Army in this Juncture of Affairs." / 14 pp. / 1659.) for some months domestic interest was concentrated on the Parliament, which in typical English fashion harassed the Protector over the question of supplies, Then the Commons turned their attention to the " Other House ", and a long dispute began. (Ludlow II 59; Christie I App. IV lxiii-lxxiii; Bordeaux to Mazarin Ap 17 N. S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 350; "A Seasonable Speech made by a worthy member of Parliament in the House of Commons, concerning the Other House," Harl. Misc. III 468-73; and vide Burton's Diary III and IV, and C. J.)

But by the end of March the centre of interest was shifting. Attendances at the House of Commons had shrunk to less than half the total membership. A formidable coalition had arisen, which was destined to shake and overthrow the Protectorate. Though the troops in Scotland, Ireland and Dunkirk were loyal, the same could not be

said of their English brethren. The Army which had triumphed at Naseby, had deposed and executed its King, had purged and finally expelled the Long Parliament, was a politically minded force. Oliver had never attempted to abolish its right to debate and theorise, and indeed the Army played a dominating part in settling that the Protectorate should not be transformed into a monarchy. Probably the chief reason for Oliver's action in turning his back on a crown was his knowledge of his Army's bitter hatred for the very name of King. The soldiers were determined that those rights they had enjoyed under Oliver were not going to be taken away by Richard. The fact that Richard—eminently a civilian—was, as Protector, also Commander in Chief of the Army was a further source of irritation, and promptings were not lacking that a soldier should be appointed to the chief command, receiving his commission from Protector and Parliament. ("An Expedient for the preventing of any difference cit. V. Ranke III 229.) The increased number of Anabaptists in the Army had contributed to the spread of democratic views. Before 1649 there were very few highly placed officers of that persuasion, but by 1659 a large number held commands, especially in the influential cavalry regiments. (Neal, Hist. Puritans, IV 469-70; Crosby, Hist. Baptists, II 2-5.) The financial problem accentuated the differences between Government and Army. Though Oliver had striven to keep down rates of pay to a reasonable level, nevertheless they had risen to an alarming extent and by 1659 had become positively outrageous. A colonel of foot received 45/- a day, (in modern values well over £3000 per annum), and many officers had succeeded in amassing fortunes. Only the foot soldiers were badly paid. A clash with the civil government on these grounds was inevitable. (Firth, "Cromwell's Army" 188 190; Sir Thomas May, cit. Muddiman, "King's Journalist" 18.) Thus the very men who had gloried in Oliver as "the Moses that had led them out of the House of Bondage resolved to set up Fleetwood as their captain and to return again into Egypt." (Skinner, "Monk" 78.) The Army was strengthened in its opposition to the Government by the friendliness shown to it by the rigid Republicans, though the latter had bitterly attacked the military in the near past as the betrayers of the Good Old Cause. (Isaac Penning-

ston the Younger, "To the Parliament, the Army, and all the well-affected in the Nation, who have been faithful to the Good Old Cause." March 18th. 1659.) The great anti-Protector coalition included Dr. Owen, who had gathered a Church in March which included among its members Fleetwood, Desborough, Berry, Sydenham, and Goffe. (Arthur Annesley to Henry Cromwell, Mar. 15, 1659, cit. Ramsey, H. Crom. 299.) To these were added visionaries like Sir Henry Vane, and dangerous mad men like Feake. Thus Richard had to face a most formidable union. (Noble, Mems. House. Cromwell, I 161 footnote.)

The leading figures in the Army were Fleetwood and Desborough. Fleetwood a vain and weak personality, whom Oliver had rightly warned against a "natural inclination to compliance", was the Protector's brother in law. He had been a leading supporter of Oliver, had fought at Dunbar and Worcester, served as Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1654 to 1657, and was very popular with the "praying part" of the Army. He was urged on against Richard by his wife, a bitter Republican. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 367; Ramsey, H. Crom. 26; Noble, Mems. House. Cromwell I 134-5 II 354 ff.; D. N. B. "Charles Fleetwood.") Desborough, a "grim giant", was Richard's uncle by marriage, and had been one of Oliver's Major Generals. (D. N. B. "John Desborough"; Noble, "Lives of the English Regicides I 178-9; Mems. House. Cromwell II 276 ff.; Whitelocke "Memorials" 677.) They sought and obtained conferences with the Protector to state their grievances. It was at one of these meetings that Richard made a statement which caused widespread offence among the more rigid Puritans. Goaded by the criticism that he was appointing some officers who were not "godly", the Protector hotly replied "Here is Dick Ingoldsby, who can neither pray nor preach, and yet I will trust him before you all!" (Ludlow, II 63.) Thus Richard's advisers learnt with consternation that he had been worked upon to give his consent to a meeting of a General Council of Officers. Fleetwood and Desborough had extracted such agreement from him in one of their interviews.

The Council met at Wallingford House on April 5th, and about 500 officers were present. These could be divided roughly into three groups. Ashfield, Fitz, Lilburne, Creed, and others were known to favour a

Commonwealth. The powerful group behind Fleetwood and Desborough included Berry, Sydenham, Clark, Kelsey, and the Treasurer, Blackwell (Ludlow II 61.) But Richard also was not without friends. Not only were close advisers like Fauconberg, Broghill, and Howard present, but he could expect support for his father's sake from such veterans as Whalley and Goffe.

The meeting opened in true Puritan fashion with a prayer from DR Owen. Then Desborough made a violent speech in which he asserted that there were "sons of Belial" and secret Royalists in the Army, and urged that the only remedy was the imposition of an oath, to be taken by all officers on pain of being cashiered, that they believed that the execution of Charles I was a just act. There was a thunder of applause during which Fauconberg and Howard, well knowing that they were accounted among the "sons of Belial", rose in disgust and departed. (Fauconberg to Henry Cromwell, Ap 12 1659, Lansdowne MSS cit Ramsey, H. Crom. 305.) But the statesman Broghill remained and tried to quell the storm. He made a gallant speech in which he expressed abhorrence for all tests, and suggested that if one were really necessary, it should be an oath of loyalty to the Constitution as established under Protector and Parliament. Then he carried the war into the enemy's camp by declaring that if the Council accepted Desborough's proposals, and rejected his alternative, he was prepared to raise the subject in Parliament. The noise subsided as Whalley and Goffe threw their not inconsiderable weight on the same side. Finally the meeting drew up "The Humble Representation of the Officers of the Armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland." (Morrice, "Life of Orrery" 27-8.) In this document they declared that they were not mercenary, and that if they had not been jealous for their reputation, they would have appealed publicly to the Protector instead of suffering silently for so long; the Good Old Cause was being derided; Cavaliers were flaunting themselves before the people and insulting and assaulting loyal servants of the Commonwealth; Royalist hopes were being strengthened because of the Army's extremities through lack of pay;

attempts had been made with some success to cause divisions in the Army. The address concluded with an expression of loyalty to Richard Cromwell and to the Parliament, an assertion of the Army's determination to crush Malignancy and Profaneness, and a plea that not only should adequate provision be made for their necessities, but that a public Declaration be issued, justifying the Good Old Cause, so as to deter its enemies and give security to the well-affected. ("The Humble Representation...etc., cit. O.P.H. XXI 340-5.)

Richard received the Humble Representation on April 6th, and forwarded it to Parliament with a personal letter to the Speaker. (C.J. Ap 8; Merc. Pol. Mar 31-Apr 7.) Parliament simply ignored the message for a week but the Army leaders were not idle. The Humble Representation was printed and circulated among the troops. The General Council of Officers continued to meet and enjoyed sermons and prayers by Hugh Peters and others in the intervals between debates. (Ramsey, R. Crom. 83-4.) The only factor which would have drawn Army and Government together would have been the event of a Royalist rising, but the "old enemy", like the wily Republicans, lay low, and watched the unfolding of the tragedy. The Quakers alone threw themselves into the fray by delivering a petition to the Speaker, attacking the existing religious settlement, and also offering their views on the Army question. But the Commons made a stern and hostile reply to these enthusiasts. (Whitelocke, "Memorials" 677.)

At last on April 18th Parliament took action. The doors of the House of Commons were shut, and then the fateful vote that there should be no further meetings of the General Council of Officers without the consent of the Protector and Parliament, was carried by 163 votes to 87. (C.J. Ap 18; Ludlow II 67-8.) The House also voted that no person should continue in a military or naval command who refused to swear not to interfere with the free meetings and debates of Parliament. Government supporters noticed with surprise and apprehension that old Rumpers like Hesilrige, Vane, Scott, and Ludlow supported their former foes of the Army. (Whitelocke "Memorials" 677; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Ap 28 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 364. The name of Hesilrige is spelt

in a variety of ways in the literature of the time, but that given in the text coincides with the spelling on the tomb at Nosely, Leices-
-ter. The writer is indebted for this, and other information to Mr. Charles Hesilrige. Sir Arthur was the 2nd Baronet of the name. The 11th baronet adopted the name of Hazelrigge.) To show the Army that they were sympathetic to their just demands the Commons then proceeded to discuss arrears of pay, having sent their "fighting" resolutions to the " Other House ". They also appointed a committee to consider the best means of guarding the Protector, Parliament and Nation against any attempts which might be made against them. (C.J. Ap 18 19 ; Burt-
-on's Diary IV 448-63 465.)

For one moment Richard showed that he was Oliver's son. Following the urgent promptings of his ministers he went in person to the General Council of Officers on April 19th. For a while he listened to their debates; then he rose and dissolved the Council, to the openly express-
-ed delight not only of Parliament but of the City. (Ludlow II 68; Dr. Dudley Loftus to Henry Cromwell, Ap 19, Lansdowne MSS, cit Ramsey H. Crom. 306; Bordeaux to Mazarin, May 1 N.S., Guizot R. Crom. I 366.) Desborough and Ashfield followed the Protector to Whitehall and protested strongly, only to be met with a firm reiteration of the command that there should be no more meetings, and that officers like Ashfield (who had been absent from Scotland for two years) should repair to their commands. (Sir Anthony Morgan to Henry Crom-
-well, Ap 19, Lansdowne MSS, cit Ramsey H. Crom. 307; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Ap 28 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 364; Rumbold to Hyde, Ap 19, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 184.) But more than mere words were necessary to deter the officers. They insisted on continuing their meetings, and Dr. Owen showed by his attendances that his sympathies were wholly with them, though the Presbyterian Manton, who had also been invited to their deliberations, refused to enter on hearing Owen's voice fulminating against Richard Cromwell. (Noble, Mems. House. Cromwell I 163 footnote.) The military party in the " Other House " was sufficiently powerful to delay that assembly's concurrence with the Commons' resolution

forbidding further meetings of the General Council of Officers. (F. Giavarina to the Doge and Senate, May 2 N.S., C.S.P. Venet. XXXII, No. 11, p. 11.) Well knowing that their own safety was bound up with that of Richard, the Commons took steps to place the Militia at the disposal of the Protector. (Burton's Diary, IV 472-6 477-81.)

But Richard's fatal weakness ruined his cause. Fauconberg, Howard, Ingoldsby, and other loyal officers now urged that the only remedy was the arrest of the Army leaders, especially of John Lambert, who was steadily securing an influence at least equal to that of Fleetwood and Desborough. (Phillips 659; Noble, Mems. House, Cromwell I Letters SS pp. 330-2.) The unfortunate Richard hesitated. He knew that such drastic measures were only too likely to lead to bloodshed, which he passionately desired to avoid. At last he plucked up sufficient courage to summon Fleetwood and Desborough, but his command was ignored. During the night of April 20th the Army leaders gathered their forces at St. James's. The Government tried to rally its troops to protect Whitehall, but Whalley, Goffe, and Ingoldsby found that they were commanders in name only, for the great majority of their troops had gone to the other rendez-vous, and Berry's Horse was drawn up to deal with any resistance. Further, Richard knew from his interview with Tichborne earlier in the day that there was no hope of the London militia coming to his aid against the military Grandees. (Noble, Mems. House. Cromwell I 422; Ramsey, R. Crom. 86-7.) The Protector had to face Desborough once more, this time to hear a demand for the dissolution of Parliament, and the grim soldier asserted that if he did not do so the Army would remove Parliament without his concurrence. (Phillips 659; Ludlow II 69.) Richard called together his Council to hear their advice for the last time. Whitelocke, realising that if Parliament fell the Protectorate fell with it, urged him to resist. (Whitelocke, Memorials 677.) But the others argued with some reason that the time for strong measures had passed; nothing remained but to bow to the inevitable. (Harris Charles II, I 214-5 says that Thurloe supported Richard, but in the letter from F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, May 16 N.S., C.S.P. Venet. XXXII, No. 86 pp. 17-18, Thurloe is stated to

have been working with the Army against the Protector.) At last the Protector yielded. He refused to dissolve Parliament in person, but sent a letter drawn up by Thurloe and directed to Fiennes, the Speaker of the " Other House " , to the Army officers. (Whitelocke, Memorials 677; O. P. H. XXI 350; Bordeaux to Mazarin May 5 N. S., Guizot R. Crom. I 370-1.)

When the faithful Commons met on Friday, April 22nd, they were immediately summoned to the " Other House . " The angry Commoners ignored Black Rod, and adjourned their sitting until Monday the 25th. (C. J. Ap 22; "A true and impartial Narrative, cit. O. P. H. XXI 356; Gilbert Mabbott to Henry Cromwell, Ap 26, Lansdowne MSS, cit. Ramsey, H. Crom. 310-11; Bordeaux to Mazarin, May 5 N. S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 371-2; Burton's Diary IV 482.) But when they departed the doors were locked, a guard set, and a proclamation of dissolution published. (Ludlow II 70-1; Proclamation given in Phillips 659; Bordeaux to Mazarin, May 5 N. S., Guizot R. Crom. I 372.) Some members, relying on their adjournment vote came to the House on the Monday, but were roughly rebuffed. (F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, May 9 N. S., C. S. P. Venet. XXXII, No. 13, p. 14.) And though Richard lingered on in Whitehall, and though a proclamation of the 23rd, banishing ex-Cavaliers and Roman Catholics from London, was issued in his name, the Protectorate was virtually at an end. (F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, May 9 N. S., C. S. P. Venet. XXXII No. 13 p. 15, Same to Same, May 16 N. S., Ibid. p. 16.) "Strictly speaking, Richard never possessed the supreme power. He was overthrown before he succeeded in acquiring it." (Von Ranke III 233.) The Army might advance all manner of reasons for withdrawing their support from Richard—there could be no redress of grievances till they had abolished the Protector's power as they had done the King's; the yearly maintenance of a Single Person would almost pay the arrears of Army pay; they had obeyed Oliver who had done glorious things, but Richard had never taken a leading part in their struggle; Protectoral rule cheated others who had worked just as hard of their due rights; godly and deserving officers had been replaced by the Protector's creatures; Presbyterians had been favoured at the expense of sectaries. (Met-

-Amorphosis Anglorum 15-18.) But nevertheless the dissolution of the Parliament was a turning point in English history, for with it went all hopes of settled constitutional government except by a restoration of the ancient monarchy. (W.A. Shaw, "Commonwealth and Protectorate, C.M.H. IV 452.)

One of the most potent factors leading to the downfall of the Puritan governments was their grave financial difficulties. The Protectorate of Richard Cromwell was no exception. He had inherited from his father a debt of £2 millions, and his first task was an unsuccessful appeal to Mazarin for a mere £50,000 to cover the expenses of his father's funeral, and to place his own government on a firm footing. He managed to raise sufficient to pay three months' wages to the Army, and then summoned the Parliament in January, but Republican obstruction delayed serious consideration of the public finances. A committee was appointed and reported on April 7th, and on April 16th the Commons debated the whole question. The public debt at the end of the current year was estimated at £2,222,090. (This ignored monies due to the garrison at Dunkirk.) Of this huge debt, £1,747,584 consisted of arrears. The annual income from England was calculated to be £1,517,275, but English expenditure would be £1,547,788. Scotland would contribute £143,652, but Scottish expenditure would amount to £307,271. Again, the House estimated its annual revenue from Ireland at £207,790, and expenditure at £346,480. The calculated deficit of £332,823 in carrying on the government would be lessened by £252,200 as a result of special taxes in England towards the upkeep of the Armies in Scotland and Ireland. But when the remaining £80,623 is added to the huge legacy of arrears, the sum of £393,883 running on for the Navy, and the amount due to the Dunkirk garrison, the desperate straits of the Government can be well imagined. Nevertheless it would be erroneous to believe that it was the financial question which overthrew the Protectorate. On April 9th a scheme for the payment of three months' wages to the Army had been presented to Parliament, but by then the Army plot had gone too far for this measure to soothe their antagonism. The fact that the Army leaders ordered three months' pay after they had overthrown Richard

does not suggest that it was the Army's desire for payment that was the main cause of the downfall of the Protectorate. (C.J. Ap 7 9 16; M.P. Ashley, "Financial and Commercial Policy under the Cromwellian Protectorate, 45 105-7.)

Having overthrown properly constituted authority, the Army leaders had now to consider the type of government which was to replace it. The Army itself was in a state of anarchy. Their reason told them that any attempt to raise money on non-Parliamentary authority would be hazardous in the extreme. A Parliament of some kind was urgently necessary. Fleetwood and Desborough found themselves drawn along a road they had never intended to pursue. They had hoped to retain Richard as a nominal governor. This is well illustrated by Fleetwood's letter to Monk, dated April 23, in which he says that the Army did not force a dissolution; the Protector dissolved Parliament, and the Army stood by him. (H. MSS. C., Rep. 15, App. L. Popham MSS / 1899/ 115-6.) But at the first General Council of Officers, they found that they had reckoned without the inferior officers. (Ludlow II 74.) In vain they pleaded that the Rump (There has been some controversy as to the origin of the term "Rump". Apparently it was first given in 1648 by Clement Walker, the historian of Independency, almost died out in the days of the "remnant's" prosperity, but was revived by Major-General Browne in Richard Cromwell's Parliament, and continued to be a very common term of appellation. / Heath 422.) had never forgotten its humiliation of 1653, that divisions would ensue, that the inevitable end would be the restoration of the monarchy. (Whitelocke, Memorials 677.) The cry of the "Good old Cause" was on many lips. Pamphlets were published pleading for a return to the pure Republicanism of the Commonwealth, ("The Humble Representation of divers well affected Persons of the City of Westminster" cit. Ludlow II 73 footnote 1; Newsletter May 3, Clarke Papers IV 3; Bordeaux to Mazarin, May 12 N.S., Guizot R. Crom. I 379; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, May 16 N.S., C.S.P. Venet. XXXII No. 16, p. 17.) and attacking the Protectors and their governments in violent terms. (Nicoll's Diary 241; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate May 23 N.S., C.S.P. Venet. XXXII No. 19 p. 22.) A vigorous Republican party

had arisen in the General Council of Officers, a party which listened eagerly to the urgings of Ludlow, Vane, and Hesilrige. While the Grandees were meeting at Wallingford House, the inferior officers - far more numerous - gathered in St. James's Chapel, and conferred with Dr. Owen and other leading Independent divines. (Warwick, *Memoirs*, 430; Sir John Grenville to Hyde, Apr 28, *Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV* 189.) Memories of the days of the Rump stirred in their minds. The driving force behind this group was John Lambert. Of undoubted courage, he had been a steady supporter of Oliver, until the Protector had considered the regal title, but had then retired to his country estate, and gained no mean reputation as a lover of tulips. Vain and ambitious, he probably aimed at the supreme power himself, and used the military Republicans as a catspaw. For the time being he was content to remain in comparative obscurity, working through his confidant, Col. Robert Lilburne. (D. N. B., "John Lambert"; Tatham, *Dramatic Works*, Intro. p. 200; "An Exact Account of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Committee of Safety"/1660/, *Harl. Misc. VII* 189; *Metamorphosis Anglorum* 35-7 62.) Thus encouraged, the inferior officers confronted Fleetwood with a demand for the restoration of the Long Parliament as constituted in 1653, and the re-instatement of Lambert and various Republicans cashiered by Oliver, while expressing their willingness for some financial provision to be made for the Cromwell family. Fleetwood had the wit to see that these officers were being used by Lambert for his own ends but was unable to check the torrent, especially as their views were supported by conferences of non-commissioned officers and others at the Nag's Head Tavern. (Dr. Moore to Hyde, Apr 29, *Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV* 191; J. Cooper to Hyde, May 2, *Ibid.* 193-4.) To secure delay the Grandees urged that unity in the Army should first be established, and the Council agreed. Republicans were moved to support this course by the fact that debates had grown so stormy that at one point a proposal to restore the monarchy had been lost by a very narrow majority. (F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, May 23 N. S., *C. S. P. Venet. XXXII*, No. 19, p. 19.) Prominent Cromwellians, including Fauconberg, Howard, and Richard himself were thereupon put out of their commands. (Slings-

-by to Hyde, Ap 29, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 192 ; Moore to Hyde, May 2, Ibid. 194; Baillie's Letters II 431.) Whetham was dismissed from his Govern-
-orship of Portsmouth, (at least for the time), and Smith from his com-
-mand at Hull, though Oliver had made the latter appointment on Fleet-
-wood's recommendation. Among those who received commissions were
Lambert, Hesilrige, Gladman, Okey, Norton, Rich, and Packer. (Gilbert Mabb-
-ott to Henry Cromwell, May 2, Lansdowne MSS., cit. Ramsey, H. Crom. 326-7;
Echard 740.) It was further agreed that the re-modelling of individual
regiments should be left in the hands of their respective colonels.
The Council of Officers was reduced in numbers, but Lambert continued
to enjoy enormous influence. (Phillips 660.) At last the Army leaders
were driven to raise practical objections to their inferiors' demands.
They asked whether there were sufficient Rumpers alive to make their
recall a practicable step. The indefatigable Owen thereupon produced
a list of those believed to be alive, which he had received from Lud-
-low. (Ludlow II 74.) A Council therefore met at Fleetwood's house, and
included not only Fleetwood and Desborough, but Lambert, Lilburne, Coop-
-er, John Jones, Berry, Sydenham, Hacker, Ashfield, Zanche, Salmon, Okey,
Sanders, Clark, Kelsey, and Barkstead. They considered whether there
should be a Council possessing a "negative voice" in the event of
a restoration of the Rump, but the meeting adjourned without any
definite settlement of the question having been made. (Phillips 660, 661
Gilbert Mabbott to Henry Cromwell, May 2, Lansdowne MSS, cit Ramsey, H.
Crom. 326.)

On May 2nd a conference was held at Vane's house between the Army and
the Republican leaders. Difficulties soon arose. Hesilrige and Vane
desired the restoration of the Rump as the sole remedy for the exist-
-ing anarchy. The Grandees demanded an Indemnity Act for those who had
served the Protectoral governments, an honourable settlement for Rich-
-ard Cromwell, an Upper House, and various legal and ecclesiastical
reforms. Their demands for an Upper House to check the restored
Commons met with unexpected support from Ludlow. (Ludlow II 74-6;
Newsletter May 2, Clarke Papers IV 2-3; Ibid. May 5, pp. 6-7.) But the

Other Rumpers were less obliging. To the demand for some guarantee for the officers' security, they replied that they could make no promises, not having Parliamentary authority to do so. The Army leaders' suspicions were aroused by this cautious conduct, but they felt themselves powerless in face of the all but unanimous desire of the inferior officers. (Phillips 661.) Further conferences were held on May 5th (Heath 419.) but the difficulties between the two parties had not been adjusted when the officers finally determined to recall the Rump. On May 6th they drew up the "Declaration of the Officers of the Army" which was signed by the Army Secretary on behalf of the General Council of Officers. In this document the officers reproach themselves for having been instruments in the decline of the Good Old Cause, and state their determination to uphold it in the future; they invite the Rump to return to its duties because they regard those members who continued until 1653 as "the eminent assertors of that Cause, and promise their assistance in bringing peace and quietness to the Commonwealth." ("A Declaration of the Officers of the Army inviting the Members of the Long Parliament who continued sitting till the 20th April 1653 to return to the exercise and discharge of their duties" cit. O.P.H. XXI 367-9; Merc. Pol. May 5 - 12; Bordeaux to Mazarin, May 15 N.S., Guizot I 381-2; Same to Same, May 26 N.S., Ibid. 382-3.)

One deputation of the Army leaders and another of Republican chieftains then waited on Lenthall at his house at Covent Garden, the officers bringing their official declaration with them. (Whitelocke, Memorials, 678.) But the wily lawyer was not at all anxious to resume the office which with all its benefits, had not been without its hazards. He made all manner of excuses - he was aged and sick; The Long Parliament had been dissolved by the death of Charles I; The officers broke in to remind him of the famous "Own Consent" Act, and begged him to send letters summoning the members to meet together. Then Lenthall pleaded that he had to prepare himself for Holy Communion, but his audience retorted that the best preparation was an act for the public good. Finally the ex-Speaker refused to issue any writs on the grounds that it would be disloyal to Protector Richard. He was bluntly informed that

neither Richard Cromwell nor any other Single Person was going to rule England, and that if he were going to prove obdurate they would find other means of calling Parliament together. (Ludlow II 77-9; "Rump Rampant, v. 6, Rump Songs II 20.) At last the Speaker gave way. All was ready for a resumption of the " fag end " of the most famous of England's Parliaments. Yet well might thinking men ask ' Would Parliament give any credit to an oath of allegiance from an Army so ready to break similar oaths ? Would the Army dare trust with sovereign power a Parliament which it had so ill-treated ? Was there really any hope for a " Forgive and Forget " policy ? ' (Metamorphosis Anglorum 41-2.)

II. THE RULE OF THE RUMP.

" And now the Saints began their reign,
For which th' had yearned so long in vain."

(Butler, "Hudibras" Part III, Canto II, p. 323.)

On Saturday, May 7th, the Rumpers began to gather in the House of Lords. When about thirty had arrived, apprehensions began to arise. Would they be able to muster a quorum? Slowly the numbers rose. Those strange members of a Puritan Parliament, Lord Monson and Henry Marten, were brought triumphantly from a debtors' gaol, and Whitelocke and Lisle were summoned to leave their Bench in the Chancery Court. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 137; Heath 419.) At last, about twelve noon, a procession of forty two persons, headed by Lenthall, marched in procession to the House of Commons, near to the doors of which were gathered officers to offer congratulations and promises of loyalty. (Ludlow II 79; Newsletter, May 7, Clarke Papers IV 8 - 9.)

If the list given by Ludlow to Owen was correct 160 Rumpers were alive in May 1659, though this must be an exaggeration as not more than 122 ever voted between 1649 and 1653. (Hallam, Const. Hist. I 648; vide App. I.) Many never resumed their seats, and some, like Col. Hutchinson, only with reluctance. The largest number ever taking part in a division in 1659 was 76, and the average attendance was seldom more than 50. Twenty Six English counties and nine Welsh counties were unrepresented, including Essex, Bedford, Devon, Cornwall, Middlesex, and Oxford. (Vide App. I.) A definite majority of those who did resume were Recruiters, i. e. not elected in 1640 but brought in later to fill vacancies. Though a strong minority of stern Republicans had ignored the Protectorate, and refused to sit in its Parliaments, some of their brethren, like Hesilrige and Scott, had served as Members of Parliament to harass the Government they hated, while others, like Skippon, Whitelocke, and St. John had loyally served the Cromwells. Thus the House was not purely Republican. Further, its very existance denied the sovereignty of the people, the fundamental doctrine of Republicanism. England had never desired the Commonwealth, which had been impos-

-éd upon her by a victorious Army. Perhaps the nation ultimately might have settled down under Protectoral government, but it regarded the Rump of May 1659 with a smouldering hatred, which was fanned by stories of the enormous wealth ground out of the people by the Parliament men. ("The Mystery of the Good old Cause briefly unfolded". ... 1660, cit O.P.H. XXII 178-206.) In no sense was the Parliament of 1659 representative of the people. Indeed it could not even claim a monopoly of support from the Congregational Churches. (John Maidston to John Winthrop, Mar 24 1659/60, Westminster, Thurloe S.P. V 767.) The attitude of many might well be summed up in the lines:

Dull cuckolds ! we are dainty slaves,
 And well may be content,
 When thirty fools, and twenty knaves
 Make up a Parliament."

("A Short History of the English Rebellion. Compiled in verse by Marchamont Nedham. / 1661/. Harl. Misc. II 511.)

Thus the leading Rumpers were driven to the argument that "if the people would not govern themselves by a Representative House in a certain particular manner, they must not be allowed to govern themselves by a Representative House, but must be governed by a non-Representative House till they came to their senses. (Masson, "Milton", V 459.)

The restored Rump spent their first day in framing a Declaration and in appointing committees. The Declaration, which was confirmed by resolutions on May 21st (C.J. May 20, 21; Whitelocke, Memorials, 679.) asserted that their purpose was "to secure the property and liberty of the people, both as men and Christians, and that without a Single Person, King, or House of Peers, and to uphold Magistracy and Ministry" (C.J. May 9; C.S.P. Dom. 1658-9 342; Whitelocke, Memorials 678.) A Committee of Safety was formed to suppress disturbances and remove unsatisfactory officers, its members being Vane, Hesilrige, Fleetwood, Sydenham, Salway, John Jones, and Ludlow (Members of Parliament), and Desborough, Lambert, and Berry. (C.J. May 7 9; C.S.P. Dom. 1658-9 341.) It was to have power for eight days, by which time it was hoped that the

Council of State would have been formed, but this period was extended later. The Committee was also charged to inform foreign ambassadors of the re-establishment of the Commonwealth, and to make itself responsible for the conduct of foreign relations. After Scott had been added to its membership it was ordered to review the state of civil offices, and remove those officials suspected of disaffection. Writs were to run in the name of the "Keepers of the Liberties of England. (Ludlow II 77-80; Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 203-Dr. Moore to Hyde, May 13.)

Sunday was a day of rejoicing, and Dr. Owen, the minister who had contributed so much to the triumph of the Good Old Cause, was invited to preach a special re-inauguration sermon before the Commons. (C.J. May 7 8 ; O. P. H. XXI 381.) (Whitelocke Memorials 678.)

On Monday, the 9th, the Republicans had to deal with an awkward situation, which had been foreshadowed on the Saturday when fourteen of the "secluded Members" i.e. those excluded by Pride's Purge in 1648, had unsuccessfully attempted to gain admission to the House. A protest on behalf of 143 Secluded Members and 70 Royalist Members having been sent to Lenthall, a dozen of the former, headed by Prynne, again sought admittance. (Heath 420; Annesley, "England's Confusion" 11.) Seeing a door unguarded, Prynne, Annesley and Hungerford entered the House. The last two went out again to bring their friends, but found on their return that the officer had resumed his position at the door, and denied them entrance. Annesley indignantly asked whether the soldier presumed to be a judge of the qualifications of Members. The guard replied that he was only obeying the orders of his superiors not to admit any who had not continued previously until 1653. Annesley promised not to take his seat but come out again as soon as possible if he were admitted. On his return he remarked to the soldier, "I have kept my parole, and I wish you and the soldiers would do the like." Meanwhile Prynne was sitting quietly in the House, the Rumpers present not being at all sure which was the right course to pursue. When Hesilrige and Vane arrived, both fulminated against the indomitable Presbyterian, who refused to budge. Vane and others with-

-drew to consider the position, and on returning found Prynne still sitting in the House, resolved not to withdraw unless force was used to expel him. The embarrassed Republicans adjourned the House until the evening, and departed, Prynne walking out last. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 138-41; Phillips 662; Annesley, "England's Confusion" 11-15.) The Rump took steps to prevent such an occurrence again. A resolution was passed definitely excluding all who had not sat till 1653, and another that only those who had shown love and faithfulness to the Commonwealth might hold any public office. (C. J. May 9; C. S. P. Dom. 1658-9, 342.) When Prynne came back to the House after dinner he found the doors securely guarded, and notices of the resolution posted. For a few days he and one or two others were to be seen in the vicinity of the House, but at last they gave up the unequal contest. (Echard 740-1.) Prynne took his revenge in typical fashion. Several pamphlets appeared, justifying himself and his friends. Annesley published "England's Confusion" expostulating with Army, people, and Rump alike. (Annesley, "England's Confusion" pp. 20-24.) Among those of Prynne were "The Republicans' and others' Good Old Cause" (published May 13) "One Sheet, or if you will, a Winding Sheet for the Good Old Cause" (published May 30) and "A True and Perfect Narrative of what was done..etc. (published June 13.) (W. Prynne, "The Republicans and others Spurious Good Old Cause briefly and truly anatomised" / 1659/ ; "A True and Perfect Narrative of what was spoken and acted by W. Prynne and other secluded Members, and intended to be propounded by him, May 7 and 9"/ 1659/; "An Exact Catalogue of all printed Books and Papers of various subjects written upon sundry occasions by W. Prynne, Esq," / 1660/ p. 11;) (Metamorphosis Anglorum 44-5.)

The coalition of Army and Rump was a very uneasy partnership. Despite the loudly expressed anger of the rigid Republicans, the Wallingford House party showed that it was not so averse to Cromwellians in the Army as were the Rumpers. ("A Public Plea opposed to a Private Proposal." / May 1659./) Nevertheless many officers who had been prominent under the Protectorate were replaced by such unbending Republicans as Ludlow and Overton. (Ludlow II 82.) On May 13th,

Lambert, accompanied by Desborough, Barkstead, and fifteen other leading officers, brought to the House a Petition and Address. The demands enumerated in this document were :

- I. Recognition of Commonwealth government as the best basis for securing personal liberties and the rights of property.
- II. A just regulation of the Law and Courts of Justice.
- III. An Act of Oblivion for those who had served the Protectoral governments.
- IV. All laws passed since April 1653 to hold good unless particularly repealed.
- V. Payment and satisfaction of State debts incurred since April 1653.
- VI. Religious toleration except for Roman Catholics, Prelatists, and Unitarians.
- VII. Encouragement of a godly preaching ministry.
- VIII. Reform of Universities and schools.
- IX. All who have served the King since 1642 and who have not since showed affection and faithfulness to the Commonwealth to be removed from any place of public trust.
- X. Only constant upholders of the Good Old Cause to be entrusted with powers of government.
- XI. Provision to be made for ending this Parliament and for ensuring a succession of Parliaments.
- XII. Confirmation of the unanimous wish of the Army that Charles Fleetwood be Commander in Chief.
- XIII. Creation of a Senate.
- XIV. Appointment of a Council of State to carry on the administration.
- XV. Payment of Richard Cromwell's debts, and settlement of an annual revenue on Richard Cromwell and his heirs, and on Oliver Cromwell's widow.

(The Humble Petition and Address of the Officers of the Army to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, cit. O. P. H. XXI 400-5; C. S. P. Dom. 1658-9 345-6.)

Lambert then withdrew and the House read the Petition. The Officers

were recalled and the Speaker informed them of Parliament's satisfaction that the Army's loyalty continued; there were things of great weight in the Petition and those, with others of equal importance, were before the House. He concluded by giving Parliament's hearty thanks for both the Army's affection and its advice. (C.J. May 13.) Parliament answered Article XII of the Petition by appointing Fleetwood Commander in Chief, but to his dismay the House followed the Committee of Safety's recommendation that all officers should be nominated by a committee of seven, consisting of himself, together with Vane, Hesilrige, Desborough, Lambert, Ludlow, and Berry, and should be approved by Parliament. Not content with this, on the 2nd Reading of the Bill, the Rump amended this clause, and ordered that the Speaker should sign all commissions, and deliver them in the House to officers. This amendment, a fruitful cause of friction in the near future, represented a victory for Hesilrige and the rigid civil Republicans over Vane and the party which sought friendship with the Army. (C.J. May 13 June 4 9; C.S.P. Dom. 1658-9 361; Phillips 665; Ludlow II 88; "An Act constituting Charles Fleetwood Esq. Lieutenant-General of the Forces raised and to be raised by the Authority of Parliament within England and Scotland," cit. Thurloe S.P. VII 679-80.)

Having formally received the Petition the House then proceeded to appoint the Council of State. On the previous day Col. John Jones had reported from the Committee of Safety a draft of an Act for a Council. The Bill was read and amended on the 13th, the members appointed on that day and the 14th and 16th, and the Bill finally passed on the 18th and 19th. (C.J. May 12 13 14 16 18 19; C.S.P. Dom. 1658-9 349-50). The Council was 31 in number, the Members of Parliament being Hesilrige, Vane, Ludlow, John Jones, Sydenham, Scott, Salway, Fleetwood, James Harrington, Walton, Neville, Thomas Chaloner, Downes, Whitelocke, Morley, Sidney, Thompson, Dixwell, Reynolds, St. John, and Wallop; and the non-Members of Parliament, Bradshaw, Lambert, Desborough, Fairfax, Berry, Honeywood, Johnston of Warriston, Berners, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and Sir Horatio Townshend. (C.J. May 13 14 16; Heath 421; Annesley, "England's Confusion" 16.) Though Fairfax appears in the list of

non-Members of Parliament, actually he had been a Recruiter, but had ceased to attend the House before the ejection in 1653. As a matter of fact his membership of the Council was purely nominal, for he had retired to his estates in Yorkshire, and took no active part in State affairs until his collaboration with Monk later in 1659. Johnston of Warriston was elected as the representative of the Scottish interests. Whitelocke was disliked by the extreme Republicans and he and Sir A. A. Cooper were accused by Scott of corresponding with Sir Edward Hyde. Both councillors indignantly repelled the charge, which they claimed was based on the evidence of a "beggarly Irish friar." Their colleagues accepted their explanations, but the incident was not calculated to preserve a friendly atmosphere at the meetings of the Council. C. J. Sept 14; Whitelocke, Memorials 679.) Sir Horatio Townshend was actually in correspondence with the exiled Charles, and even got his permission before accepting office. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 153; Mordaunt to Hyde, May 16, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 203.) Nevertheless there was a general feeling in the Rump "not to disoblige those of whom there was any hope", and Cooper and Townshend were sponsored by such irreproachables as Love and Neville. (Ludlow II 83; Christie, "Shaftesbury" I 177-80.) The personnel of the Council made little appeal to the country generally, and was attacked in many pamphlets, while the Army officers were hostile to the predominance of the civilian element. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 153; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, May 30 N. S., C. S. P. Venet. XXXII No. 23, p. 24.) Some objected to the oath in favour of the Commonwealth. They did not dare to oppose Republicanism in principle but argued against the imposition of any oath. Parliament was induced on May 24th to accept a mere promise from Fleetwood and Sydenham, and also empowered the Commander in Chief to dispense with the oath for any members who made scruples of conscience. So the officers were forced to change their grounds of attack, and raised objections to sitting with Royalists like Cooper and Townshend. The latter therefore retired to his country estates, on pretence of pressure of his private affairs but Cooper carried the war into the enemy camp by not only taking the

oath but demanding the seat in Parliament to which he had been elected but in which he had never sat. Parliament was compelled to refer the question to the committee which had been appointed in 1648 but which had never functioned. (Ludlow II 84-6; C.J. May 9; Vide Council of State Attendances, C.S.P. Dom. 1658-9 p. xxiv.) (Vide infra, p. 124.)

Meanwhile Republicans from all over the country presented addresses welcoming the restored Parliament. By the end of June about thirty such addresses had been received by Parliament, including one from the Common Council of the City of London, though Royalists reported that the latter address had been carried in the council by only one vote out of a total of 41 present. (Guizot R. Crom. I 150-1; C.J. May 9 10 12 13 16 21 26 28 June 1 2 4 6 9 13 14 15 16 21 23 24 25 27 30; Merc. Pol. May 5-12, May 26-June 2, June 16-23; Whitelocke, Memorials, 680; W. Roberts to Hyde, May 20 Cal. Clar. S.P. Bod. IV 206.) Foreign ambassadors too, seeing that the new government seemed to have some elements of permanency, hastened to recognise it. Within a fortnight of the resumption of the Rump, the Dutch envoy had his new credentials for an audience, and made a speech asking for a close alliance between the two Protestant Republics. Spain, Portugal, Poland, the Hanse Towns and Genoa soon followed. Among the few which held back for the time being were Venice and France. (Phillips 666; C.J. May 23 24, June 16, July 14; Heath 423; C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 27; Credentials of the Dutch ambassador, Hague, May 29 N.S., Thurloe S.P. VII 672; Nieupoorts Statement, May 25 O.S., Ibid. 675; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, June 6 N.S., C.S.P. Venet. XXXII, No. 26, p. 28; Same to Same, June 13 N.S., Ibid No. 28, pp. 30-1; Same to Same, July 18 N.S., Ibid. No. 42, p. 43; Venetian Senate to the Parliament of England, June 1659, Ibid. No. 36, p. 37.)

Fortified by such addresses and audiences, the Rump felt more confident and secure, and therefore proceeded to discuss the Army Petition clause by clause. On May 21st the House agreed with all the Articles except IX, XIII, XIV, and XV, which were referred to a Committee of the whole House. (C.J. May 21.)

The first problem was obviously the position of Richard Cromwell. The Protectorate lingered on as long as he was in Whitehall, though none with him expected him to exercise any authority, and his servants trans-

ported his valuables into the City, lest Whitehall be pillaged. (Guizot R. Crom. I 132.) Nevertheless, he constituted a potential menace to the Government, and was, moreover, turning his ear to Royalist appeals, which urged him to form a coalition with his brother Henry, Monk, Lockhart, and other Cromwellians for Charles II. He actually agreed to support this move on condition that he received an annuity and an estate, but at the last moment he drew back. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 142; Mordaunt to the King, May 11, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 200.) At last on May 16th the House appointed a committee to consider Richard's position. This vote was taken largely as a result of the "Petition and Address." (C. J. May 16; C. S. P. Dom. 1658-9 347.) Richard was interviewed by Hesilrige, Ludlow, and Scott, and later by St. John and Pickering, and was induced to sign a paper expressing submission, at the same time drawing up a schedule of his debts. The latter document showed that the debts owed at Oliver's death amounted to £29,640. On paying outstanding liabilities Richard would have £1299 per annum, but from this he had to find £3000 to pay his own debts contracted during his father's lifetime. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 173; C. J. May 25.) These papers were presented to the House, which on May 25 accepted Richard's abdication. (C. J. May 25; "His late Highnesse's Letter to the Parliament of England, showing his willingness to submit to the present Government, attested under his own hand, and read in the House on Wednesday, 25th of May 1659, Harl. Misc. I 22.) It referred the schedule to the finance committee, and appointed another Committee to consider a settlement for the ex-Protector. It further agreed to give him £3000 to pay his debts, and ordered him to leave Whitehall within six days. Richard went to Hampton Court, and shot deer until the Council sent orders forbidding him to do so, and returned again to Whitehall. (There is a conflict of evidence here, for authorities are divided as to whether Richard actually took up residence at Hampton Court or not, but the explanation given in the text seems to be the accurate version of what actually happened. Vide M. de Vaux to Marquis de Chastel, London, June 6/16, C. S. P. Dom. 1658-9 367; Bordeaux to Mazarin, June 26 N. S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 413; Sir H. Moore to Hyde, June 3, Cal. Clar.

S. P. Bod. IV 220; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, July 25 N. S., C. S. P. Venet. XXXII No. 47, p. 46.) There he remained, fearing arrest because of his creditors until Parliament again took action. On July 16 it officially exempted him from arrest for debt for six months, and agreed that his annual income should be made up to £10,000 by a grant of £8700 from the Post Office funds, but that this latter should be exchanged as soon as possible for a landed estate. Richard was to find that the House was promising more than the Revenues would allow. So "Tumble down Dick" retired, probably with a contented mind, taking with him in his baggage all the addresses which had been presented to him on his accession, and though immediately before the Restoration some of his friends were considering a resurrection of the Protectorate, that retirement into obscurity continued until his death in 1712. (C. J. May 25, July 4 16; Guizot, R. Crom. I 173-5; C. S. P. Dom. 1658-9 356; C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 576; Phillips 665; Ludlow II 91.) (Ramsey, R. Crom. gives an account of Richard's flight abroad in July 1660 /pp. 123-36/ and his retirement in England after his return from twenty years' exile. /pp. 129-225.)

During the very week that Richard abdicated a pamphlet appeared, entitled "The World in a Maze, or Oliver's Ghost," in the opening scene of which the ghost of the mighty Oliver appears to his son to ask the meaning of this strange situation. He receives a characteristic reply - "I could not help it, father." (Masson, "Milton" V 451.) Probably an important factor in the Rump's insistence that Richard should leave Whitehall was the fear of a Cromwellian rally. The alliance of the England Army leaders was no dependable support, as the "Petition and Address" clearly showed. Elsewhere there was a considerable party which might raise the Protectoral standard, with disastrous results to the restored Parliament. Richard's far more able brother was Governor of Ireland, and Oliver's trusty if surly lieutenant George Monk in Scotland. The England Army officers had been nervous of Monk's attitude, and had sent appealing letters to him pleading that there be no division. ("The Officers in England to General Monk and the Officers in Scotland, May 3, Clarke Papers IV 4-6). On May 9th Fleetwood showed a letter to the House which apparently

showed submission, but during the previous week Monk had sent a very friendly letter to Thurloe, and there were not wanting those who suspected the taciturn general of Royalist sympathies. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 145; C. J. May 9.) The commander of the Dunkirk garrison was the Cromwellian Lockhart. The Fleet which had been sent to the Sound following an agreement with Holland to mediate between the two warring Northern Powers, was under Edward Montague, one who would have died cheerfully for Oliver, and who revered the Protector and his brother for their father's sake. Leading supporters of the Protectorate had left London after the fall of Richard. Broghill started for Ireland on April 29th. Coote was also there, and Ingoldsby too had gone to learn Henry Cromwell's views. Argyll, the leader of these Presbyterian Scots who had recognised the Protectorate, was again in Scotland. (T. Morrice, "Life of the Earl of Orrery" 29; Broghill to Thurloe, April 29, Thurloe S. P. VII 665; Guizot, R. Crom. I 142; Ludlow II 71; Baillie's Letters II 434.) Fauconberg had retired to his country estate to watch events. (Letter of Ap 25/May 5, London, C. S. P. Dom. 1658-9 336; Bordeaux to Mazarin, May 26 N. S., Guizot R. Crom. I 387; Dr. Moore to Hyde, Ap 29, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 191.)

Nor were the leaders the only menace to the new Government. Broad-sheet attacks were made on those who cared so little for the sanctity of oaths. ("Let me speak too", 1659, Harl. Misc. VIII 560-3.) Even in the England Army were many soldiers who looked back to Oliver as their Heaven sent leader, and who were not unwilling to draw the sword if necessary for his son. The conservatives, the upper classes, the Presbyterians, those who longed for law and order above all else, were for the Protectorate as against the Rump, almost to a man.

Yet the menace passed. A message was sent to the Fleet in the Sound, and its officers acknowledged the authority of the Rump. (Ludlow II 92.) St. John gave his submission to the government, and maintained friendly relations with the Rumpers, though he foresaw that the Commonwealth was doomed, and made private arrangements to save himself and his family as far as possible in the event of the inevitable Stuart Restoration. Secretary Thurloe also gave in, and this

valuable servant was continued in his office, where he gave great help to Vane and Scott, both with dispatches and with the secret service. On one point only he did not comply with his new employers; he refused to give them the names of his Continental correspondents. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 181-2 ; Brodrick to Hyde, May 23 Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 209.) Careful George Monk sounded his Army, and found there a spirit most unwilling to act against their brethren of England. So he acknowledged the new Government in a letter to Speaker Lenthall dated May 12th and read in the House on the 18th. (Guizot R. Crom. I 178-9 ; Phillips 662 ; C. J. May 18 ; O. P. H. XXI 414-7 ; Monk, etc. to Fleetwood, Dalkeith, May 12, Thurloe S. P. VII 669-70 ; Monk to the Committee of Safety, Dalkeith, May 17, Clarke Papers IV 10 ; Address from the Army in Scotland, Monk's Letters 1-4.) Parliament showed its satisfaction by ordering that his letter be printed, and that the Council of State draw up a suitable reply. After considering his position, Lockhart too gave up thoughts of opposition and his acceptance of the new Government was reported on the 18th. (C. J. May 18 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1658-9 347-8 ; Lockhart to the Committee of Safety, May 17 / N. S. ? / Dunkirk, Thurloe S. P. VII 670-1 ; Col. Alsopp to Fleetwood, Ibid. 671.) He came to London in early June to present his financial report, and the Rump showed that it realised his worth by re-appointing him ambassador to King Louis XIV. (C. J. July 2 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 2 6 ; Newsletter, June 3/13 Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 219-20 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, June 20 N. S., C. S. P. Venet. XXXII No. 31, p. 33 ; Same to Same, June 27 N. S., Ibid. No. 33, p. 36 ; Noble, Mems. House. Cromwell. I 252 .)

The chief danger came from Ireland. Henry Cromwell was not only able, but extremely popular, both in the Ireland and England Armies, though his generous disposition was sometimes checked by the martinets of his Council. His officers were, on the whole, loyal to him, and his Army was in a good state of discipline. (Phillips 665.) Ireland had lain quiet under his rule, for though impartial he had been firm, and Episcopalians had found that he would allow no action which he considered illegal. Perhaps his only real harshness was toward the Quakers, whose numbers he over-estimated. Thus he was in a very strong position. (Noble, Mems. House.

Cromwell I 214 ff.; St.J.D.Seymour, "The Puritans in Ireland" 174.) But he was hampered by ill health(Ramsey,H.Crom.313.) and he received no instructions from Richard.Indeed he received the news of the Rump's return,not from his brother,but by a letter from the Army leaders dated May 10th.He had not waited for an official communication however.On May 9th he had issued a proclamation for the preservation of the peace, and sent Sir William Bury,Col.Lawrence,and Dr.Jones to England.(Cornet H.Monk to Monk,May 29,Clarke Papers IV 11.)He wrote both to Richard and to Fleetwood asking for information,and also sent Cornet Monk to Scotland,but the latter returned fifteen days after the Rump had resumed,bearing a copy of the letter Monk's officers had sent to Parliament.(Ramsey,H.Crom.335-6 ; Phillips 666 ; Henry Cromwell to Richard Cromwell,May 23,Thurloe S.P.VII 674 ; Henry Cromwell to Fleetwood,May 24,Thurloe S.P.VII 674.) Broghill too gave up the fight for the Protectorate and acknowledged the Rump.(T.Morrice,"Life of the Earl of Orrery" 30 ; Whitelocke,Memorials,680.)For a while Henry listened to Royalist overtures,and even got into touch with Charles II through Fauconberg.Dublin was confident that he would raise the Royal standard, and preparations were made to raise forces in the North.(Guizot,R.Crom. I 167.) Many Royalists believed that Col.Mark Trevor had actually persuaded him to declare for the King.(Carte,"Ormonde" II 201 ; Hyde to Ormonde,Oct 25 N.S. Brussels,Carte,Ormonde Papers II 242-4 ; Hyde to Rumbold,May 13-23,Cal.Clar.S.P.Bod.IV 202.)But loyalty to his father's memory,and a natural belief that Richard would suffer if he did not comply with the demands of the England Army leaders,finally made him turn his back on Royalist offers.Perhaps the Restoration was inevitable,perhaps it would bring disaster to the House of Cromwell, but Henry felt he could not betray his father's cause.(Ramsey,H.Crom. 345.) Further,like Monk he sounded his Army,and,as in Scotland,found no disposition to fight against the Army of England.(Ludlow II 72.) The Ireland Army sent Commissioners to London,who were received by the Council of State,and questions about confirming the land settlement were referred to Parliament.On June 7th the House ordered Henry to come to England to report on the situation in Ireland,and appointed

John Jones, William Steele, and Robert Goodwin as Commissioners for the government of that country. Two days later the number of the Commissioners was increased to five by the addition of Miles Corbet and Matthew Thomlinson. A motion that Ludlow be a Commissioner was rejected on July 7th by 26 votes to 22, but he was compensated by the military command later. (C. J. June 7 9, July 7 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1658-9 389 393 ; C. S. P. Ireland 1647-60 Addenda 862 ; Ludlow II 91-2.)

When Henry Cromwell received the order to come to England, he left Dublin Castle under the command of Col. Thomas Long, and retired to the Governor's private residence, Phoenix House. The Commissioners suspected that he was planning to hold the Castle against the Commonwealth, and employed Sir Hardress Waller to secure it, which he performed without any trouble. (Ludlow II 101.) So Henry submitted on June 15th by letter (Henry Cromwell to the Speaker, June 15, Dublin, Thurloe S. P. VII 684-5 ; Whitelocke, Memorials 680.) which was brought to England by the faithful Petty and Col. Edmund Temple. He also wrote to Fleetwood asking what course he should follow in the light of Parliament's order to him to return to England. (H. Cromwell to Fleetwood, Thurloe S. P. VII 684-5.) He left Ireland on June 27th (Cornet Monk to Monk, June 29, Clarke Papers IV 23.) and arrived in London on July 2nd. Two days later he was ordered to report to the Council of State. He interviewed the Council on the 6th and retired to his private estates at Chippenham on the 8th. (Ramsey, H. Cromwell 345-51 ; Noble, Mems. House Cromwell. I 206-11 ; C. J. July 4 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 5 ; Merc. Pol. July 7 - 14.)

Owing to Richard's utter and absolute submission, Montague felt that any attempt by him would be hopeless, so he too submitted, though he sent compliments rather than assurances of fidelity. (- to - , London, July 10, C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 19 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, June 20 N. S., C. S. P. Venet. XXXII, No. 31, p. 34 ; Same to Same, June 27 N. S., Ibid. No. 33, p. 35.)

The foreign power most friendly to the Protectorate was of course France and while Richard was still at Whitehall he had received overtures from Bordeaux (Guizot, R. Crom. I 142 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, May 26 N. S., Ibid. 385 ; Same to Same, May 29 N. S., Ibid. 389-91 ; Same to Same, June 2 N. S. Ibid. 393-

-4.) but as the course of events showed that the downfall of the Protectorate was complete, and even such a Cromwellian as Fiennes had lost all hope, (Bordeaux to Mazarin, June 16 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 404.) Bordeaux received new credentials as ambassador to the restored Commonwealth. Parliament however considered these disrespectful, and Mazarin was forced to send new credentials. These were accepted, and Bordeaux was given an audience. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 167 ; Bordeaux to Brienne, June 16 N.S., Ibid. 404 405-6 ; Same to Same, July 7 N.S., Ibid. 414-20 ; Same to Same, July 10 N.S., Ibid. 424 ; Same to Same, July 17 N.S., Ibid. 428-30 ; Same to Same, July 31, N.S., Ibid. 435-6 ; Same to Same, Aug 18 N.S., Ibid. 452 ; Same to Mazarin, June 26 N.S., Ibid. 410 ; Same to Same, June 5, N.S., Ibid. 398 ; Same to Same, July 17 N.S., Ibid. 426 ; Same to Same, July 29, N.S., Ibid. 433 ; Same to Same, Aug 7, N.S. Ibid. 442-3 ; Same to Same, Aug 11 N.S., Ibid. 446 ; Same to Same, Aug 14 N.S., Ibid. 448 ; Same to Same, Aug 18 N.S., Ibid. 451 ; Same to Same, Aug 31 N.S. Ibid. 455-9 ; Same to Same, Sept. 1 N.S., Ibid. 459 ; C.J. Aug. 22.)

The Rump had one great merit; it never lacked industry. A new Great Seal was made, and Commissioners were appointed. (Whitelocke, Memorials 678 680 ; Heath 422 ; C.J. May 14 June 3 4 9 .) New judges were also nominated for the Courts of Upper Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, but only sufficient to form a quorum in each court, as Parliament hoped to find time to proceed to an over-haul of the entire legal system. (C.J. May 10 ; Ludlow II 93 .) On May 14th Newdigate, Atkins, Archer, and Parker were made judges, and on June 16th the House voted the judges for the Summer Circuits. (C.J. May 14 June 13 15 16 ; White-Locke, Memorials, 678 ; F. Inderwick, "The Interregnum" 330.) Difficulties and dissensions arose over the method of appointing Justices of the Peace. Finally it was agreed that county members should draw up lists of fit and proper persons for such offices, and where there was a division of opinion, that of the majority of Parliament should decide. (C.J. May 11 ; Ludlow II 93.)

The state of the public debts was considered. On May 9th a committee was appointed to consider the finances, and frequent reports were

demanded. (C.J. May 9.) It was found that the huge deficit of the Protectorate was still increasing and seldom fell to less than £1,500,000. The chronic state of the Exchequer may be realised by the fact that on June 8th, the Report presented by Col. Downes showed no ready cash, and that the envoys to the Northern Powers had to wait a fortnight after having received their instructions in order to draw £2000 for their expenses. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 154 ; Ludlow II 96 ; C.J. June 8 20.) The Parliament of 1656 had passed a three years' assessment of £35,000 a month from England, £9000 a month from Ireland, and £6000 a month from Scotland. In order to avoid raising a new tax, on June 18th the Rump authorised the collection of this assessment, half the annual revenue to be paid before August 10th, and the remainder before October 10th. (C.J. June 18 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1658-9 378-9 ; Phillips 667 .) Two days later the House resolved to appoint six Commissioners to "manage" the revenue and expenditure - a thankless task ! (C.J. June 20.) Yet the condition of affairs remained desperate. On July 28th Vane estimated the deficit as still over £700000. (C.J. July 28.) Taxes came in very slowly, especially from the City, probably due as much as to uncertainty as to how long the Government would last as to any other cause. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 154 ; Ludlow II 96 .) The House continued to make strenuous efforts. All indirect taxes were continued, and a committee was appointed to recover all monies due to the Government. Officials' salaries were reduced, and revenue farmers in arrears were threatened with imprisonment. (C.J. Sept. 21.) Searching enquiries were made concerning fines still due from delinquents. Finally the House doubled the assessment. (C.J. Aug 23 29 Sept 1 3 9 10 13.) Yet all was in vain. The invincible hostility of the upper classes, combined with local tumults, quarrels, and delays, to hamper so unpopular a government. Thus the House was driven to find other sources of income. An inventory of the furniture and paintings in Whitehall was ordered, and Mazarin ordered Bordeaux to purchase various valuables offered for sale. (Bordeaux to Mazarin, July 7 N.S. Guizot, R. Crom. I 427 ; Same to Same, Aug 18 N.S., Ibid. 451.) Then proposals were made for the sale of public buildings, including Whitehall, Hampton Court, and Somerset House.

(Whitelocke, Memorials, 678 ; C.J. May 16 June 18 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1658-9 379-82.) But to Vane's annoyance, sturdy Republicans attacked these arrangements. Henry Marten saved the chapel of Somerset House for the French Huguenot congregation, and Ludlow successfully carried an amendment for the postponement of the sale of Hampton Court. In the end neither Whitehall nor Hampton Court came into the market. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 154-6 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 684 ; Ludlow II 102 ; C.J. July 4. 6.)

Careful consideration was given also to the vexed question of pay for the Army and Navy. On May 16th Sydenham reported from a committee on the grave financial situation in the Army, especially with regard to the arrears, and the House resolved to give its speedy attention to the matter. A special Admiralty committee was appointed on May 26th to manage naval affairs. Nevertheless in late July Army and Navy arrears had reached the huge figure of £722,535. It is fair to add however that though this question of arrears proved so troublesome to the Republican governments, it is a fact that during the period 1649-60 soldiers were paid more punctually than during the period of Presbyterian dominance (1642-49.) (C.H. Firth, "Cromwell's Army " 201 ; C.J. May 16 26 July 28.)

A Bill of Indemnity for those who had served and supported the Protectorate was introduced on May 23rd and read a second time on the following day. But the civilian party moved so many amendments, especially attacking those who had accumulated great estates while holding office under the Protectors, that the Bill remained in committee until July 12 when it was finally passed. (C.J. May 14 23 24 28 30 31 June 1 12 15 July 1 7 8 11 12 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 21 ; Ludlow II 97-8.) The growing bitterness between Parliament and Army is well illustrated by a conversation of Lambert with Hesilrige and Ludlow, in which he denounced the clause restraining Parliament's favour from those who had received double or exorbitant salaries under the Protectors. Hesilrige, with his usual tactlessness, remarked " You are only at the mercy of the Parliament, who are your very good friends," to which the angry general retorted " I know not why they should not be at our mercy as well as we

at theirs." Hesilrige and Ludlow made no reply to this as several officers were present, but on meeting each other next morning, Hesilrige said to Ludlow that he deeply regretted that two regiments had already been given to Lambert, for if he had heard the officer's remark earlier he would certainly have opposed the two commissions. (Ludlow II 100-1.) In some ways the Rump, like Oliver, was ahead of its time. A Bill for the Parliamentary union of England and Scotland was introduced, but held up owing to pressure of other business, or more probably owing to the difficulty of settling the limits of religious toleration, for the attitudes of Scots Presbyterians and Independents were diametrically opposed to each other. (C.J. July 27 30 Aug 23 ff. Sept. 1 9 16 30 Oct 7 ; Clarke Papers IV 49 50-5 ; "The Humble Petition and Address of some well affected persons in and about Edinburgh" July 1659, cit. Nicoll's Diary 244-5 ; Baillie's Letters II 434.)

Irish affairs were also discussed. On Fleetwood's advice, Cols. Zanchez and Lawrence, Major Wallis, and Auditor Roberts drew up lists of officers in the Army of Ireland and presented them to the Committee for Nominations together with a request that Ludlow be appointed Commander in Chief. On July 2nd, Hesilrige, on behalf of the Council of State, recommended Ludlow to Parliament and two days later the House passed a resolution appointing him. (C.J. July 2 4 .) After some hesitation Ludlow accepted the position and received his commission from Lenthall on the 9th. Three days later he received a commission as Lieutenant General of Horse, despite Desborough's opposition on the grounds that it was likely to entrench on the rights of the cavalry command in England. (C.J. July 9 12 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1658-9 389 393 ; Ludlow II 102-3.) Ludlow had told Vane that he had no desire to remain out of England over a prolonged period and the House was induced to pass a resolution saying that he might return to England to look after his private affairs when he had completed the task of restoring good order among the Ireland troops. (C.J. July 9 ; C.S.P. Ireland 1647-60 690 ; Ludlow II 94-5.)

Though resolutions in favour of Commonwealth government were passed the Rump showed that it had a sincere desire to reach some permanent

constitutional settlement. On June 6th a vote was taken for ending the Long Parliament, and it was decided that the sitting should not continue after May 7 1660. (C.J. June 6.) The problem of the Constitution not only divided Army and Parliament, but caused friction in the ranks of the Rump itself. Most Rumpers believed that the return to the form of government which had existed between 1648 and 1653 was sufficient. The Army leaders, on the other hand, looked to the written Constitution of the Protectorate, and many favoured the principle of a second Chamber. (Ludlow II 98.) Many theorists entered the field of controversy. Indeed, the press was "so fruitful of pamphlets of all sorts that it would cost more the postage than most of them are worth." (Wm. Dobbins to Sir John Percivale, June 7 1659, H. MSS. C. Rep. XVI, App. /1905/, Egerton MSS., Vol. I, Part 2, 607-8.) For some time political students had been familiar with the absolutist ideas expressed in the "Leviathan" of Thomas Hobbes, but such doctrines were strongly opposed by writers like Stubbs and the Fifth Monarchist Rogers. (T. Hobbes, "Leviathan", Everyman Series, 1914 ; Vide Orme, "Life of Baxter" I 703-11.) Some were content simply with the Rump and urged the Army to be loyal; ("Twenty Five Queries modestly and humbly yet sadly and seriously propounded to the People of England and their Representatives, and likewise to the Army" 1659, Harl. Misc. Vol. IX / Supplement Vol. I / 424-31.) some pleaded for a more liberal policy towards Cromwellians and Royalists, and attacked the continuance of the Rump; ("Twenty Four Queries touching the Parliament and Army" 1659, Harl. Misc. Vol. IX / Supplement Vol. I / 422-4.) One writer suggested that no Parliament should sit longer than one year, and that the powers of the Council of State should be extended. ("Speculum Libertatis Angliae Re-restitute; or the Looking Glass of England's liberties restored", /20 pp. / 1659, pp. 7-8.) Another was content to plead for extensive legal reforms. (Wm. Ball, "Law and State Proposals to....the Parliament of England" /7 pp. / 1659.) A powerful school of thought pleaded for a constitution based on that of Holland, Genoa, or Venice. (F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, Sept. 26 N.S. C. S. P. Venet. XXXII, No. 69, p. 70.) Vane himself proposed a Council of

three, not only to act as an executive, but to have a veto on the Legislature. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 185.) But outstanding among the "visions of a perfect Commonwealth" were those of Harrington and his Rota Club. James Harrington had been a Groom of the Bed Chamber to Charles I, and even then doubtless amused his master with his Republican ideals. He loved his King, and after the latter's execution spent some years in retirement and study. He had travelled extensively, and during a stay in Italy had come to admire the aristocratic constitution of Venice. The result of his travels and studies was to convince him that he had evolved the most perfect theory of the State yet given to the world. Believing that natural causes produced natural effects in Society as well as in the physical world, and that one of these causes was the axiom "Empire follows the Balance of Property", he argued that the political upheavals in England were due not so much to faults either in governments or people, but to the fact that the balance of property had shifted during the reigns of the Tudors and early Stuarts, resulting in a transfer of power from King and Peers to Commons. Pure democracy was as evil as uncontrolled monarchy. The ideal was a "Free and Equal Commonwealth" which yet gave aristocracy its due place. An eternal balance must be kept to avoid factions and strife. Harrington's scheme to keep this balance was exceedingly complicated, covering local as well as national activities. His guiding principles were Rotation of Eligibility and Election by Ballot. He set forth his ideas in "The Commonwealth of Oceana", published in 1656. (Harrington's Works, 33-227.) This was a political romance, and though it was almost fantastic in form and manner it not only gave Harrington some reputation but attracted disciples, including Henry Neville. (There are some grounds for believing that Neville was previously attracted to Harrington and even may have been part author of the "Oceana"; -vide Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 408.) Even Republicans who were unable to accept his proposals in their entirety were converted to the idea of Rotation. (Vide Wm. Sprigg, "A Modest Plea for an Equal Commonwealth against Monarchy in which the genuine nature and true interest of a Free State is briefly stated" 1659.) "Oceana" also aroused bitter criticism, includ-

-ing "The Holy Commonwealth" published soon after the fall of Richard Cromwell by Richard Baxter. It is interesting to note that after the Restoration, Baxter's book was attacked by Bishop Morley, L'Estrange, and others and anathematised by the University of Oxford. (Vide Orme Life of Baxter I 703-11.) Matthew Wren was also among Harrington's critics and published a defence of monarchy, attacking the proposals of "Oceana." (M. Wren "Monarchy asserted, or the State of Monarchicall and Popular Government in vindication of the considerations upon Harrington's "Oceana"/1659/.) Harrington evidently considered it worthy of both a serious and a humorous reply. ("The Art of Law Giving" Harrington's Works, 383-467 ; "Politicafter", Ibid. App. 579-595.) But his first real answer to critics "The Prerogative of Popular Government" (Harrington's Works, 233-382.) was issued in 1658. A growing number of Republicans, including some members of the restored Rump, was sympathetic towards Harrington, and with Neville's help, they presented a Petition to the House on July 6th 1659. (C. J. July 6.) Though the Journals do not show the nature of the Petition, it was drawn up by Harrington, and while abjuring Monarchical and Protectoral government it urged the adoption of a Constitution of two Houses, both elected by the people; one, of 300 members, was to initiate and debate measures, while the other of 1000 members was to pass or reject them. Emphasis was laid on the principle of Rotation; one third of each House was to retire annually, and not be eligible for re-election for a considerable period. ("The Humble Petition of divers well affected Persons", Harrington's Works, 541-6.) The House gave a gracious but non-committal answer. Harrington continued to publish pamphlets upholding his views, including "A Discourse showing that the spirit of a Parliament with a Council of State in the intervals is not to be trusted for a settlement lest it introduce Monarchy" (Harrington's Works, 609-13.) published on July 28th 1659, and "Political Aphorisms" (Ibid. 515-23.) published on August 31st. The Rota was a political debating club, meeting in the Turk's Head, New Palace Yard, Westminster, in which Harrington was the leading genius. Especially between September 1659 and the following January it enjoyed popularity and also

considerable authority, and one member, Neville, was a member of the Parliamentary committee appointed to consider a new Constitution. (C.J. Sept. 8.) Among the other members of the Rota were William Petty, a founder of the Royal Society, Major John Wildman, young Cyriack Skinner, Nicholas Gold, Henry Pollexfen (later to gain unhappy notoriety at the "Bloody Assizes") and occasionally Herbert Morley. (Masson, "Milton" V 481-6 ; C.H. Firth, "Anarchy and Restoration", C.M.H. IV 542-4 ; Echard 742 745 ; "The Rota", Rump Songs, II 140-5 ; D.N.B., "James Harrington" ; Wood, "Ath. Oxon." III 1115-1126 ; Harrington's Works, Intro. by John Toland, pp. i- xxviii ; Noble, "Lives of the Regicides" I 302-5. /Note. Noble confuses James Harrington the writer with the regicide of the same name./)

So far as religious policy was concerned, the House strongly favoured toleration, though this was limited, for in England it excluded Prelatists and Papists, (In practice there was a considerable measure of toleration for even these provided that they were not active politicians-Vide Bordeaux to Brienne, July 31 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 440.) while in Scotland the Kirk was allowed to exercise its discipline, despite indignant Independent protests. (Vide Nicoll's Diary 244-5.) The latter however were small in numbers, and the real division in Scotland was between Resolutioners (those who had supported Charles II on his taking the Covenant) and Protesters, (those who had recognised the English Commonwealth government. (Kirkton 54-5.) In Ireland, the Commissioners openly interfered in religious appointments, favouring Baptists at the expense of Presbyterians. (St. J. D. Seymour, "The Puritans in Ireland" 174-6.) On May 10th the Rump appointed a committee to enquire into the causes of the imprisonment of persons for religious reasons, but it was not till September 8th that James Naylor the Quaker, who had been the cause of disgraceful debates in the Protectorate Parliaments, was released. (C.J. May 10 21 Sept 8 ; Whitelocke, Memorials 683 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Sept 29 N.S. Guizot, R. Crom. I 478.) But it was the religious question which caused yet another division in the ranks of the Rump. Hesilrige and the majority were conservative Republicans, (Their views are well summarised in a pamphlet, by J.O.,

"Unto the Questions sent to me last night"/8 pp./1659 ; Vide Brodrick to Hyde, June 17, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 239.) but there was a strong minority of mystics, voluntaryists, and Fifth Monarchy Men, led by Sir Henry Vane, and constantly supported by the free-thinker Neville, whose attitude might well be summed up in one pamphleteer's warning to the restored Rump, "Suffer not the ecclesiastic power to twist with yours." (Bordeaux to Mazarin, July 17 N. S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 425-6 ; Mordaunt to Hyde, June 6, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 222 ; "Lilburne's Ghost", /10 pp./ 1659, p. 3.) Many of the Army leaders were favourable to Vane's views, and John Milton's pen also served the cause of wider liberty of conscience. ("A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes, showing that it is not lawful for any power on earth to compel in matters of religion" 1659, Milton's Prose Works, II 520-48 ; "Considerations touching the like-liest means to remove Hirelings out of the Church," Ibid. III 1-41.) Quarrels and reconciliations among the leaders of these factions were frequent. Vane's popularity with "left wing" Puritans alarmed the more rigid Parliamentarians, and this may have been the cause of the proposal to make him ambassador to Holland, though some believed that Vane would have liked the appointment so as to try to build up a great European Protestant alliance. (Brodrick to Hyde, July 1, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 257 ; Guizot, R. Crom. I 184-5 ; Bordeaux to Brienne, July 10 N. S., Ibid. 424 ; Same to Same, July 17 N. S., Ibid. 431.) That the Parliament had not the united support of the sectaries was shown by the continuance of Quaker tumults against "steeple-houses", a great meeting of Baptists at Abingdon which expressed in words and actions their dislike of the existing government, and by a mighty gathering of Fifth Monarchy Men and others at Horsham in Sussex. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 184; Clark, "Life and Times of Anthony a Wood" I 279 ; President Harrington to Thomas Ockman, Mayor of Canterbury, June 1, Whitehall, C. S. P. Dom. 1658-9, 364 ; Major Wood to Hyde, June 3, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 220 ; "An alarm to the City and Soldiery", cit. Muddiman, "King's Journalist," 34-5.) But the conservatism of the House was shown by its rejection of petitions against tithes on June 14th and again on the 27th, and by its favourable reception of the "Worcestershire Petition", which was the work of Richard Baxter. (C. J.

June 14 27 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 681 ; Bordeaux to Brienne, July 10 N. S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 424 ; Reliq. Baxt. II 115.)

Unlike Oliver, the Rump followed a more or less isolationist policy in foreign affairs, the conduct of which was greatly affected by Sir Henry Vane. (C. J. May 13.) On May 19th the House ordered the Council of State to consider how far the nation was concerned in matters of peace and war by transactions happening since 1653, and to take care that the Commonwealth was not engaged in war without Parliamentary consent. (C. J. May 19.) The new policy was clearly illustrated in the changed relations with the Northern Powers. No longer could Charles of Sweden rely on the steady support of England, for the Rump considered that England's interest lay in the freedom of the passage of the Sound, and that this was not served by giving either Sweden or Denmark the full control of the straits. (Ludlow II 93 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Aug 7 N. S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 443-4 ; Same to Same, Aug 25 N. S., Ibid. 455 ; Same to Same Sept 4 N. S., Ibid. 465.) True, the fleet sent by Richard remained in the Baltic, and Meadows' commission as envoy extraordinary to Sweden and Denmark was renewed. (R. Cromwell to Charles Gustavus of Sweden, Oct 13 1658, Milton's Prose Works, II 326 ; Parliament of the Commonwealth of England to Charles Gustavus of Sweden, May 15 1659, Ibid. 332 ; Same to Frederick of Denmark, May 15, Ibid. 332-3 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, May 2 C. S. P. Venet. XXXII, No. 11, p. 11 ; Same to Same, May 9, Ibid. No. 13, p. 15 ; A. Molin to the Doge and Senate, May 10 N. S., Ibid. No. 14, pp. 15-6 ; Sir Philip Meadows to the Council of State, June 21 / N. S. ?/, Thurloe S. P. VII 688 ; C. J. June 9 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1658-9 368.) (A list of the Navy with names of captains and the numbers of men and guns, is given in O. P. H. XXI 423-4.) But the House decided to send special Commissioners to act with Montague, and as Whitelocke declined, their final choice fell on Algernon Sidney, Sir Robert Honeywood, and a merchant named Boone. (C. J. May 31, June 9, July 1 ; Thurloe S. P. VII 678 ; Archibald Johnston to General Montague, June 4, Ibid. 680-1 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 1 2 ; Ludlow II 93 ; Whitelocke Memorials, 680.) They were instructed to co-operate with Holland and Denmark in compelling the bellicose Sweden to accept a settlement. (Instructions to General Montague, Thurloe S. P. VII 680 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1658-9

387 390.) The Commissioners first went to Holland and a treaty was drawn up on July 4th, by which the two Powers agreed to bring pressure to bear on Sweden to accept the conditions formerly laid down in the Treaty of Elbing. (Thurloe S. P. VII 689-90 696-7.) Then the Commissioners proceeded to Copenhagen, arriving on the 21st. Here the plenipotentiaries drew up the draft of a treaty and presented it to the two Kings. Charles Gustavus promptly rejected it. He told Sidney and his colleagues that so long as the English were his friends he would accept them as mediators, but not as arbitrators; the Dutch he frankly regarded as enemies, and refused to listen to their proposals. The haughty monarch continued that these two Republics which presumed to dictate terms to crowned heads might have their fleets, but he still had his sword. To these fulminations, Sidney replied that the friendship of England was dependent on the acceptance of her mediation. No conclusion was reached, and the war dragged on. But the Rump had shown clearly that the Protectorate policy of supporting Sweden against Denmark and Holland was at an end. (Carte, "Ormonde" II 185 ; Guizot, R. Crom. I 169 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Sept 27 N. S., Ibid. 469-70 ; English plenipotentiaries in the Sound to the President of the Council of State, July 29, Elsinore, Thurloe S. P. VII 709; Same to Thurloe, Aug 24, Copenhagen, Ibid. 732-4.) Oliver's dream of a united England and Holland was also dropped entirely. Some Rumpers wished to replace the Cromwellian Downing by Col. Rich at the Hague, but the moderates defeated them, and Downing retained his post as ambassador. (Whitelocke, Memorials 681 ; C. J. June 17 30 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1658-9 377 388.) Nevertheless he was made to follow the new policy of seeking sedulously the friendship of the Dutch. (Ludlow II 93 ; Guizot, R. Crom. I 168 ; Bordeaux to Brienne, June 16 N. S., Ibid. 406-7.)

The same policy was pursued in England's relations with France and Spain. Though the general European war had ended in 1648, France and Spain had continued the struggle, but Spain, which had now but a shadow of her former glory, had made overtures of peace. Mazarin had been placed in a quandary by the death of Oliver, who had been his loyal ally, for none could say what effects the ensuing anarchy would have on England's attitude. In May 1659 the fighting ended, and negotiations, including a

marriage project, were opened. The Rump quickly showed what was its chief desire. They were delighted that the expense of military operations in Flanders was now at an end- the expenses of the Dunkirk garrison were more than sufficient for them. But they wanted England to be included in the general peace settlement if possible, so as to prevent any coalition of France and Spain in favour of Charles II, who, it was rumoured, was proceeding to the negotiations. They held out an olive branch to Spain by freeing Spaniards who had been imprisoned by Cromwell, and by preventing any hostile action against that country. (Ludlow II 97 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, May 30 N.S., C.S.P. Venet. XXXII, No. 23, p. 25.) Lockhart was instructed to secure England's inclusion in the main Treaty; if that proved impossible, he was to negotiate a separate peace with Spain. Doubtless with very mixed feelings, the old Cromwellian travelled to St. Jean de Luz to meet Mazarin and the Spanish minister de Haro, arriving there on August 1st. (Ludlow II 96-7.)

On one point the Rump was adamant. It believed- and rightly so- that they could hope to retain power only by a definite assertion of the supremacy of the civilian over the military power. The appointment of the seven Commissioners as a check to Fleetwood, and Parliament's insistence that every officer should receive his commission at the hand of the Speaker in the House (Vide supra p. 21.) made the Army leaders furious, but Hacker and Lawson broke the ice by appearing on the morning of June 8th, and Fleetwood and Ludlow came next day, the former receiving commissions as colonel of foot, colonel of horse, and Commander in Chief. (C.J. June 8 9 ; Ludlow II 91 ; Whitelocke, Memorials 680 .) The Republicans showed that they were not eager for a breach by making Fleetwood Ranger of St. James's Park, and by accepting the unpopular Butler as Quarter Master General. (C.J. May 13 July 15.) Lambert arrived to accept his commission on the 11th, professing his unswerving fidelity to Parliament; Berry had come in on the 10th; Hewson came on the 14th and Desborough on July 6th. (C.J. June 10 11 14 July 6 ; Ludlow II 98; Whitelocke Memorials 680.) Until September there followed a steady stream of officers, and a gigantic re-modelling of the Army was carried out, everywhere Cromwellians being replaced by trusted Republicans. (For det-

-ails of Army reorganisation in England and Wales, vide Minutes of the Committee of Safety, and of the Committee for the Nomination of Officers, C.S.P.Dom.1659-60, 7-8 10 13 14 17 21 28 29 30 31 35 36-7 45 78 120 121 177 183 202-3 225-6 238-40 243 ; in Scotland, Ibid., 7 9 10 17 29 30-1 35 56-7 80-1 121 177 183-4 203 216 226 ; in Ireland, Ibid., 2-3 10 12 13 17 19 20 22 29 31 35 45 202 ; in Dunkirk, Ibid., 9 121-2 ; /Dunkirk Committee/, 146 150-2 226 .) On June 9th Fitch was given the Tower command, Overton receiving some preferment next day, though this was replaced a month later by a regiment of foot and the Governorship of Hull. This latter appointment coincided with the gift of a commission to Col. Matthew Alured. (C.J. June 9 10 , July 9 ; C.S.P.Dom.1658-9 375 382 ; Noble, Lives of the Regicides, I 75 ff. ; Ludlow II 134 .) In all some fourteen hundred new commissions were issued. But though many old Commonwealth men were among the recipients, some of the sterner Republican civilians looked askance at certain appointments. When Ludlow was given the Irish command, he hoped that his regiment would go to Vane, but instead it was given to Col. Herbert Morley, who was identified with the Presbyterians. Lambert himself was given both a regiment of horse and one of foot. (C.J. June 11 ; Ludlow II 95.)

Trouble arose in Dunkirk. Lockhart had submitted to the Parliament, but almost at once had to face a desperate mutiny, at first thought to be in favour of the King. Colonels Ashfield and Packer, and Lt. Col. Pierson were therefore sent to help in quieting and re-modelling the garrison. (Noble, Mems. House. Cromwell, I 253 ; Phillips 666 ; Lt. Col. Pierson to Monk, Dunkirk, July 15, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/ 118-9 ; Commissioners at Dunkirk to the Council of State, Thurloe S.P. VII 694 ; Commissioners at Dunkirk to Fleetwood, Ibid., 695 ; Report of Cols. Ashfield, Packer, and Lt. Col. Pierson, Ibid. 712-4.)

Re-modelling of the Army was not so complete in Scotland and Ireland as in England. Trouble arose in the former country owing to Monk's resistance to the changes suggested. Two Anabaptist colonels serving under Monk were given great credit by the commissioners in settling the Army, and sought to weaken their general by securing the dismissal of some of his most trusted officers. Monk's agent, Thomas Clarges, however

kept his master fully informed of the commissioners' proposals, and the taciturn general was stirred to action. In his letter of June 2nd, which was read in the Commons on the 9th, Monk warmly deprecated the suggested changes. Parliament replied by exempting his own regiments of cavalry and infantry, but he was still dissatisfied, and urged some of his officers whom Clarges had reported were to be displaced, to go to London to delay the commissioners' proceedings if possible. But what really saved Monk was the order that, as new officers in Scotland and Ireland could hardly be expected to come up to London to receive their commissions at the hands of the Speaker, they would be permitted to receive them from the commissioners for the civil government of their respective countries. As no such commissioners had been appointed in Scotland Monk merely kept those officers whom he desired quietly in their commands. His influence may be gauged by the fact that not only did Parliament show great consideration for him, but Lambert and Fleetwood constantly sent friendly letters to him, and often asked his advice. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 180 ; Phillips 666-7 ; C. J. June 9 10.)

Ludlow did not actually take up his Irish command until late in July and as the House was probably waiting for his recommendations, comparatively few new commissions were issued, (C. S. P. Ireland, 1647-60 690 692, Addenda 700.) and on his arrival he found staunch Cromwellians like Coote still at the head of some regiments. He received a warm welcome from the Commissioners however, and the officers generally seemed to listen to his speech on the benefits of the return to Commonwealth government without any disapproval. (Ludlow II 104-7.) He set to work at once to reorganise the forces, and raised a militia from the counties as a further defence for the Commonwealth. Some officers who refused to recognise the Rump were replaced by men formerly cashiered for their loyalty to the Commonwealth. An enquiry was also made into the principles and practices of the private soldiers, and some of the more flagrant offenders were dismissed. (Ludlow II 116-7.)

A similar re-modelling was carried out in the Navy. On May 26th the Republican John Lawson was appointed Vice Admiral and Commander in Chief in the Narrow Seas. This was obviously intended as a balance to

the Cromwellian Montague. The officers in Lawson's fleet received commissions as far as possible, while commissions signed by Lenthall were despatched to the officers serving in the Baltic Fleet. (C.J. May 26 ; C.S.P.Dom.1658-9 357 ; Ludlow II 92.)

Parliament also felt it necessary to form a picked guard of 130 men to guard the House itself. Matthew Alured, an old Commonwealth officer had been restored to his command on June 10, but on July 9th was given command of this Life Guard, with the salary of a Colonel of Foot. (Vide supra, p.42.) When he was again promoted to the command of Whalley's regiment of Horse, he was succeeded by Col. Evelyn in the Life Guard, on August 9th. (C.J. June 10 July 9 Aug 5 9 ; Ludlow II 95-6.)

But the chief weapon which the Rump hoped to use against the Army if necessary was the Militia. The same procedure was observed in this reorganisation, which had been placed in the hands of the Committee of Safety as early as May. (C.J. May 11 23 ; C.S.P.Dom.1658-9 343-4 352.) A Bill for settling the Militia was introduced on July 2nd and passed on the 26th. Among the commissions issued was one for the veteran Skippon, who was given the London command on August 12th, one of his colonels being the Lord Mayor, John Ireton. (C.J. July 2 5 7 14 15 18 19 21 22 23 25 26 Aug 12 ; C.S.P.Dom.1659-60 42-3.)

The relations of Parliament and Army were thus tending towards a serious crisis when the warring factions were drawn together temporarily by the menace of the " Common Enemy " in the shape of a Royalist rising.

III. THE ROYALIST RISING OF 1659.

"His Cheshire glory
 Is a pitiful story;
 There the Saints triumpht without battle."
 ("The Rump Dockt" Rump Songs II 46.)

On Oliver's death, lethargy seemed to have fallen on the Royalist party. Old Cavaliers who had ventured so much began to think that further activity was not only dangerous but useless, and this feeling was strengthened by their despair when the Rump was restored with so little opposition. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 314 ; Thomas Talbot to Ormonde, May 6/16, Paris, H. MSS. C. Rep. XV App., /Ormonde MSS New Series Vol I/ 1902, p. 329 ; Mordaunt to Hyde, May 16, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 203.) Of the nobles of great authority only two were left. The venerable Earl of Southampton contented himself by sending periodical messages and gifts to his exiled master from the privacy of his estates, and the Marquis of Hertford excused himself from correspondence on grounds of his old age and feebleness. (Clar. Continuation, 22 ; Hyde to Mordaunt, May 13/23, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 202.) The leaders of the party and the King's immediate advisers alike urged a policy of caution. (Hyde to Mordaunt, Ap 29/May 9, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 189 ; Slingsby to Hyde, Ap 29, Ibid. 192 ; Hyde to Baron, Ap 30 Ibid. 192.) (Rumbold to Hyde, May 3, Ibid. 195.) "Give them no occasion of fighting with others and my life for it, they'll fight with themselves. And when thieves fall out, honest men will come by their own. " ("A Word to Purpose," cit. Muddiman, "King's Journalist" 56.)

But the Royalists had received fresh acquisitions of strength which had no sympathy with such prudence. Many Presbyterians, including most of the secluded Members, had warred against their King, and though hostile to Oliver had been almost won over by Richard, but their hatred of the Rump drove them into the arms of their ancient enemies. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 320-1 ; Clar. Continuation 31 ; Bordeaux to Brienne, June 16 N. S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 407 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Aug 7 N. S., Ibid. 441.) They were warmly welcomed by letters from the exiled King. (The King to Waller, Ap 29/May 9

Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 190 ; The Same to Lord Manchester, Ap 29/May 9, Ibid. 190 ; The Same to Denzil Holles, June 29/July 9, Ibid. 252 ; The Same to Major-General Browne May 6/16, Ibid. 196.) Barwick reported to Charles the desire of the old Parliamentarian, Sir Thomas Middleton, to serve him, and the King's reply dated June 2nd, from Brussels, is typical of many others; " I have never been without thoughts of him, and of the use he would be to me, and longed very much for an opportunity of sending to him." This correspondence led to the formation of a solid little group in North Wales, consisting of Middleton, his two sons in law, Wynn and Grosvenor, and Lord Herbert of Cherbury, enthusiastically loyal, only awaiting orders for action. (Barwick, "Life of Barwick" 49-51 181-3.)

Cromwellian officers, like Col. Charles Howard, dissatisfied with Republican misrule, and young men anxious to see a stable government swelled the ranks of those demanding action. (Noble, Mems. House. Cromwell. I 378 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, June 13 N. S., C. S. P. Venet. XXXII. No. 28 pp 29-30 ; Same to Same, June 27 N. S., Ibid. No. 33 p. 35.) They condemned the inertia of their leaders and urged them to adopt more vigorous measures. Indeed there arose the probability that the activities of zealous young Royalists would lead to a premature rising and inevitable disaster. (Rumbold to Hyde, May 23, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 209-10.)

Reports about the King, which came from abroad did not always cheer their spirits. There were serious doubts as to whether Charles was indeed a Protestant (Bordeaux to Brienne, July 31 N. S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 440.) Though he gave his confidence to men who had served his father, and especially to the shrewd and energetic Edward Hyde, yet many Englishmen feared the influence of the Roman Catholic group among the exiles, whose leader was the Queen Mother, Henrietta. Though James, Duke of York professed to be an Anglican, the Papists knew better and looked confidently to him as the Joshua who would one day lead them to an England dominated by their Church. His busy agent, Talbot, a Jesuit, strove to elevate his master, and sought the aid of Spain and France, Royalist and even Republican. For a time he received the support of Buckingham,

who had quarrelled with Charles; but the wary Hyde managed to use Talbot's intrigues by revealing them in order to show the Protestantism of the King. (D.O'Neale to Hyde, May 10/20, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 199 ; Mordaunt to Hyde May 16, Ibid. 203 ; The Same to the King, May 19, Ibid. 205 ; W. Howard to Hyde, May 20, Ibid. 206 ; Hyde to W. Howard, May 27/June 6, Ibid. 214-5.) The wiser Royalist leaders desired to see a Restoration carried out only by Englishmen, and were alarmed at the various projects for a return of the exiles backed by foreign troops. They were strengthened by the knowledge that Hyde shared their views. He disliked Papist and Presbyterian alike, and did not wish Charles to be under obligations either to France or Spain. Thus he steadily opposed the plans for a French marriage alliance. In his antipathy towards an agreement with either of the great Powers, he had the support of Mordaunt. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 186-94 ; Carte, "Ormonde" II 192.)

John Mordaunt was the leading figure in the group of Commissioners which had replaced in March 1659 the " Sealed Knot", i. e. the committee which had managed the King's affairs in England since the execution of Charles I. (Skinner, "Monk" 82-3 ; Clar. H. G. R. VII 321 ; Phillips 658.) His colleagues were Sir John Grenville, William Legge, Sir Thomas Peyton, (a Roman Catholic) and the Presbyterian Arthur Annesley. But he above all others was trusted both by the King and by the great majority of the Cavaliers, and was applied to by ex-Parliamentarians desirous of returning to their allegiance. There were malcontents who were jealous of his great influence but they were unable to shake his hold on most of the party. (P. Frowd to O'Neale, June 8, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 225.) It was he who gave Charles a sketch of the general situation, based on his own knowledge, and on other reports of Royalist agents' activities, and expressed the conviction that there were hopes of a successful rising. He returned from Brussels to England in late June bearing commissions for those who were to lead the rebels. (Carte, "Ormonde" II 184 ; Mordaunt to Hyde, June 16, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 235-6 ; Clar. Continuation 33.)

The scheme was for a simultaneous rising all over the country. Commanders were appointed to raise the standard in the several shires. Sir George Booth, a secluded Member, was to appear in Cheshire, and was

to be joined by the Lancashire Royalists under the Earl of Derby. (Clar. H.G.R.VII 323 ; Mordaunt to Hyde, June 16, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 235.) The veteran Middleton was to rally Flintshire, and was to be supported by Lord Newport and the Gentry of Shropshire. (Clar. H.G.R.VII 323.) Sir John Carter was made responsible for Denbigh. Edmund Dunch and others were to lead in Berkshire, and Colonel Popham promised to secure Bristol and Taunton. (Sir H. Moore to Hyde, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 203 ; Popham's Proposals/June/, Ibid. 255.) Major General Massey, Lord Herbert of Worcester, and John Grobham Howe were to lead in Gloucester. As early as May the authorities with good reason had suspected Howe of Royalist sympathies, but he had been able to satisfy the Council of State. (Ludlow II 87 ; Clar. H.G.R.VII 322-3 ; Nicholas Papers, IV 115-6 ; Allen Broderick to Hyde, May 4, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 195 ; Mordaunt to Ormonde, May 11, Carte, Ormonde Papers, II 173 ; The King to Howe, Ap 29/May 9, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 190 ; Hyde to Broderick, May 13/23, Ibid. 202 ; Broderick to Hyde, May 23, Ibid. 210 .) Sir William Compton and his friends arranged that Hertfordshire would contribute its quota of horses and men. Other Parliamentarians like the Earl of Stamford, Lord Willoughby of Parham and Colonel Rossiter were given commands in Leicester, Suffolk, and Lincolnshire respectively. Lord Willoughby had already shown penitence for his opposition to Charles I by advancing money to provide arms, and the Royalists had great hopes of his securing Lynn, a maritime place regarded as of great strategic importance. (Clar. H.G.R.VII 322.) If this town were in Royalist hands then young Sir Horatio Townshend had high hopes of raising Norfolk in arms. (Mordaunt etc., to the King, May 19, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 205.) The rebels of Surrey and the adjoining counties were to be led by Sir Francis Vincent, Sir Adam Brown, and Mordaunt himself. Promises of help came from Major General Egerton in Staffordshire and Colonel Richard Arundel in Cornwall - especially if the King would come in person. Among others who were reported to the King as ready to rise were the Duke of Buckingham, (who had quarrelled with Charles, had gone to England, and had married the daughter of Lord Fairfax, the holder of a large part of his estates) (Vide supra pp. 46-7)

Lords Bruce, Falkland, Fauconberg, the Earls of Manchester, Northampton and Oxford, Sir William Waller, and Col. Ingoldsby. (Reresby "Memoirs" 2 ; Markham, "Fairfax" 371-4 ; Allen Broderick to the King, May 14, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 195.) Attempts were made to win over other Roundheads who were dissatisfied with the government. Colonel Titus made an unavailing attempt to treat with Major General Browne, who had great influence in Presbyterian London, but the wary soldier at first refused to make any move unless there was evidence that there would be a force capable of opposing the Army. (Phillips 667.)

The Royalists were careful to give their Presbyterian colleagues prominence, and indeed the rising was to be made, not in the King's name, but against the Rump and for a "free" Parliament, though Charles sent a declaration promising parliamentary rule and liberty of conscience. In Cheshire the redoubtable Zachary Crofton and other ministers preached rebellion from their pulpits, and several actually took part in the rising, including Newcomb of Manchester, Eaton of Walton, and Booth's chaplain, Finch. (Whitelocke, Memorials 682 ; Neal, "History of the Puritans," IV 218 ; Price, 3, 4 ; Nicholas Papers IV 180-1 ; D. N. B. "Obadiah Grew" " Adam Martindale" Joshua Stopford" ; Z. Crofton, "Berith Anti-Baal" / 1661/p.13/pages un-numbered/ ; The King to Broderick, mid-July, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 280-1 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Aug 14 N. S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 448.)

August 1st was the day fixed for the rising, and the agent Cooper brought the glad news that Charles himself would come to England. Col. Roger Whit-ley also arrived in London bearing blank commissions and with verbal instructions. (Phillips 667 ; The King to Mordaunt, June 29/July 9, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 252 ; Mordaunt to the King, July 11, Ibid. 270.)

On the surface it would have appeared that the government would collapse before any formidable opposition. The Rump had neither leaders nor discipline and was rent internally by the division between Hesilrige and the orthodox Republicans on the one hand, and Vane and his visionaries on the other. (Vide supra pp. 37-8.) It was faced with steadily rising opposition from the Army which had realised that the restoration of the

Rump did not mean military domination after all. In both Council of State and Parliament the Army leaders were in a minority, and their demands had been either ignored or evaded. The appointment of Army commissioners, the insistence on officers receiving their commissions from the Speaker in the House, and the differences over the Act of Indemnity, (Vide supra, pp. 21, 32-3, 41-2.) all combined to fan the flames of military bitterness. One incident clearly showed the uneasy alliance between Parliament and Army. Major Harley was brought before the Council of State to answer to a charge of Royalist intrigue. He boldly suggested that Parliament's most dangerous enemies were in the Army, and added that some of them were actually caballing to eject Parliament. To Fleetwood's angry demand for names, the intrepid prisoner accused the Commander in Chief to his face, and though Harley went to prison, no doubt many civilian Republicans felt that Fleetwood should have joined him. The government's desperate expedients to raise money and its general unpopularity in the country increased the ascendancy of those demanding action and at last Mordaunt was able to report to the King that he was ready to discuss the details of the time, place, and circumstances of his Royal master's appearance in England. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 194-8 200 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge and Senate, July 4 N.S., C.S.P. Venet. XXXII p. 38 ; Broderick to Hyde, July 19, Cal. Clar. S.P. Bod. IV 289 ; Newsletter, July 22, Clarke Papers, IV 24-5.)

Yet though the Rump was weak and unpopular, it was vigilant. The Royalist leaders included Sir Richard Willis, a traitor who had long been giving information to Thurloe. He had made an agreement with Oliver to reveal dangers to the State, the Protector granting his condition that no information would be given which might endanger individual Royalist lives. He seldom told much about old Royalists, but gave many reports about the Presbyterians and other recent allies. Thus he gave a full account on this occasion about Massey and the Gloucester project. (Clar. H.G.R. VII 324-5 327 ; Clar. Continuation 25.) Thurloe however was not absolutely dependent on Willis, for intercepted correspondence gave him abundant evidence to take measures. (M. Hollings, "Thomas Barret", E.H.R. XLIII/1928/ 33-65 ; Heath 423-4 ; Mercurius Politicus, July 28-Aug 4 ;

Bordeaux to Mazarin, Aug 11 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 444.) With Vane and Scott he took steps to meet the menace. As early as July 9th the Council of State sent warnings to militia officers all over the country that a Royalist rising was imminent. (C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60.) A plan was concerted between Willis and Scott (and perhaps Vane too was privy to it,) by which Willis took a house near Hythe in Kent, for the use of Charles II, who, it was known, was eager to take part in the rising. The house of course would be ambushed by troops. All arrangements were made, but Morland, who had turned traitor to the Commonwealth, sent a warning to the King, who thus did not fall into the trap. ("A Brief Narrative of the services done to the Crown by Sir S. Morland" cit. Willcock, "Sir Henry Vane the Younger" 368 ; "Sir S. Morland's Abbreviate of his life", Ibid. 372-5.) Government preparations were made in other directions. The re-organisation of the Militia was speeded up, and when called to arms militiamen were promised pay equal to that of the Army regulars during the period of service. (Vide supra, p. 44 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 24 38 39 40 49 54 63 64 ; President Johnston to militia Colonels in all counties, July 9 Ibid. 15-6 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Aug 11 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 445.) New militia regiments were raised in the City, through the efforts of Irēton and the Independent Churches, and despite the sullen hostility of the great majority of the citizens. (Heath 424 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 682 ; C.J. July 30 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, AUG 29 N.S., C.S.P. Venet. XXXII No. 61 p. 60. For Irēton's command vide C.J. July 16, C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 32.) The regiments in the French service who were in Flanders were also recalled. (C.J. Aug 16 ; C.S.P. Dom. 74 114 ; Clarke Papers IV 1659-60 38 40 ; Thurloe S.P. VII 722 ; Merc. Pol. Aug 4 - 11 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Aug 18 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 449 ; Same to Same, Aug 31 N.S., Ibid. 458.)

Nor was the government content with merely military preparatins. All "excepted" persons were banished from London. (Lord Warriston to Monk, July 14, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., /1899/, Leybourne Popham MSS, 118 ; Clar. H. G. R. VII 320 .) Some Members of Parliament were suspect, so strict punctuality at the House was enforced. (C.J. Aug 8.) Measures were taken to prevent horse racing and other popular gatherings. (Ibid. July 13.) Inns were closely watched, and persons leaving the country closely scrutinised.

(C.J. July 28 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, Aug 8 N.S., C.S.P. Venet. XXXII No. 52, p. 52.) The Council of State was empowered to arrest and detain suspects, whose houses were searched and whose horses were confiscated. Orders were also sent to officers in all parts of the country to seize the arms and ammunition of suspected persons. (C.J. July 29 30 Aug 6 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60, 48 49 50 54 55 56 114 124 125 128 561 562 565 567 ; Merc. Pol. July 28-Aug 4 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 681 ; Bordeaux to Brienne July 17 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 432 ; Same to Mazarin, Aug 11 N.S., Ibid. 446 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, July 18 N.S. C.S.P. Venet. XXXII, No. 42, p. Aug 15 42 ; Same to Same, Ibid. No. 54, p. 53 ; Life of Anthony a Wood, Ath. Oxon. I xxxvii.) So much was the Council of State occupied that on August 8th Parliament ordered that a warrant signed and sealed by the Council might be regarded as sufficient authority to commit suspects. (C.J. Aug 8 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 85.) Such measures frightened the more timid Royalists and Willis was able to persuade the leaders in England to advise the King to postpone the rising for the time being. But by this time Samuel Morland had been able to convince the King of the treachery of Willis, and the King ignored the advice which was due to the traitor's influence. Morland's revelations had come as a great shock to Charles, and at first he was frankly sceptical, (Hyde to Broderick, July 18/28, Enclosure, The King to Sir Richard Willis, Cal. Clar. S.P. Bod. IV 285.) but the accumulated evidence forwarded by Morland at last convinced him. (Samuel Morland to the King, July 19, Cal. Clar. S.P. Bod. IV 290 ; The King to Samuel Morland, Brussels, Aug 10, cit. Willcock, "Sir Henry Vane the Younger" App. IV, Letter E, p. 369.) Charles informed Mordaunt, whose first intimation had been an anonymous poster set up in the Exchange, and which he regarded as a malicious libel. Hyde wrote to other leaders and agents, but he and his master were hampered by the fact that many of the older Royalists refused to believe in the traitor's guilt. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 198-201 ; Clar. H.G.R. VII 324-9 ; The King to James Herbert, June 24/July 4, Cal. Clar. S.P. Bod. IV 245 ; Mordaunt and Titus to Hyde, July 6, Ibid. 259 ; Hyde to Broderick, Aug 1/11, Ibid. 303 ; Hyde to Mordaunt, Sept 9/19, Ibid. 363 ; Mordaunt to Hyde, Oct 9/19, Ibid. 405 ; Nicholas Papers IV 169-70. Note. G. Paul to the King, 13th/?/ 1663, Clarke Papers, IV, App. E, p. 305 says that he and not Morland

was the person to discover the traitor.) When all was ready, Titus reported to the King, who left Brussels with Ormonde, Bristol, Dr. Quartermaine, Daniel O'Neal, and three servants. Travelling in couples, they made for Calais, the King having an interview with Marshal Marsin on the way, on August 17th, (N.S.) They met at a miserable inn at the first village through which Charles passed, and the Marshal brought offers of service from that great soldier the Prince de Condé, who was at Brussels. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 202 ; Clar. H. G. R. VII 330-1.) Another foreign friend of the King, Count Schomberg, military commander at Dixmude, Calais and Berg, was busy at the same time in an unsuccessful attempt to win over the English garrison at Dunkirk. He also pleaded with his own government to connive at his giving active assistance to the expedition. (Carte "Ormonde " II 187.) The Dukes of York and Gloucester had been summoned from Breda to Brussels, but arrived after their brother's departure. York, accompanied by Titus hurried to join Charles at Calais, (Carte "Ormonde " II 184 says that York went with Langdale to Boulogne and corresponded from that place with Charles at Calais.) but Gloucester waited in Brussels for further instructions. For three days Charles waited impatiently at Calais, ready to cross to Kent on news of a considerable rising. (Phillips 668.)

The main design ended in ignominious failure. Some leaders, like Bruce and Northampton, never rose at all. (Letter of Mordaunt, N.D., Carte, Ormonde Papers, II 195.) Companies of Royalists did gather at various rendez-vous, but either returned dispirited to their homes, or fled after a brief resistance. On July 28th Captain Jenkins reported from Hereford Castle that the enemy was gathering at Bushope, four miles from the town, but Colonel Rogers was able to inform the government on August 1st that the surprisal of rebels going to their rendez-vous had prevented a rising, and that suspects had been secured. (C. J. July 30 Merc. Pol. July 28-Aug 4 ; Clarke Papers, IV, App. C, 285 ; Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV, 304.) Similar reports were received from Tonbridge, (Col. R. Gibbon to the Council of State, Aug 1, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 304 ; Heath 424.) Shropshire, (Major Chamberlain to Fleetwood, Aug 2, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 306.) Chichester, (Col. Fagg to Col. Morley, Aug 3, Ibid. 308.)

Warwick, (Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 306.) Staffordshire, (Ludlow II 108.) Bury St. Edmunds, (Col. Fothergill to the Council of State, Aug 3, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 308.) Surrey, (Sir Arthur Hesilrige to Lockhart, Aug 15/25, Ibid. 325.) Kent, (James Herbert to the King, Aug 3, Ibid. 308 ; Merc. Pol. July 28-Aug 4.) and other centres. A group of Royalists at Oxford, led by a serving man prepared to muster near Oriel College, and had arms concealed at a friendly barber's, but the movement collapsed on the arrival of news that Parliamentary troops had dispersed the county Royalists. (Examinations of William Matthewes, Thomas Hughstus, /Sept. 24/, James White, /Sept. 26/, Robert Street, Walter Matthewes, Thomas Hughstus, and James Matthewes, /Sept. 27/, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 386-91.) The joint attempt of Hertfordshire and Essex was surprised, and Leventhorpe and Fanshawe escaped only with difficulty. (Heath 424 ; Merc. Pol. July 28-Aug 4.) Lord Willoughby was arrested in his own house. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 332.) Though Major General Browne, won over to the idea of an immediate rising at last, tried to rouse London, the citizens were over-awed by the Council of State's preparations, (Whitelocke to Skippon, etc., July 30, C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 54 ; The Same to the Lord Mayor of London, July 31, Ibid. 60 ; The Same to the Militia of Southwark, July 31, Ibid. 60 ; The Same to Col. Sylvanus Taylor etc., at Westminster, July 31, Ibid. 60 ; The Same to the Commissioners in Ireland and Lt. Gen. Ludlow, Aug 9, Ibid. 90-1 ; Col. Barkstead to Scott, Aug 3, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 307.) and no outbreak occurred. (Bordeaux to Mazarin, Aug 25 N. S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 453.) The unhappy citizens had to watch rebels being brought in and imprisoned in the improvised gaol at Lambeth gatehouse. (Heath, 424 ; C. J. Aug 9 ; -/London/ to Hyde, Aug 6, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 313 .)

Thomas Purys and his son, whom the Council had sent to Gloucester, reported to Lenthall on July 27th that the situation there was grave, as there was a strong Cavalier party, even the colliers from the Forest of Dean being expected to rise, while the troops were disheartened because of their lack of pay. Nevertheless the Purys conferred with the military authorities, and made what preparations they could. (C. J. July 30 ; Clarke Papers, IV 35; App. C 285-6.) On the Saturday night 100 horse were sent

along one bank of the Severn to attempt to seize Lord Herbert, while another body scoured the opposite bank for other leaders. The first party was exceptionally fortunate, for not only Lord Herbert but Massey himself was captured. But their good fortune was short lived. As they rode towards Gloucester in the twilight of the Sunday evening, Massey riding with a trooper on the same horse, they came to a steep hill, and the Presbyterian contrived to pull his horse so as to make it fall over the embankment, escaping under cover of the gathering darkness in the ensuing confusion. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 331-2 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 681 ; Merc. Pol. July 28-Aug 4 .) The discomfited troopers had to proceed to Gloucester with only Herbert and Massey's servant, for in spite of the use of blood-hounds, Massey made good his escape (Letter to 'My Lord', /Hyde ?/, London, Aug 6, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 313.) The second party surprised some rebels at the house of Colonel Barrow, and after a brief parley the Royalists surrendered. (Clarke Papers, IV 35-7.) Rumours of Massey's arrest, and the menacing appearance of red coats on the surrounding hills led to an early dispersion of the Gloucestershire rebels, especially as Massey was re-captured at a ferry near Bristol a day or two after his escape. (Major Wade and Captain Croft to the Council of State, Aug 6, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 315.) (Newsletter of Aug 5 Clarke Papers, IV 37.) The Council showed its apprehension of further trouble in the West country by sending Desborough himself to take command there. (C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 72 115 ; Merc. Pol. Aug 4-11.)

About 60 horsemen gathered at Bath, and others at Malmesbury, but finding themselves without leaders, dispersed, the bolder spirits striking North to try to join Booth in Cheshire. (Ludlow II 108.) An attempt at Shrewsbury also came to nothing. Here the rebels hoped that by capturing the town they would be able to make a line of communication between the Cheshire forces and those in North Wales. But their schemes failed through the timely precautions of Colonel Waringe and the authorities at Shrewsbury. (H. Johnstone in "Two Governors of Shrewsbury" /E. H. R. XXVI, 1911, pp. 276-7/, corrects C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60, in pointing out that Waringe was not governor but was in command of a militia troop at Shrewsbury. Col. Mackworth the Younger was probably Governor.)

They were encouraged however by a report that the Royalists had captured Coventry, and hoped that this would divert any forces sent from London. But the report was false. Colonel Fotherby, Governor of Warwick, had wavered in his allegiance to the Parliament, but the veteran Purefoy had taken command and kept Coventry and the surrounding district loyal to the government. (Heath 425 ; Ludlow II 109 ; Noble, Lives of the Regicides, II 137.) To second Booth's attempt in Cheshire, Lord Byron and Colonel Charles White gathered a party from Nottingham in Sherwood Forest. Byron's attempt to recover arms left at Colonel Hutchinson's house was largely foiled by the vigilance of the Rumper's devoted wife, and despite the perfidy of some of his servants. His plan to seize Belvoir Castle was also prevented, so the rebel force went to Derby and published Booth's declaration for a Free Parliament. Apparently the townsfolk approved - until the arrival of troops under Colonel Sanders, when the rebel movement collapsed and White was captured and imprisoned. (Hutchinson's Memoirs, 348-51 ; Heath 425 ; Merc. Pol. Aug 24-Sept. 1 ; Clarke Papers IV 44-5 ; C. J. Sept. 24 ; Hesilrige to Monk, Aug 17, C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 119-20 ; Hesilrige to Lockhart, Aug 15/25, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 325.)

Thus almost everywhere the rising collapsed. When the government issued proclamations against the rebel leaders, Compton, Leventhorpe, and Fanshawe surrendered within the time limit. Mordaunt and Litchfield escaped. Friends of Major General Browne also helped him to abscond, but among the prisoners were the Earls of Stamford and Oxford, Lord Falkland and de la Warr, and these were joined later by Lords Bellasis, Castleton, and Chesterfield, and Colonel Charles Howard. (Heath 425 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 94 103 ; Whitelocke, Memorials 682.)

The difficulties with which the government had to contend are well illustrated by the events in Portsmouth. A constable brought the proclamation against Egerton and others from the Sheriff but the Mayor refused to have anything to do with it, despite the protests of local Republicans, and two ministers also refused to read it in their churches. Finally it was read in the market place by the constable himself, amid the jeers of the leading citizens. The angry Commons retorted by order-

-ing the arrest of the Mayor as a delinquent and by voting £20 reward to the loyal constable. (Mr. Larke to the Council of State, Aug 23, Clarke Papers IV, App. C 290-1 ; C. J. Aug 26 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60, 94 149 583 .)

Only in the North West did the flickering light of rebellion continue to burn when it had been extinguished elsewhere. Though doubtful of the faith of the leaders in other counties, Sir George Booth raised the standard at Warrington on August 1st. Mordaunt's emissary, Colonel Whitley, gave him a letter from Charles, expressing his intention of crossing to join him, but Booth in declaring for a Free Parliament carefully omitted the King's name, feeling that more general terms might gain more recruits. Following the King's instructions the Cavaliers acquiesced in this course, though Roman Catholic Royalists were indignant at Booth's refusal to allow them to serve under him. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 332-3 ; Hyde to Ormonde, Oct 25, Brussels, Carte, Ormonde Papers II 242-4.) Hundreds flocked to him, and were furnished with arms which the gentry had been collecting for some time. A rendez-vous was made at Routon Heath, three miles from Chester, and on the day appointed a force of 3000 men had gathered. (Lambert reported that there were not more than 2000 in the general engagement, /The Lord Lambert's Letter... read Aug 22, Chetham Society Tracts, Vol. 65 New Series, XXXIII, p. 170. /but this may well be true as some rebels remained at Chester and others at Northwich before the battle.) These were divided into horse and foot by Peter Brooke, (a Member of Parliament), and Colonel Ireland from Liverpool. Booth then addressed the throng and declared for a free Parliament. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 204 ; Sir George Booth's Letter of the 2nd of August, 1659, showing the reasons of his present engagement, Chetham Society Tracts, Vol. 65 New Series, XXXVII, pp. 185-7.)

Meanwhile the Earl of Derby, Colonel Egerton, and the aged Sir Thomas Middleton, strove to arouse Cheshire's neighbours. Middleton did not hesitate to proclaim the King at Wrexham, sword in hand. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 205 ; Whitelocke to Downing, Aug 12, C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 104.) (Ludlow II 108-9.)

The local government authorities were not idle. Colonel Croxton, the governor of Chester, realising that the sympathies of the majority

of the citizens were with Booth, withdrew into the citadel, and awaited events. Colonels Lilburne and West united their forces in Lancashire and anxiously waited for the arrival of reinforcements from London. Various rebels en route for Chester were seized by Government troops. (A Declaration of Sir George Booth...etc., Chetham Society Tracts, Vol. 65 New Series, XXXII, pp. 163-7.) As Croxton had feared, Chester opened its gates to Booth, and in a few days the rebel forces confronting the garrison of 200 men, had risen to between four and five thousand. (Guizot R. Crom. I 205.)

In London, the Rump continued to strain every nerve to meet the menace. On July 28th and again on September 8th Parliament summoned Mordaunt to appear before them on pain of confiscation of his estates. (C.J. July 28 Sept 3 8 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 46-7 166.) Whitelocke, as President of the Council of State, was ordered to prepare a declaration that Booth and his friends were guilty of High Treason. (C.J. Aug 9 10 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 94 103 ; Merc. Pol. Aug 4-11.) A Bill was passed to sequester the estates of all who had supported Charles II since the death of his father, and another to confer such estates on relatives and others giving loyal service to Parliament. Heavy fines were imposed on Members whose prudence - or cowardice - kept them from their places. As a measure of precaution as well as of supply all horses in London and its immediate neighbourhood were seized. Resolutions were passed in favour of raising still more new regiments, and Vane was ordered to raise a force of volunteers from the City. Searches and arrests continued, and a 9 p.m. curfew was enforced in the capital. The Militia was summoned to arms in various localities, the counties in which they were raised having to defray the expense. Two warships were sent north to blockade the Dee and to seize any rebel ships which might approach. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 205-6 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Sept 1 N.S., Ibid. 461 ; Whitelocke to the Lord Mayor of London, July 30, C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 54 ; Ibid. 68 ; Capt. H. Hatsell to the Admiralty Commissioners, Aug 8, Ibid. 87 ; Ibid. 97 ; Ibid. 101 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, Aug 15 N.S., C.S.P. Venet. XXXII No. 54 p. 54 ; Commissioners of the Militia of County Devon to Aug 26 Sir E. Seymour, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Somerset MSS., /1898/ p. 92 ; C.J. Aug 5

Josselin's Diary, Aug 10, P.131 .. For further references on Sequestration Bill vide infra p.74.)

Parliament was agreed that forces must be sent to Chester, but was divided as to what person should lead those forces. The obvious choice was Lambert, not only because of his personal ability, but also his great popularity with the Army. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 334.) The civilian Republicans profoundly distrusted him, but the Council of State, making a virtue of necessity, proposed him as commander of the expeditionary force. The unbending Colonel Hutchinson opposed the nomination in Parliament, warning the House that Lambert's ambition might soon lead them to repent of their choice. But both Hesilrige and Vane supported the general. Lambert had told Vane that the Royalists had offered great rewards to Mistress Lambert if she would persuade her husband to refuse such a command. This led the two Republicans to give their powerful support to the nomination, and the resolution was carried. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 206-7 ; Hutchinson's Memoirs 347 ; Ludlow II 111-2 .)

On Monday, August 6th, Lambert left London, with an army numbering between five and six thousand men. The two regiments of foot which had left the capital on the previous day united with the cavalry under Colonel Swallow and Major Creed at Drayton, Shropshire, on Sunday, the 14th. Having sent forces to strengthen the garrison at Stafford, and others to Derbyshire, Lambert and the main force reached Coventry on the 10th, and advanced to Nantwich, where he stayed until he was joined by one troop of his own regiment of horse, and four companies of Colonel Biscoe's regiment of foot. Meanwhile three troops of Lilburne's regiment, and two of Ashfield's advanced to Uttoxeter. On the morning of Thursday, the 18th, in pouring rain the Army set out towards Chester, but when they had marched only five miles, scouts brought the news that nearly five thousand rebels were on the way towards Northwich. Lambert therefore moved in the direction of the Forest of De la More, through which the rebels would pass. On his arrival at the forest he received a report that the Royalists were only three miles away, and as the shadows gathered, a glimpse of their rearguard was given to the Government forces. The rebels took up their quarters for the night at Northwich, and their adversaries

at Weeverham. (The Lord Lambert's Letter.....read August 22...Chetham
 Society Tracts, Vol. 65, New Series, 167-72.)
 XXXIII

Early next morning Lambert advanced towards Northwich, and found the rebels half a mile from the town, drawn up in country where his cavalry was useless, and difficult even for the foot to do much service. After a sharp brush the Royalists retreated in such order, proceeding from hedge, that the cavalry could not charge upon them, and took up a strong position behind Winnington Bridge, on a steep hill up which no cavalry could attack except by a narrow side path. The river could not be forded, and the narrow bridge was flanked at the far end by a deep ditch. The rebels attempted to hold the bridge, but when their first two or three volleys failed to check the advancing troops, they fled. Lambert ordered his cavalry to attack the rebel horse, while his infantry charged up the hill. Owing to the narrowness of the path the cavalry had to divide into small parties, and were met bravely by their adversaries. The old cry of "God with us" was met with that of "Have at all". Lambert reported afterwards that the horsemen on both sides "performed like Englishmen," though other accounts speak of the Royalist cavalry making little resistance and abandoning the infantry. (R. Dermott to the Admiralty Commissioners, Aug 21, C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60, 133 ; - to Lockhart, Aug 22, Ibid. 136.) After a short pursuit, and a still shorter stand the Cavaliers gave way, and their defeat became a rout. Their foot fled to the "enclosures" where Lambert's cavalry could not reach them, and his infantry were too weary to follow. Some of the Royalist horse fled to Chester, pursued by Creed, and others to Warrington, where they were stopped by the garrison. Meanwhile those rebels who had been left in Northwich were attacked by one troop of cavalry and one troop of dragoons, routed, and fled towards Manchester, hotly pursued by Colonel Swallow. The renegade Colonel Ireland, with about one hundred horse, made for Liverpool once more. Both sides suffered comparatively few losses. The Government forces had none killed and only three dangerously wounded, while Captain Brown, who took Lambert's letter to Parliament, stated that when he left the field, the rebels had only thirty dead, though 236 privates, 16 officers, 30 colours, and many horses had

been captured. Lambert now marched back to Northwich and divided his forces. Colonel Ashfield, with four companies of foot, and Lieutenant Colonel Duckenfield, with part of Hewson's regiment, (especially commended for its services in the skirmish) together with a suitable number of horse, were sent to join Lilburne at Wakefield, lest there should be any further trouble in Lancashire or the western border of Yorkshire. Sending orders to Zanche and the Irish brigade (vide infra p.69.) which had landed at Beaumaris, to proceed to Shrewsbury, Lambert himself, with the main body of troops, advanced on Chester, having received a despairing message from Croxton that he could not hold out much longer. (The Lord Lambert's Letter.....read Aug 22..., Chetham Society Tracts, Vol. 65, New Series, XXXIII, pp.167-72./This letter was written on the 19th.)

Before reaching the town the victorious general was met by two envoys from the rebels asking for terms in order that Chester might not become a prey to the soldiery. Lambert replied that if the gates were open at 10 o'clock on the following morning, and if the town received what forces he should send, and submit wholly to the pleasure of Parliament, he would promise to forbid any looting. He demanded an answer by 8 a.m. The Royalists, realising their desperate condition, especially as the citizens refused any further aid, left Chester during the night in small parties, and at the appointed time, one regiment of foot and two troops of horse entered the town. (A Second Letter from the Lord Lambert.....read in Parliament August 23...Chetham Society Tracts, Vol. 65 New Series, XXXIV, pp.173-4.) Another deputation to the general came from Liverpool. It included one Brown, who on news of the Royalists' defeat, had gathered together some of the "well affected" and taken some prisoners. He informed Lambert that Liverpool really had been loyal and that the governor appointed by the rebels had told members of this deputation beforehand that he meant to stand by Parliament, and had now openly declared for the government. Lambert had previously sent Major Hoare with three companies of foot and three troops of horse to reduce Liverpool, and notwithstanding these plausible ambassadors, he ordered Hoare to carry out the instructions he had received, and having left a

garrison there, to take the remainder of his forces to strengthen the troops in Lancashire. He also sent a summons to surrender to Harding Castle, while Colonel Biscoe led an advance expedition to Chirk Castle, which had been captured by the rebels at the outbreak of the rising, and to which Middleton had retired. (A Second Letter from the Lord Lambert... read in Parliament Aug 23... Chetham Society Tracts, Vol. 65 New Series, XXXIV pp. 173-4 ; Newsletter, Aug 6, Clarke Papers, IV 38 ; Edmund Waringe to the President of the Council of State, Aug 4, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 309.)

By the morning of August 22nd, the number of rebel prisoners had risen to four hundred, and included Lord Kilmorey, Major General Egerton, Peter Brooke, Sir William Neal, and Sir Thomas Powell. (A Letter from Major Edmund Waringe... Chetham Society Tracts, Vol. 65 New Series, XXXIV p. 176.) Lambert now followed to Chirk, which surrendered on the 24th. (Heath 425 states that Chirk actually surrendered to Axtel and Zanchez.) The Council of State had sent orders that no terms were to be granted except the mercy of Parliament. (President Harrington to the Lord Lambert, Whitehall, Aug 26, C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 150.) Sir Thomas Middleton having escaped, his son and the remaining officers accepted Lambert's offer that they might retire from England within two months, if in that time they had failed to obtain mercy from Parliament. (Articles of Agreement, etc. Aug 24.... Merc. Pol. Aug 24-Sept 1.) The latter ordered the total demolition of Chirk Castle on the 27th. Harding Castle having previously surrendered to the victorious Lambert, all resistance was at an end. (C. J. Aug 27 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 154 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Sept 1/11, Ibid. 162-3 ; Transcripts of Chief Passages from yesterday's print from London, Sept 3/13, Ibid. 170.)

The other leaders had not been as fortunate as Middleton. The Earl of Derby, disguised as a servant, attempted to escape, but was recognised and captured at Shrewsbury. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 208 ; Whitelocke, Memorials 683 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, Sept 5 N. S., C. S. P. Venet. XXXII No. 62, p. 62.) A similar fate befell Booth in his effort to abscond in female costume. The story of his capture is not without its humorous side. Two gentlemen came to an inn at Newton Pagnell, and booked a room

for some friends. To the surprise and chagrin of the worthy host, they insisted on the "inferiorest" room in the house. Soon after a man and a woman arrived, the latter leaping from her horse without any assistance. Though this couple denied that they had been preceded by friends, when they met a gentleman of the first party, they accepted his invitation to join them. While supper was being prepared a barber was sent for to trim the three gentlemen, and on his refusal to sell a razor from his case, they sent him to bring one from his home. The lady, whom they called "Mistress Dorothy" refused the ministrations of the maids, and lay on the bed, still heavily cloaked, until supper was ready. After the meal the party withdrew to an inner room, carefully shutting one door, and placing a screen in front of another which led to the back - stairs. The Puritan innkeeper's suspicions were now thoroughly aroused, and he went off to consult his kinsman the apothecary, who in turn took him to the local constables. Thirteen or fourteen well armed men were collected and five were stationed on the back - stairs. Then the party in the inner room was called upon to surrender, and the Lady Dorothy, with the apothecary's pistol pointing to her breast, confessed that she was no other than the unhappy Sir George Booth. The jubilant villagers secured their four visitors, and awaited orders from London. These were not long in coming. Fleetwood was commanded to send a guard to conduct Booth to the Tower, where he was to be kept a close prisoner, without visitors or writing materials, to await an examination by Hesilrige and Vane. And thus "the glorious pretext of a free Parliament and the subjects' liberties all ended under a wench's petticoat, which makes many conclude him, (i.e. Booth) to be rather a fool, knave, or coward." ("A True Narrative of the Manner of the Taking of Sir George Booth"..... Chetham Society Tracts, Vol. 65, New Series, XXXVI, pp. 182-4 ; Ludlow II 114 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 683 ; C. J. Aug 24 25 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 141 142 .) (Brasy to Dodd, /Moore to Hyde/, Sept 2, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 355.)

Charles was at Calais when the news of the failure of the general rising reached him, but he hoped for some success in Cheshire. Having given instructions to York, who had gone with Langdale to Boulogne, as to how to proceed if the call came to go to England, Charles left Calais, and

wandered about the coast, anxiously awaiting news. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 331 336 ; Carte, "Ormonde" II 184.) Hardly had he departed when a letter arrived from the Queen Mother, stating that Turenne had offered both armed and financial assistance, and that the Governor of Boulogne would help to find transports for the troops. The great Marshal's nephew, Bouillon came to join York and the first detachment of troops was ready to embark, when Charles, who was at St. Malo, received Brett, an English Benedictine, bearing news of Booth's failure. This was confirmed when Ormonde arrived from Paris, where he had been sent to heal the estrangement which had existed between the King and his mother ever since her attempt to win over the young Duke of Gloucester to Roman Catholicism. York hastened from Boulogne to Montreuil and pleaded with Turenne to allow the expedition to set out lest Charles had already sailed from St. Malo, but the wise old Marshal urged patience, saying that he was not sure that in the existing state of uncertainty in England, another opportunity would not come, and the Royalists would recover from their hopelessness following this defeat. So, taking Turenne's advice, and after having been assured of the King's safety, James returned to Flanders, much to the relief of Hyde and Nicholas, whose anxiety had steadily increased with their lack of information as to the King's whereabouts. Guizot, R. Crom. I 202-4 ; Carte Ormonde, II 187-8 ; Clar. H. G. R. VII 337-8 ; Ormonde to Hyde, Aug 19/29 Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 329 ; Hyde to Ormonde, Aug 26 & 27 / Sept 5 & 6, Brussels, Ibid. 342 ; The Queen Mother to the King, Aug 27, Carte, Ormonde Papers II 186 ; Ormonde to Hyde, Aug 30, Ibid. 187-8 ; Same to Same, Aug 31, Ibid. 189-91 ; Nicholas to de Marces, Aug 13 /23, Brussels, C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 108 ; Same to Same, Aug 20/30, Ibid. 132 ; Hyde to the Same, Aug 23/Sept 2, Ibid. 139 ; Nicholas to the Same, Sept 10 /20, Ibid. 188.)

By this time Charles had resolved to seek some advantage from the negotiations in the Pyrenees between Don Luis de Haro and Cardinal Mazarin, a course he had considered in June but abandoned owing to the developments in England. (The King to Abbé Montague, June 18/28, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 239-40 ; The King to the Queen Mother, June 18/28, Ibid. 240 ; Instructions to the messenger to the Queen Mother, Ibid. 240 , The

King to Louis XIV, July 9/19 /?/, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 293.) Spain was bitterly hostile to the Commonwealth, because of the seizure of Jamaica and Dunkirk, and because of the Portuguese alliance, (Welwood's Memoirs 120.) and Charles hoped that the Spanish King (who sympathised with him) would win over his future son in law, Louis XIV, to help Charles, and that by a general agreement a force could be sent to England under Condé, who had connections with both powers. But he probably realised that his prospects were by no means bright, for Mazarin had successfully urged Henrietta Maria to try to dissuade her son from such a course, and had even refused to give him a pass port to go through France. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 211 ; Abbé Montague to Mazarin, Sept 28 N.S., Ibid. 471 ; Clar. H. G. R. VII 344-6.) The Cardinal might have been willing to lend his aid if he could have been certain of success, but in view of events in England, he followed what seemed to be the obvious policy, support of the anti-monarchical governments. (Ormonde to Hyde, Aug 31, Carte, Ormonde Papers II 189.) Charles had already sent Henry Bennett, his minister at Madrid to the negotiations, but the unhappy envoy was refused an audience by Mazarin, who at the same time caressed Lockhart in " an extrait manner." The Cardinal did indeed inform Bennett that he was adopting this attitude in the best interests of Charles II, but went on to say that nothing could be done for his master until the disputes between France and Spain had been settled. Nevertheless Charles, feeling sure of Spanish support, and realising too that France was not altogether easy about the presence of the English garrison in Dunkirk, hoped that his journey would not prove utterly fruitless. (Bennett to Hyde, Aug 5 / 15, Fuentesabia, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 310-11 ; Lockhart to the President of the Council of State, Aug 8/18, St. Jean de Luz, Ibid. 316 ; Jermyn to Ormonde, N. D., Carte, Ormonde Papers, II 193-4 ; Carte, Ormonde, II 183-4.) So he set off on August 19/29th and travelled incognito by Nantes and La Rochelle to Toulouse where he received a report that the negotiations were concluded, and that the two ministers would have departed before he could reach them. But Charles still hoped for some help, at least from de Haro, and left Toulouse, crossed the Pyrenees and proceeded to Saragossa, having left Ormonde at Toulouse to intercept Maz-

-arin. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 348 358 ; The King to Hyde, Aug 18/28, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 326-7 ; Bristol to Hyde, Aug 18/28, Rouen, Ibid. 327 ; The King to Hyde, Oct 5/15, Saragossa, Ibid. 400.) Finding that negotiations were still proceeding after all, Charles hastened to Fuenterrabia, meeting Ormonde on the way. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 358 359-60.) De Haro was willing to show diplomatic civility at least to the exile, who was met by Don Luis' own coach, and an escort under the military governor, Baron de Batteville, on October 28th N. S., a short distance from the town. On approaching Fuenterrabia they were welcomed by a salvo of guns, and de Haro himself waited at the gates to greet Charles and to offer him truly magnificent entertainment. (Carte, Ormonde II 188-9. Echard states, p. 750 that Charles reached Fuenterrabia on the 25th, but vide Bryant, Letters and Speeches of Charles II.) (Bennett to Hyde, Oct 22/Nov 1, Fuenterrabia, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 418 ; O'Neale to Hyde, Oct 22/Nov 1, Ibid. 418.) During the days that followed Charles frequently interviewed the Spanish minister, but the latter, though sincerely in favour of a Restoration, could only express friendship, and dared not offer any practical aid. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 212.) Charles found Mazarin less obliging. The French minister, who was at St. Jean de Luz, was anxious to retain Lockhart's friendship. ("to whom I impart all that passeth here", Mazarin to Bordeaux, St. Jean de Luz, Oct 14 N. S., Thurloe S. P. VII 754 ; Phillips 671.) He assured de Haro that he too would like to see Charles restored, but would not complicate France in another nation's internal affairs; he did not believe the Commonwealth government to be stable, but felt sure that foreign intervention could only delay a Restoration by leading to a combination of all the anti-monarchical forces. He therefore firmly refused to see Charles, and gave orders that Bennett was not to be admitted for an audience. On November 12th Ormonde was able to secure an interview, but could obtain nothing more than general expressions of friendship. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 213-4 ; Carte, Ormonde, II 189-90 ; Culpepper to Hyde, /?/, Oct 21/31, Fuenterrabia, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 416 ; Ormonde to Mordaunt, Nov 13, Fuenterrabia, Carte, Ormonde Papers, II 262-3 ; Clar. H. G. R. VII 360-1.) The unfortunate King could not but see that he counted far less with the two diplomats than Lockhart. De Haro had given

the English envoy a public audience during August, and conferred with him at Madrid, and during the negotiations Mazarin showed great deference to him, and even gave him news reported from England of the hopes and plans of the Royalists. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 214-5 ; Noble, Mems. House. Cromwell, I 253-4.) So Charles in despair fixed a day for his return for Flanders, (G. B. Nani to the Doge & Senate, Nov 19 N.S., C.S.P. Venet. XXXII No. 92, pp. 90-1.) where Hyde was still engaged in striving to find money to pay the ever rising debts of the needy court, (Hyde to Ormonde, Sept 13, Brussels, Carte, Ormonde Papers, II 205-6 ; Same to Same, Sept 20, Ibid. 209-13 ; Same to Same, Oct 4, Ibid. 218-20 , Same to Same, Dec 6, Ibid. 289 ; Nicholas ^{to} Culpepper, Sept 25/Oct 5, C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 222.) negotiating with Turenne and with Royalist plotters in Dunkirk, (Nugent/?/to Hyde, Sept., Cal. Clar. S.P. Bod. IV 394 ; Rumbold to Hyde, Oct 7, Ibid. 403 ; Mordaunt to Hyde, Oct 9/19, Calais, Ibid. 405 ; Armourer to Hyde, Nov 3/13, Fuenterrabia, Ibid. 431 ; Schonberg to Hyde, Nov 6/16, Berg, Ibid. 438 ; Same to Same, Nov 24/Dec 4, Ibid. 455 ; Morland to Hyde, Nov 25, Ibid. 458 ; Charles Littleton to Hyde, Nov 26/Dec 6, Ibid. 460 ; Mordaunt to Hyde, Nov 26/Dec 6, Paris, 461 ; Hyde to Bennett, Dec 18/28, Ibid. 490.) and was also being harassed by ridiculous offers of help from one Matthew Eyre, who apparently had some influence with the Duke of Saxony, but who was nevertheless an empty boaster. (M. Eyre to the King, Sept 2, Hamburg, Cal. Clar. S.P. Bod. IV 354 ; Same to Same, Sept 3, Ibid. 356 ; Same to J. Webster/?/, Sept 13, Ibid. 369 ; J. Webster to Hyde Sept 16/26, Amsterdam, Ibid. 373 ; M. Eyre to Hyde, Sept 27, Ibid. 390 ; J. Harvey to Hyde, Oct 26/Nov 5, Antwerp, Ibid. 421-2 ; J. Webster to Hyde, Oct 27/Nov 6, Ibid. 422-3.) He allowed the Roman Catholic Bristol to accept de Haro's invitation to go to Spain, in the hope that the Earl would solicit successfully for better financial treatment. (Carte, Ormonde II 190 ; G. Quirini to the Doge & Senate, Dec 31, N.S., Madrid, C.S.P. Venet. XXXII No. 110, P. 104.) Then, accompanied by Ormonde and a few servants the King left Fuenterrabia after a stay of less than three weeks, and took the road to Paris. On November 25/Dec 5, he met his mother at Colombe, and stayed with her for a week. Their relations, embittered until Ormonde's recent visit to the Queen Mother, were quite pleasant. She had

sent Jermyn and Abbot Montague to intercept Mazarin at Toulouse, but they too had failed to make any impression. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 362 ; Church to Hyde, Nov 25/Dec 5, Colombe, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 456 ; D. O' Neale to Hyde, Nov 26/Dec 6, Ibid. 459 ; F. Giustinian to the Doge & Senate, Nov 29, N. S., C. S. P. Venet. XXXII, No. 99, pp. 95-6 ; G. B. Nani to the Same, Jan 27 N. S., Aix, Ibid. No. 115, P. 111 ; Same to Same, Feb 10 N. S., Ibid. No. 118, pp. 113-4.) The King's hopes however were once more raised because of reports from Mordaunt, who, though proclaimed as a traitor, had managed to secape and arrived at Calais, on September 19th, N. S. Not knowing the King's whereabouts, he had first sent a report to Brussels, but on receiving news, he sent a full dispatch on October 8th, N. S. Three days later he ordered the agent Bacon to take a further account of affairs in England, describing the growing tension between Parliament and Army. (Carte, Ormonde II 191-3 ; Mordaunt to the King, Oct 8, Calais, Carte, Ormonde Papers, II 222-3 ; Same to Same, Oct 11, Ibid. 223-30.) Meanwhile Charles had continued his journey, and had arrived in Paris. He had a memorial drawn up to present to Mazarin, showing what places in England were preparing to declare for him, but the Cardinal once more refused to make any move. But Charles was cheered by further reports from England, giving accounts of vital changes. (Carte, Ormonde II 194 ; Memoranda sent by the Marquis of Ormonde to Cardinal Mazarin, from Paris Dec 10, Carte, Ormonde Papers, II 291-6. For further movements of the King vide P. 85)

The Royalist rising naturally affected Irish and Scottish affairs. Ludlow had learnt of the intentions of the Presbyterians of Cheshire as he was going to take up his Irish command, and soon after his arrival in Dublin received news of Booth's seizure of Chester. He first took measures to provide for security in Ireland. Major Dean was sent with a force of cavalry to reinforce the authorities in Ulster, where there were many Presbyterian Scots. Lord Broghill and others were summoned to assure the Commissioners of their acquiescence in the existing government. (Ludlow II 104 107 .) But Ludlow concerned himself also with affairs across the Irish Sea. News came that the garrisons at Carnarvon, Beaumaris, Denbigh, and Holyhead were considered insufficient, so he sent

one hundred infantry at once to be distributed among them. (Ibid.107.) On July 30th the Council of State wrote to the Commissioners and Ludlow asking that one thousand foot and five hundred horse be sent to strengthen the Government's forces against the Booth rebels. Fleetwood also wrote asking that the command of the expedition be given to Colonel Zanche. Ludlow concurred and gave the command of the infantry to Axtel. Two months' pay was advanced to the troops and they embarked. (President Whitelocke to the Commissioners in Ireland, and to Lieutenant General Ludlow, July 30, C.S.P.Dom.1659-60, 54 ; Same to Ludlow, Aug 4, Ibid.73 ; Ludlow II 110-1.) One vessel, the " Flower of Liverpool " foundered with all hands, but the others arrived safely before August 20th, and took part in the capture of Chirk Castle. They were ordered to return to Ireland on September 3rd, and five days later £1800 was voted as part pay to them. They were destined however to play an important part in English affairs, and did not see Ireland for a considerable period. (Ludlow to the Speaker, Sept 14, Ludlow II, App. II, 447; C.S.P.Dom.1659-60 166 181.)

For long the Royalists had made attempts to get at Monk. Charles had sent a personal letter appealing to him as early as 1655 (Skinner, Monk, Preface, xxv , Barwick, "Barwick", App. III 397-8.) but all had been in vain. The General in Scotland was of reserved temperament, and though at heart a conservative and probably a Royalist, he gave loyal and unswerving support to the government which employed him. He had been a faithful and trusted servant of the Cromwells. On Richard's fall he had submitted to the Rump and despite their ill treatment of him, continued to give them his allegiance. About the time of the Booth rising, the Royalists made another attempt, despite Hyde's misgivings. Charles commissioned Bellasis, Fauconberg, and Sir John Grenville to treat with him. The General was to be offered pardon, a title, lands, and provision for his officers, though a secret instruction limited the last to £100,000 a year. (John Grenville to -, July 1, Cal. Clar. S.P. Bod. IV 258 ; Mor-daunt to the King, July 6, Ibid.260 ; J. Grenville to Hyde, July 8, Ibid. 263-4 ; Hyde to Bellasis, July 11/21, Ibid.268 ; The King to Fauconberg, Bellasis, Grenville, July 11/21/?/, Ibid.268-9 ; Monk's Letters, 77 78.)

Colonel Jonathan Atkins came to appeal for his support but was harshly rebuffed. Another attempt was made in June 1659 by Major Rawdon, an old friend of the General, but he too made no headway. (Lord Conway to Major Rawdon, June 14, Conway Papers 158-9.) A more important envoy was Nicholas Monk, the General's younger brother, to whom Grenville had given the living of Kelkhampton on condition that he would perform a service for him when required. This mission was the redemption of the promise. He set out from London on August 9th bearing a letter from his royal master dated July 21st. (Charles II to Monk, July 21, cit. Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. Barwick, "Barwick" 194-5. Grenville to Hyde Aug 9, London, says that N. IV 330. Monk left for Scotland "a week ago", but most authorities give August 9 as the date on which he left the capital.) He found that his brother had been alarmed by the Royalist rising and had taken vigorous measures to co-operate in its suppression. In response to an urgent appeal from the Council of State for reinforcements he had sent Ashfield's Regiment into England. (Council of State to Monk, May, Clarke Papers, IV 15-6.) Orders were given for the prevention of all horse racing, for the seizure of Royalists' arms, and for all garrisons to be especially vigilant. (Monk to the Officers in Scotland, July 25, Dalkeith, /Copy/, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne-Popham MSS, /1899/, 120.) All Royalists who had given bond for peaceable living were tendered a new engagement, and those who refused were imprisoned until after the rising, when those who had been arrested merely on suspicion were released. (Council of War at Dalkeith, July 28, Clarke Papers IV 25-6 ; Circular Letter from Monk to Officers commanding in Scotland, July 29, Dalkeith, Ibid. 26-8 ; Arrests, Ibid. 41 ; Council of State to Monk, Sept 20, Ibid. 56 ; Lord Warriston to Monk, July 14, Whitehall, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/, 118 ; Nicoll's Diary 247 ; Baillie's Letters, II 434.) Following the Council's instructions he also ordered all troops of cavalry to be recruited up to 80 men in a troop, and all foot regiments to 800 men in a regiment. (President Whitelocke to Monk, Aug 7, C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 84 , General Monk to Major R. Knight, Aug 13, H. MSS. C., Rep. XII, App. Part VI, Fitzherbert MSS, /1893/, 3.) No record has been preserved of the first interview between the two brothers, but soon afterwards the General

talked with his chaplain Price, who at heart was a Royalist. On August 23rd Monk also conferred with Gumble, a Presbyterian minister who had been appointed chaplain to the Council of State of Scotland through Scott's influence. At last the General agreed that a declaration be drawn up protesting against the Rump's failure to fix a date for its own dissolution, and his brother wrote triumphantly to Grenville that he felt sure that Monk would rise at the first reasonable opportunity. (Rumbold to the King, Sept 5, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 359.) But just when Monk was making final preparations for the declaration with Price, Gumble, and Adjutant Smith, news arrived of the utter collapse of the rising in England. The Republican officers showed their delight, and Monk realised that though his troops were loyal to his own person, the arrival of this news had saved him from probable disaster and disgrace. He did not scruple to tell his brother how he felt that he had nearly been ensnared. However for the time being Nicholas Monk remained in Scotland. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 4-16 ; Price, 4-35 ; Gumble, 103-9 ; Clar. H. G. R. VII 382-4 ; Phillips 669-71 ; Skinner, "Monk" 90 99-104.)

The Booth rising also had effects as far away as the Sound. Montague had been in correspondence with Hyde and Ormonde and had assured them that he was ready to strike for the King when a favourable opportunity offered. When Charles heard Mordaunt's final report on the preparations for the rising, he sent Sir Thomas Whetston to persuade Montague to sail to England to help the rebels. (G. Paul to the King, 13th/?/ 1663, Clarke Papers IV, App. E 305 ; Instructions for Sir T. Whetston, June 23/July 3, Brussels, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 244.) The messenger had no easy task for he had to get through an iron ring of opposing armies. When he did arrive at the Sound he found that the Fleet was too far distant for him to make any contact, and that Montague himself was at Copenhagen. Once again the envoy found difficulties for the way to Copenhagen was blocked by a Swedish Army. However he joined the train of the Duke of Luneberg, who was proceeding thither for the solemn entry of the English commissioners into the town. Once there he found the Admiral's nephew, Edward Montague, son of Lord Montague of Boughton, to whom Hyde had already written explaining the Royalists' desires. (Hyde to E. Montague, June 10/20, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 229.)

The two held a long conference, and young Montague received the King's letter for his uncle. (The King to General Montague, June 24/July 4, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 246.) On the following day the admiral, accompanied by the commissioners met Whetston in a church, and was sufficiently astute as to greet him as an old acquaintance, without letting his colleagues know that he knew previously that the envoy would be in that place. Next evening young Montague again visited Whetston and explained the admiral's difficulties, particularly the temper of the Fleet, and the lack of victuals. Then he went on to urge the envoy to leave at once as the commissioners were beginning to have suspicions. He gave him the admiral's reply to Hyde, and a personal letter to Admiral Opdam to assist him to get to Hamburg. So Whetston departed and arrived safely back in Brussels by mid-September, where he delivered the letter, which expressed ardent loyalty, and stated that while Montague felt unable to do anything at the moment, Hyde "might expect a good account of him, and should hear from him by way of England." (Montague to Hyde, July 27/Aug 6, Copenhagen, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 296-7 ; Hyde to Ormonde, Sept 20, Brussels, Carte, Ormonde Papers, II 209-13.) Hyde had scarcely received this missive when news came that Montague had set sail for England, having heard of the actual rising after Whetston's departure. (Carte, Ormonde, II 185-6.) Sidney and the other commissioners had protested strongly, but the admiral had been supported by his council of war, which agreed to sail as there were only five weeks' provision left. So the Fleet left the Sound on August 22nd, Montague intending to declare for the King when he arrived off the Thames, and if necessary help in transporting men from the Continent. (Sidney, Honeywood and Boone to Thurloe, Copenhagen, Aug 24, Thurloe S. P. VII 733 ; Carte, Ormonde, II 186.) On his arrival however he was greeted with the news of the utter failure of the rising. As he had no foreign port to put into, and as provisions were running low, he was forced to anchor in Owsley Bay, and attempt to justify his action in messages to the Council of State. On September 2nd Parliament had learnt by letters from the commissioners and from Montague himself, of his departure, and had referred the whole matter to the Council, which gave orders for the dis-

-position of the ships, sent a commission of enquiry to the Fleet, received a personal report from Montague, and informed the House. On September 16th, Parliament further ordered the Council to enquire closely of Montague what were the reasons leading him to leave the Sound, when he had received no specific instructions from Parliament. (Carte, Ormonde II 187 ; C.J. Sept 2 16 ; Montague to the Council of State, Aug 23, Clarke Papers IV App. C, 296 ; Same to Same, Aug 27, Ibid. 296-7 ; A. Sidney to the Council of State, Aug 21, Copenhagen, Thurloe S. P. VII 731 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Sept 29, N. S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 475 ; Barwick to the King, Sept 12, Carte, Ormonde Papers, II 202-4 ; Clar. H. G. R. VII 435-8 ; President Vane to Montague, Sept 2, C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 165-6 ; Same to Same, Sept 2, Ibid. 166 ; Instructions to Commissioners to the Fleet, Sept 3, Ibid. 167-8 ; Ibid. 184 189 201-2.)

Thus the rising ended in disaster for the Royalists and their allies. Booth was examined by a committee set up by Parliament on August 24th. He confessed that he had received a commission from the King, and that many notables had promised to join him. He gave some names and asked for time to remember others. Bellasis, Charles Howard and Fauconberg were among others examined, the last named being committed to the Tower. On September 24th Vane gave the House a full report of the examinations. (C. J. Aug 24, Sept 24 ; Ludlow II 114 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 683 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60, 157-8 171 191 222 225 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Sept 29, N. S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 466-7 ; Same to Same, Sept 29, Ibid. 479.) On the whole Parliament followed a merciful policy. Despite a letter from the Mayor asserting the citizens' innocence and fidelity to Parliament, the Charter of Chester was annulled, and the Presbyterian ministers ejected as malignants. (The Mayor of Chester to the President of the Council of State, Aug 24, Clarke Papers, IV, App. C 294-5 ; C. J. Sept 17 ; Whitelocke, Memorials 683.) The Leicestershire ministers hastened to send their congratulations to Parliament, and protested their own innocence. (C. J. Sept 9 ; Heath 427 ; Merc. Pol. Sept 8-15.) Peter Brooke was closely questioned and committed to the Tower, after having been declared incapable of sitting as a Member of Parliament. (C. J. Sept 13 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 684.) The Council of State ordered the commission-

-ers of the Great Seal to review commissions in order to dismiss any justices of the peace who had shown disloyalty. (C.S.P.Dom.1659-60 220). Many Royalists were arrested and imprisoned, and a still greater number examined, (Vide Cal.Clar.S.P.Bod.IV 306-48 390-1.) but there was no savage revenge taken, the government well knowing that the failure of the rebellion had not only discouraged but divided the Royalists. Among the suspects were Richard Cromwell, who cleared himself, and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who was declared innocent following a report from Neville. (C.J.Sept 14 ; Whitelocke Memorials 683 ; Christie, "Shaftesbury" I 185-7 ; C.S.P.Dom.1659-60 194 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Aug 18 N.S., Guizot, R.Crom.I 450.) In one direction however Parliament showed that it almost rejoiced at the Royalists having given them an excuse to help their finances. Estates of those who had fought for the rebels were sequestered, and their annual income was estimated at three million pounds - a god-send to the hard pressed Commonwealth. (C.J.Aug 23 24 27 Sept 2 ; C.S.P.Dom.1659-60 147 154 ; Guizot, R.Crom.I 209-10 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Sept 4 N.S., Ibid.465.)

The jubilant Rump ordered that October 3rd be observed as a day of national thanksgiving. (C.J.Sept 24 ; C.S.P.Dom.1659-60 236 .) But their elation led to one false step which had to be retraced. On September 2nd Parliament ordered that the unpopular Republican Lord Mayor, John Ireton, continue for a further term of office. This outrage of ancient privileges led the City to petition for permission to elect its own Mayor. The wiser heads in Parliament realised that Ireton's continuance would only encourage the dominance of the disaffected party in the city's counsels, and gave way. Sir Thomas Allen, destined to play an important part in the events which were to follow, was elected on October 1st, and the Common Council, somewhat mollified, invited Parliament and the leading officers to a Banquet on the 6th, where "there were many mutual expressions of love and respect." (C.J.Sept 2 28, Oct 1 ; Whitelocke, Memorials 683 684 ; Guizot, R.Crom.I 216 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Sept 29 N.S., Ibid.478 ; Same to Brienne, Oct 6 N.S., Ibid.484 ; Same to Same, Oct 13 N.S., Ibid.490 ; Same to Same, Oct 13, N.S., Ibid.491 ; Same to Mazarin, Oct 20 N.S., Ibid.498 ; Ludlow II 121 ; Merc.Pol.Sept 29-Oct 6 ;

F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, Sept 26 N.S., C.S.P. Venet. XXXII No. 69, pp70-1 ; Same to Same, Oct 3 N.S., Ibid. No. 70, p. 72 ; Same to Same, Oct 10 N.S., Ibid. No. 71, pp. 74-5.)

The Royalist party gave itself up to violent recriminations. Bitter criticisms were levelled at Booth, who was accused of lacking "scientia, virtus, autoritas, fortuna." (Metamorphosis Anglorum 50.) Equally bitter attacks were made on Mordaunt. (Clar. Continuation, 35-6.) Why did not Booth attempt to hold Chester instead of marching to meet Lambert ? (Clar. H.G.R. VII 335.) Why did he not immediately attack Croxton on getting into Chester ? Why were so many admitted to his counsels, thus causing confusion ? Why did not Derby join Booth as soon as he had collected his men ? Why was so much ammunition sent back to Chester before the rebels engaged Lambert ? (Letter of Mordaunt, N.D., Carte Papers, II 194-200.) Why was Zanchev not attacked immediately on landing ? Why did not the Lancashire rebels crush Lilburne's small force from Yorkshire ? (Phillips 670.) Some Royalists blamed the lethargy of the great nobles, especially naming Northampton, Fauconberg, Bellasis, and Willoughby. (J. Cooper to Hyde, Sept 12, London, Cal. Clar. S.P. Bod. IV 369.) Another section strove to defend Willis and urged that Hyde had poisoned the King's mind against a faithful servant. (Nicholas to Ormonde, Nov 19/29, Brussels, C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 268 ; Hyde to Ormonde, Nov 29, Brussels, Carte, Ormonde Papers, II 283-8. Vide supra p. 50.) Hyde himself laid his finger on one grave weakness of the party - the frequent meetings in taverns with their resultant drunkenness had deplorable effects on the intellectual as well as the moral fibre of many who otherwise would have made competent leaders. (Clar. Continuation 33.) Yet just when the Royalists were in despair their hopes were renewed. On news of Booth's defeat Parliament had not forgotten to reward its servants. All who had served in ^{suppressing} the rising were thanked and indemnified. (C.J. Sept 14 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 195.) £2000 was voted to the troops who had served in the Cheshire expedition, and provision was made for the dependants of those officers and men who had perished in the shipwreck of the ill-fated "Flower of Liverpool." (C.J. Aug 19 20 Sept 9 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 126 130 183 .) The various messengers received pres-

ents, and Colonel Croxton was voted £300. (C.J. Aug 20 22 23 24 Sept 17;
 130
 C.S.P.Dom.1659-60 139 141 142 204 580 581 583 584 585 .) The Council
 of State conveyed Parliament's thanks to the Militia and made arrange-
 -ments for their payment and disbandment. (C.J. Aug 27 Sept 14 ; C.S.
 P.Dom.1659-60 179 183 195 220.) Horses and arms taken by the rebels
 from Republicans were restored and compensation given. (C.S.P.Dom.1659-
 60 221.) But when Fleetwood moved that Lambert be promoted to the
 rank of Major General, Hesilrige immediately led the opposition. The
 Rump remembered how they had voluntarily given great powers to Oliver
 after Dunbar - and what had been the result, and they recalled too
 that Lambert had played a leading part in bringing about their first
 ejection. (Behemoth 276 ; F.Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, Sept 12 N.S.
 C.S.P.Venet.XXXII No.64 p.65 ; Same to Same, Oct 3 N.S., Ibid., No.70, p.
 72; Clar.H.G.R.VII 366.) Fleetwood then proposed that £1000 be voted
 to buy Lambert a jewel, and to this Parliament cordially agreed. But
 the refusal of the title undoubtedly embittered Lambert, and was an
 important cause of the dramatic events which were to follow. (C.J. Aug
 23 ; C.S.P.Dom.1659-60 137 583 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 683 ; Ludlow II
 114-5.)

IV. GENERAL LAMBERT'S COUP D'ÉTAT.

As I past through Westminster Hall,
 By the House that's near to Hell,
 They told me that John Lambert was there
 With his bears, and did deeply swear,
 (As Cromwell had done before,)
 Those vermin should sit no more.
 Sing "Hi ! Ho !" Will Lenthall,
 Who shall our General be ?

"A Proper Ballad on the old Parliament,"

Rump Songs II 26-7.

The Rump was suspicious of its victorious General, and many believed that he was aiming to set himself up as Protector. The fact that he distributed among his troops the thousand pounds which Parliament had sent him to buy a jewel made Rumpers think that he was only trying to increase his already great following among the troops. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 366.) These suspicions had been deepened by the ridicule which the soldiers had poured on the way in which they received their commissions. Some had said that the Speaker must lead them in their next campaign, and that they would follow only as far as he led. A Parliamentary vote of September 3rd, enforcing an engagement of loyalty to the Commonwealth on all officers of the Militia - which Parliament hoped to use against the Army if necessity demanded - was not without significance. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 216-7 ; Echard 742 ; C. J. Sept 3 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 166.)

Even while on the road to Chester, and during his operations against the Booth rebels Lambert had voiced to the government the grievances - many of them quite justified - of the troops under his command. He had been in correspondence with the military leaders in London, and had come to the conclusion that the wiser course would be to commence the agitation against Parliament at his headquarters at Derby rather than in the capital itself. (Phillips 672.) On September 16th, therefore, he and his officers met to discuss Parliament's shortcomings. Colonels

Zanchez and Mitchell, with Major Creed and others, were appointed as a committee to draw up a Petition. By the 20th, Lambert himself was in London, and the Petition had been agreed upon at Derby. This reiterated the demands of "The Humble Petition and Address" of May 13th, (Vide supra, p. 20.) and to the clause requesting the appointment of Fleetwood as permanent Commander-in-Chief, was added the demand that Lambert be Major-General, Desborough Lieutenant-General of Cavalry, and Monk Lieutenant-General of Infantry. Lambert was soon followed to London by his faithful henchman, Lieutenant Colonel Duckenfield, who reported the proceedings at Derby to the General Council of Officers. The actual Petition was sent up to the capital as an enclosure with a letter to Ashfield, Cobbet, and Duckenfield, requesting them to deliver it to Fleetwood and the General Council of Officers. A duplicate of the Petition, together with a letter signed by fourteen of Lambert's leading officers was sent to Monk and the Army in Scotland. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 218 ; Phillips 672 ; Col. Mitchell to William Clarke, Sept. 24, Wingeworth, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS., /1899/ 122-3; Cols. Mitchell, Zanchez, etc. to Monk, Derby, Ibid. 123-4.)

On September 22nd, Hesilrige, who had received secret information of the proceedings at Derby, demanded in Parliament that if Fleetwood had a copy of the Petition, he should produce it that afternoon. (C. J. Sept. 22.) He went on to make a scathing attack on the Army leaders, accused them of a design to set up a Single Person, and demanded that Lambert should be sent to the Tower, and Zanchez and Creed imprisoned. (Ludlow II 135.) Though outwardly Lambert was not playing a leading part, Parliament showed clearly that it knew where the real menace lay, for it feared that Lambert would rule Fleetwood as Oliver had ruled Fairfax. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 367.) Fleetwood attempted to reply to Hesilrige; he admitted that he had a copy of the Petition, but felt that the signatures had some justification. The House was not convinced and demanded that the three officers to whom the Petition had been addressed should bring the original document to the House that very day. Ashfield, Cobbet, and Duckenfield accordingly brought the Petition, (The Humble Petition and Proposals of the Officers under the command of

the Right Honourable the Lord Lambert in the late Northern Expedition, cit. Phillips 672-3.) but somewhat appeased by Fleetwood's explanations, Parliament contented itself next day by passing a resolution, " That General Officers further than those appointed already by Parliament are needless, chargeable, and dangerous to Parliament." A proposal that the House should condemn the Petition as unseasonable and of dangerous consequence was rejected by 31 votes to 25, Hesilrige on this occasion opposing the more violent Neville and Scott. Parliament then ordered Fleetwood to communicate their vote to his colleagues, rebuke them for their presumption, and warn them against similar proceedings in the future. On the 26th the House gave another order which the Army must have realised was directed against a possible attack - that a Bill be brought in making it treason to levy any taxes or impositions without Parliamentary consent. Already however there was a division in the ranks of the Rump. Vane felt sure that a breach with the Army meant the end of the Commonwealth, and as a last resort was prepared even to throw his weight on the side of the officers. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 218-9 ; Ludlow II 135 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 683 ; C. J. Sept 23 28 ; Bordeaux to Brienne, Oct 6 N. S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 482.) He was strengthened in his views not only by Hesilrige's bitter animosity, but the fact that the majority of the Rump followed Hesilrige's lead rather than his own, though his own influence had increased greatly. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 373-4 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Sept 29, N. S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 474-5 ; Same to Same, Oct 10 N. S., Ibid. 485-6 ; Nicholas to Hyde, Sept. 17/27, Brussels, Carte, Ormonde Papers II 216.)

The leading officers gathered at Wallingford House to consider the situation. They decided to replace the Derby Petition by one more moderate in tone, declaring fidelity to the Commonwealth. But to the amazement and consternation of the more level headed officers, when the Council met on the 27th in Somerset House Chapel the Petition brought forward for their approbation was more extreme than ever. True the preamble was sufficiently submissive, and no names were specifically mentioned, but the demands set forth constituted a definite challenge to the Rump :

- I. Countenance of faithful officers, especially those who had served against the Booth rebels.
- II. Persons informing the House against the Army to be tried and punished.
- III. The Army to have the right to petition the House.
- IV. Consideration by Parliament of Army necessities, including provision for the maimed, widows and orphans.
- V. Places of trust and command to be given to those who had shown loyalty during the Booth rising.
- VI. No officer to be cashiered except by Court Martial.
- VII. No person to receive a commission in the Army who had not been considered and presented by a committee of nominations.
- VIII. The position of Commander in Chief falling vacant in a few months Parliament to take an effective course.
- IX. Parliament to retain a good opinion of the Army. ("The Humble Representation and Petition of the officers of the Army to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England; presented to them on October 5th by Major General Desborough, accompanied with the Field officers of the Army and subscribed by above two hundred and thirty commission officers in and about London. Together with Parliament's answer thereto." London. 1659.)

Despite the arguments of Okey, Hacker, Sanders, and others, who urged that Army and Parliament must stand or fall with each other, the Petition was approved. (Phillips 674.)

Though a roll call, and the enforcement of fines on absentees showed that Parliament was alarmed, the House also showed clearly that it regarded some of the Army's demands as just. It probably hoped that if it took steps to deal with these grievances, the delivery of this new Petition might be delayed or even prevented. (C. J. Sept. 20.) Orders were given for the payment of troops and for providing for widows, orphans, and maimed veterans. Arrears were to be met partly from the proceeds of sales of lands taken from those who had taken part in the late rising, partly by the sales of forests, except the Forest of Dean. The sale of Hampton Court and its parks, and other manors, was also authorised. On

October 4th, in discussing an order for the sale of Somerset House, Henry Marten secured the exemption of its chapel, (Vide supra, p. 32.) which was used by French Protestants, but Parliament agreed to sell the House itself for £10,000. There was even talk of selling Whitehall, a bid of £60,000 having been reported, but the trend of events prevented any definite conclusion being reached. (Ludlow II 102 ; C.J. Sept 1 20 Oct 3 4 5.)

The Arundel case, a rather miserable and long drawn out struggle seems also to have been largely due to the Rump's efforts to raise money. On September 28th Parliament ordered that a letter be sent to the Doge of Venice, asking him to secure the Earl until the House sent for him, the estates being held by persons nominated by the Council of State until his return. (C.J. sept. 16 28 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 201 219 228 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Sept 29 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 475 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, Oct 3 N.S., C.S.P. Venet. XXXII, No. 70, p. 73 ; Same to Same, Oct 10 N.S., Ibid. NO. 71, p. 75 ; Speaker Lenthall to the Same, Oct 4/14, Ibid. No. 73, p. 76.) But Venice put every obstacle it could in the way when their envoy reported that there were sinister reasons behind the Commonwealth's requests, though the wily diplomat was assuring Parliament at the same time that he was doing all he could to help them. (F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, Oct 17 N.S., C.S.P. Venet. XXXII, No. 74, p. 78 ; Doge & Senate to the Rectors of Padua, Oct. 25 N.S., Ibid. No. 78, p. 82 ; Bernardo Donato and Anzolo Marcello to the Doge & Senate, Padua, Oct 29 N.S., Ibid. No. 81, p. 83.) The whole case collapsed however on the fall of the Rump at the end of the month, and though revived in the following February, was finally abandoned on the resumption of the secluded members. (Vide C.S.P. Venet. XXXII 85 87-8 95 96 123 .)

The House also tried to win general esteem by considering the debts contracted to furnish the forces with arms at the outbreak of war, and ordered part of the proceeds of the sale of the forests to go towards the liquidation of them. (C.J. Oct 4.)

If the House had hopes that these measures would kill the Petition, it was mistaken. On Wednesday, October 5th, Desborough, accompanied by many officers, presented the Petition and made a short speech. (C.J. Oct 5 ; Phillips 675.) The debates which followed showed clearly that Parliament

was determined to maintain its authority, though finally agreeable to return a moderate answer. The Army was thanked for its expression of affection, and it was pointed out that the House had already taken into consideration several of the chief demands in the Petition. (C.J. Oct 5 ; Phillips 677 ; Ludlow II 136.)

Desborough reported to the General Council of Officers which resolved to strengthen its position by securing more signatures to the Petition. A letter was drawn up to send to all regiments and garrisons in England, Scotland and Ireland. That to Monk (cit. Phillips 677.) was signed by Lambert, Desborough, Creed, Mason, and Packer. But the energetic Clarges had forestalled them, and Monk had already shown his attitude, for when a letter from the officers at Derby had arrived, pleading for signatures in their support, he had forbidden any officer to sign without his permission. He had also sent a letter to Parliament, which was read on October 3rd - two days before the presentation of the "Humble Representation." In this he informed them of the peaceful condition of Scotland, and especially commended some of his officers. The House ordered Whitelocke to draw up a gracious reply, giving him hearty thanks and granting his requests. (C.J. Oct 3 5 ; Phillips 677 ; Clarke Papers, 57-8 58 59-60 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Oct 20 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. I 497-8.)

On October 8th Parliament considered an additional Bill for enforcing sequestrations on the Booth rebels, appointing Praise God Barbon as Comptroller at a salary of £300 per annum. It also considered the "Humble Representation" but the debate was adjourned until the 10th, when three days' discussion of the various clauses of the Petition was opened, and answers were given to the first five clauses. (Vide supra, p. 80.) To Proposition I the House replied that it would countenance all officers according to their merit and faithfulness. To Proposition II they replied that it was the duty of all, and especially Members of Parliament, to inform the House of anything which they believed concerned public safety, and it was Parliament's duty and right to consider such information, and take proper action. To Proposition III, the House agreed that the Army had a right to petition, but care should be taken in both the matter of a petition, and the way in which it was presented, and petitioners must

acquiesce in Parliament's judgement. To Proposition IV, Parliament replied by ordering the Council of State to see to the payment of two months' wages to all troops in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and referred the Army to the House's former votes for care of the maimed, widows and orphans. To Proposition V the House said that it would encourage those officers who had shown faithfulness in the late rising as occasion offered. (C.J. Oct 8 10 11 ; Phillips 677-8 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 250 ; Merc. Pol. Oct 6-13.)

But the Rump was not content with answering the "Humble Representation". It realised that it was now fighting for its life. An act was passed making void the actions of the Protectoral governments of 1653-9, and on the 11th it returned to the subject of possible non-Parliamentary taxation, (Vide supra p. 79.) and voted that any tax levied on the people without Parliamentary consent from that day onwards laid open the persons responsible to a charge of High Treason. (C.J. Oct 10 11 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 250 ; Ludlow II 137.) The chief reason why this vote was passed was that a letter, signed by Lambert, Desborough, Berry, Kelsey, Ashfield, Packer, and Cobbet, similar to that sent to Monk, had been sent to the Parliamentary champion Okey, through an error of Fleetwood's secretary. Okey promptly handed it over to Hesilrige, (Ludlow II 136.) who informed the House, but consideration of the matter was deferred until next day. The Parliamentary leaders were fortified by a message from Scotland that Monk was prepared to support them against the Army of England. This message was brought by Nicholas Monk, who arrived in the capital on the 11th. When the House met on the 12th the letter given to Hesilrige by Okey was read. An attempt to evade the issue by moving the previous question was rejected by 50 votes to 15. Nine of the leading officers of the Wallingford House group were then cashiered, and a committee of seven to control the Army was appointed, three being necessary to form a quorum. The seven were Fleetwood, Monk, Ludlow, Hesilrige, Morley, Walton, and Overton, of whom only Fleetwood was of the Army junto. Their powers were to extend from October 11th until February 22nd, 1660. Lambert's regiment was given to Lieutenant Colonel Campfield, with Skippon as his Lieutenant Colonel, and Bradshaw's son as Major. A committee was appointed to consider rep-

-lies to the remaining propositions of the "Humble Representation". Though a resolution to appoint a Parliamentary Life Guard had been rejected, three of the Army committee met in the Speaker's chamber and ordered the regiments of Morley and Moss to occupy Palace Yard as a guard for Parliament. The unfortunate Okey attempted to reinforce this guard but the majority of his men deserted to Lambert. (C.J. Oct 12 ; Merc. Pol. Oct 6-13 ; Phillips 678-9 ; Ludlow II 137.)

The Army leaders decided that the time was ripe for drastic action. Lambert and his colleagues were determined not to surrender their commands, and their attitude was fully supported by the rank and file of their men. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 370.) Next morning Lambert made the first attempt to break the guard. He marched through the streets at the head of his own infantry regiment and barred all the approaches to Parliament. He then went in person to the Palace and confronted Morley who assured him that he would not hesitate to fire. So Lambert took another direction, and found his way barred by Moss, the majority of whose regiment ignored Lambert's appeals, though Evelyn's regiment, which had arrived to reinforce Moss responded by a wholesale desertion to Lambert. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 224-5 ; Ludlow II 138-9 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 684-5.)

Lenthall's coach was stopped by troops under Duckenfield's command, the soldiers shouting derisively at the Speaker, who returned home. Hesilrige and other members of Parliament appealed in vain to the City authorities, who would give no promise other than that they would maintain order in the City itself. (Guizot, R. Crom. I 225 ; Noble, Lives of the Regicides, I 192 ff. ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, Oct 18 N.S., C.S. P. Venet. XXXII No. 76, p. 80.) The Council of State met hastily and ordered all troops to return to their quarters. Both sides fell in with these orders and retired for the night. But no Members attempted to take their seats, though Sir Peter Wentworth evaded the blockade by escaping from the guards posted to watch the river route. Fleetwood provided that this absence would continue by setting guards at the door of the House itself. (C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 251 ; Ludlow II 139 ; Phillips 679 .)

Next day the Army grandees met at Whitehall and chose a council to

carry on the government until more permanent arrangements could be made. The members of this body were Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, Berry, Sydenham, James Harrington, Salway, Vane, Whitelocke, and Archibald Johnston of Warriston. Lambert represented the purely military party, and Fleetwood, who still retained some ideas in favour of constitutional government, feared his more able colleague. Vane and Salway were deserters from the Parliamentary side. Whitelocke probably joined this council in the hope that he might be a moderating influence against the extreme views of Vane. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 2-3 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 685.) Well might one contemporary scribe write, "Our omnipotent Army here have an art beyond that of Proteus, for he could only transform himself into what shape he pleased, but these can conjure a Protector into a Parliament, and a Parliament into nothing." (Metamorphosis Anglorum p.4.)

The Royalists were jubilant at the fall of the Rump and sent express messages to Calais, urging Mordaunt to return. He replied promptly, and having sent Nicholas Armourer to the King with a report of the situation he returned to London within five days of Lambert's coup. (Mordaunt to Ormonde, Calais, Oct 28 N.S., Carte, Ormonde Papers II 238-40 ; Vide supra, p.68.) The enthusiastic agent proposed that advantage should be taken of the turn of events by the despatch of a Royalist expedition under York, but the influence of Hyde caused the rejection of such a harebrained scheme. (Hyde to Ormonde, Brussels, Nov. 8, Carte Ormonde Papers, II 257-9 ; York to Mordaunt, Nov. 5 Ibid. 259-61 ; Hyde to Ormonde, Nov 15, Ibid. 267-8 ; York to Mordaunt, Nov 15, Ibid. 268-9.) The Royalists in England were not inactive. Mr. John Evelyn, of Say's Court, near Deptford, Kent, made an effort to win over Colonel Herbert Morley, who had considerable influence, especially in Sussex. After some hesitation, the colonel promised to serve the King, and asked Evelyn to secure a Royal pardon for himself and his relatives. Then he departed for Sussex, leaving instructions to Evelyn as to how to correspond with him. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 2 ; Phillips 679-80 ; Vide p. 128 .)

Charles II received Mordaunt's message while he was in Paris. (Mordaunt to the King, Oct. 27 London, Carte, Ormonde Papers, II 244-50 ; vide supra

p.68.)He hastened on to Brussels where less favourable reports reached him, but he continued to hope that Monk at least might be won over to the Royal side. (Carte, "Ormonde" II 194 ; Clar.H.G.R.VII 362 ; Barwick, "Barwick" App.XVIII p.472 ; Nicholas to Colepepper, Nov.19/29, C.S.P.Dom. 1659-60 269.)

V. THE MONTHS OF ANARCHY.

The Committee of Safety threw the dye,
 But somebody spit in his face from on high,
 Which made the valiant Fleetwood cry,
 Which nobody can deny.

"Fortunate Rising", v.13, Rump Songs II 24.

For about fourteen days after Lambert's coup, the Council of State continued to meet. At one of their meetings, probably that on October 15th Sydenham attempted to justify the Army's action, saying that it was the last remedy, and due to a particular call of Providence. The veteran Bradshaw rose in anger, declaring his abhorrence of the force put upon Parliament; he was near going to his God, and he would not sit to hear His Great Name blasphemed. With this, the aged President withdrew, and stayed in retirement until his death on October 31st, an unrepentant regicide to the end. (Ludlow II 140-1 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 686 ; Echard 752 ; Noble, Lives of the Regicides, I 66 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, Nov 14 N.S., C.S.P. Venet. XXXII, No. 90, p. 90.)

On October 23rd the officers appointed a Committee of Safety of 23 members. A small conference of officers had drawn up a list of names, which was ratified by a larger gathering at Wallingford House. The final selection consisted of 13 officers and 10 civilians. Writs were to run in the name of the General Council of Officers. On the 26th the members met to receive their instructions and commenced their duties on the following day. The membership of this important body was as follows : Fleetwood, Desborough, Lambert, Steel, Whitelocke, Vane, Ludlow, Sydenham, Salway, Strickland, Berry, Lawrence, Harrington, (the regicide), Holland, Johnston of Warriston, Brandreth, Clarke, Bennett, John Ireton, Robert Thompson, and Tichborne. (Heath 429 ; Phillips 680 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 685-6 ; A True Narrative of Proceedings... 41 53.) (Bordeaux to Mazarin, Nov 3 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 272.) A Declaration justifying the Army's action, was drawn up on the 24th, but it was significant that public opinion, which had generally approved Oliver's ejection of the Rump in 1653,

showed no enthusiasm for Lambert's imitation of his old commander. (A Declaration of the General Council of the Officers of the Army agreed upon at Wallingford House on the 27th October 1659 cit. A True Narrative of Proceedins, 42-53 ; Whitelooke, Memorials 686 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Nov 3 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 273.)

The Army leaders soon realised that they had little or no support outside the ranks of their own troops. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper continued in opposition, and acted with the Parliamentarian Hesilrige. They drew up commissions for commands in London and the West, and other districts, though Cooper confessed that when he received his own commission his chief care was where to hide it. Nevertheless this little group in London focussed English opposition to the military party. (Ludlow II 155 ; Christie, "Shaftesbury" I 192-3 ; Memorials of Sir A.A. Cooper, Locke's Works, III 493.) On November 1st, Colonels Herbert Morley, John Okey, and Matthew Alured, and six others, signed a protest against such a military government, and Fleetwood's reply pointed out as a justification only that in the voting on the Rump's resolutions on October 10, 11, 12, there had been a minority of sympathisers with the Army. (The Humble Representation of Colonel Morley and some other late officers of the Army, to General Fleetwood, I November 1659, Thurloe S.P. VII 771-4 ; The Lord General Fleetwood's Answer to the Humble Representation of Colonel Morley etc. Nov. 8 1659. /24 pp./) Angry pamphlets bitterly attacked Lambert and his friends for overthrowing Parliament. (The Copy of a Letter to a country Colonel or a Serious Dissuasive from joining with those Officers now in rebellion against the Parliament, 1659 ; E.D., The Declaration of the Officers of the Army opened, examined, and condemned, and the Parliament vindicated against the scandals, reproaches, lies, and falsehood cast upon them in the said Declaration, 1659 ; The Game is Up, 1659 ; Protestation of the Well Affected of London, etc., Nov 16 1659, cit. C.S.P.Dom. 1659-60 264-5 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge and Senate, Oct 31 N.S., C.S.P.Venet. XXXII, No. 82, p. 84.) In the provinces the government was not only unpopular but largely ineffective. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 25-6.) There was some talk of restoring Richard Cromwell and the ex-Protector came to London on the 26th, but the proj-

-ect fell through and Richard retired again to watch developments.

(Guizot, R. Crom. II 25.)

Between October 14th and 17th the officers were engaged in reorganising the Army once more. Officers loyal to the Rump or hostile to the ruling clique, including Morley, Alured, and Okey, were cashiered. A committee for nominating officers was appointed, and articles of war were prepared, enjoining strict discipline and good behaviour towards the civilian population. Despite these injunctions however there is ample evidence that many of the troops behaved with great insolence towards civilians during this period of Army supremacy. (Ludlow II 148 ; Whitelocke Memorials 685 ; A True Narrative of Proceedings 21 23 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, Oct 31 N.S., C.S.P. Venet. XXXII No. 82 p. 84 ; Hutchinson's Memoirs 354-6 ; Josselin's Diary, Nov. 20, p. 131 ; Autobiography of Alice Thornton, 98-9.) A rather pathetic attempt to show that the government had the support of some Rumpers at least was made by raising two regiments of cavalry in London, and by giving the commands to Vane and Whitelocke. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 28 ; Whitelocke Memorials 685.) Soon after, new commissions were delivered to all officers. (A Certificate whereby all the officers were new commissioned, /to Fleetwood, Oct. 29/, Thurloe S. P. VII 771.)

Lambert and his friends had some confidence in the Army of England but were apprehensive of the attitude of the forces in Ireland and Scotland, and so they sent Barrow on a mission to the former country and Cobbet to the latter.

Commonwealth government had never had a strong hold on many of the Irish forces, or on the civil population. The commissioners were told even before their arrival that a strong feeling prevailed that the rule of the Rump endangered the land settlement, and had urged Parliament to take speedy measures to quieten the fears of many who might otherwise be loyal Republicans. (Ludlow and John Jones to the Speaker, St. Albans, 19 July 1659, Ludlow II, App. II 446-7.) They had also to admit to the Speaker that the administration of justice had become " a total failure " since the fall of the Protectorate. (The Commissioners to Mr. Speaker Lenthall, Oct. 17, Dublin, C. S. P. Ireland, 1647-60 691.) The question

of arrears of pay was a critical problem of the Irish government. On September 14th Ludlow had informed the Speaker that Army pay was fourteen months in arrears, and that some relief was urgently needed. A further statement was forwarded in October, but the Rump's financial difficulties prevented any useful settlement of the question. (Ludlow II App. II 448 ; C.S.P. Ireland 1647-60 692-3.) During September copies of the Derby petition had been forwarded by Zanchez to Ireland, and Ludlow called a meeting of officers at Dublin, at which he made a vigorous speech condemning the Petition. The Council unanimously refused concurrence with their English brethren, and Ludlow hastened to write to Hesilrige, assuring Parliament of the steady support of the Army of Ireland. (Ludlow II 119-20.) By this time, Ludlow had completed his reorganisation of the Army of Ireland and prepared to return to England. Distrusting his senior colonel, Zanchez, because of his part in the Derby petition, and doubting the stability of Sir Hardress Waller, he finally resolved to give supreme command of the troops in his absence to Colonel John Jones, one of the commissioners. He wrote to Fleetwood, asking him to support this nomination in Parliament, but the general replied that he did not think Parliamentary sanction necessary. Before telling Jones, Ludlow sounded the officers. He won over Waller, by showing him how Zanchez was the difficulty, and found that Coote was quite agreeable so long as he retained his Presidency of Connaught and his regiment. The news of Parliament's condemnation of the "Humble Representation" hastened Ludlow's departure. Despite Thomlinson's opposition, the commissioners were induced to accept John Jones as Commander in Chief in Ludlow's absence, and the council of officers gave unanimous approval. On the day of his departure Ludlow reviewed the Dublin militia, over 1300 strong. (Ludlow II 121-7 ; C.S.P. Ireland 1647-60 691.)

On his arrival at Beaumaris, Ludlow was informed that the Irish Brigade, instead of obeying Parliament's orders to return to Ireland, was preparing to set off to London. More serious still, Lambert had prevented Parliament from sitting. Nevertheless Ludlow resolved to continue his journey to the capital, a decision that was to be one of the grounds later for his impeachment. (Articles of Impeachment against Ludlow, No.

19, Ludlow II App. III, 468.) At Conway he met Barrow with the letters from the General Council of Officers and from Fleetwood, justifying the actions of the England Army. Ludlow instructed Barrow to continue to Ireland with the Officers' letter, and gave him also a personal message for John Jones. He then proceeded to Chester and heard the opinions of the Irish Brigade. From Chester he travelled by way of Coventry, Northampton, and St. Albans, to London, where he arrived on October 29th. Accompanied by Vane and Salway, he conferred first with the Army leaders and then with the Rumpers, and strove unsuccessfully to bring about a reconciliation. Finding however that Hesilrige and Scott favoured a coalition with Monk and the Army of Scotland, Ludlow finally threw in his lot with the Army, but his belief that a complete victory for either side would be disastrous to the Commonwealth only made him distrusted by both. (Ludlow II 127-32.) (Ibid. 143-6.)

Meanwhile Barrow had arrived in Ireland, where he received a mixed reception. The majority of the officers finally agreed to support the Army of England, though Waller and others wrote to Ludlow begging him to return to his command. On October 20th Monk too had written to Ludlow inviting his co-operation in favour of Parliament. This letter arrived in Ireland after Ludlow's departure, and the leaders of the Army of Ireland therefore drew up an address which received Waller's support, as well as that of John Jones, upholding their English brethren. A copy of this address, dated November 4th, was forwarded to Ludlow, and Jones wrote to him later in the month naively arguing that he could not see that the declaration was hostile to Parliament, for the best interests of Parliament could never be served by a clash and bloodshed between the various armies. Of the civil commissioners, Steele, who had been nominated as a member of the Committee of Safety, took his departure for England, and his colleagues thereupon threw in their lot with the officers. To prevent the garrison of Ayr, which was supporting Monk, from communicating with Ulster, the Ireland leaders sent a war-ship to cruise between the two coasts. (Ludlow II 141-2 146-7 151-3 ; Monk to Ludlow, Edinburgh, Oct 20, Ibid. App. II No. 3 p. 449 ; Vide infra p. 102.) (Jones to Ludlow Nov 30, C. S. P. Ireland 1647-60 693-4.)

Thus Ireland seemed to have fallen into line with England. What of Scotland ? The England Army leaders had rejected Monk's nomination as a member of the committee of nominations on the ground that they doubted his hold on his forces. But before Cobbet ever arrived in Scotland, Fleetwood and his colleagues had been made fully aware of Monk's attitude, which was made abundantly clear in his letters of October 20th, (vide infra, p. 96.) - written on the very day that the England Army leaders were writing to him appealing for his support and subscription to their declaration. (The Officers at Whitehall to General Monk, Oct. 20, Clarke Papers IV 67-8.) In some ways Monk was an astonishing champion of the Rump, but it is not difficult to see the way in which his mind worked so far as general principles were concerned. He disliked "political soldiers", for he had learned his trade in Holland, "where soldiers received and obeyed commands but gave none." (Monk to the Speaker, Dalkeith, June 18 1659, Clarke Papers IV 22.) Loyalty to authority was the maxim which governed all his actions, and for a while he had acquiesced in the re-establishment of the Rump. But he had been embittered by the removal of some of his most trusted officers, and the threat to remove more, so had sent a letter on September 3rd to Lenthall begging Parliament's permission to resign on grounds of his ill health and his prolonged command in Scotland. He had not followed his usual practice however of sending the letter to Clarges, well knowing that his agent would vigorously oppose his resignation, but Clarges received the letter from Nicholas Monk, and in giving it to Lenthall, extorted from the Speaker a promise not to present it for ten days. Vane and his party had received private intimation of the letter but the House was diverted by Lenthall and by Monk's friends until Clarges had worked upon his master to send a further letter withdrawing his petition. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 16-17 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Sept. 29 N.S., Ibid. I 475 ; Phillips 671-2 ; Gumble 100 110-1 ; Monk to the Speaker, Dalkeith, June 2, Clarke Papers IV 16-17 ; Newsletter, Ibid. 24-5 ; Ibid. 39 ; C. J. June 9.) (Vide supra, pp. 25-6 27 42-3 69.) Monk had opposed the Derby petition, (vide supra p. 82.) and when the "Humble Representation" was being considered by the General Council of Officers, some of the more moderate officers had written to

him begging him to use his influence to prevent a breach with Parliament. At first he hesitated. He wrote to Fleetwood suggesting that the clause demanding dismissal of officers only by Court Martial should be amended so as not to lessen the authority of a Commander in Chief, but this letter reached Fleetwood after the General Council of Officers had agreed to present the "Humble Representation" to Parliament. Monk then sent his kinsman, Nicholas Monk to London to assure members of Parliament that he would stand by them if a breach occurred. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 17-18 ; Phillips 674 ; vide supra, p. 83.) Nicholas was also commanded to tell Grenville that his brother desired strict silence concerning the recent Royalist proposals to him. In all the events which followed Monk never really receded from the position of champion of constitutional government.

At this point it might be well to consider the state of Monk and his Army. Nominally he had ten regiments of foot, each consisting of 1000 men excluding officers, but of these, four companies had been sent to England as part of the preparations to cope with the Booth rising. (Vide supra p. 70.) At the same time he had sent two regiments of horse, leaving only his own and Twisleton's in Scotland. Lastly, he had one regiment of dragoons, formerly commanded by Morgan. The infantry was dispersed in quarters all over the country, viz.

8 companies of Monk's Regiment at Edinburgh; 2 companies at Dalkeith, his usual residence.

All Talbot's Regiment at Edinburgh.

9 companies of Read's Regiment at Stirling; 1 company in England.

9 companies of Wilks' Regiment in Leith citadel; 1 company in Edinburgh Castle.

8 companies of Overton's Regiment at Dundee; 1 company in England.

All Daniell's Regiment at St. Johnston.

All Sawrie's Regiment at Ayr.

All Cobbet's Regiment at Glasgow.

9 companies of Fairfax's Regiment at Aberdeen; 1 company in England.

Part of Smith's Regiment at Inverness; part in garrisons in the Highlands.

The cavalry and dragoon regiments were quartered near the foot, but at such distances as not to over-burden the country. (Phillips 681 ; A True Narrative of Proceeding, 31.) The Rump's committee of nominations had ordered various changes in the commissioned officers in Scotland. Colonel Daniell's Regiment was to be given to his Lieutenant Colonel, Pierson, a Baptist. Another Baptist, Knolles, was to be Major in Wilks' Regiment, Major Hughes being reduced to captain. Major Hubblethorne was to be dismissed from Talbot's Regiment, and Captain Johnston from Monk's Regiment of Horse. Monk had bound all these officers to his side by retaining them in defiance of the committee, and this was made easier after the Rump had fallen as few new officers were chosen. The regiments on which Monk felt unable to rely were his own Regiment of Horse, most of whose officers had become Baptists during Monk's absence in the Dutch Wars, and the three foot Regiments of Daniell, Cobbet, and Sawrie. (Phillips 681 ; Newsletter, July 22, Clarke Papers, IV 24-5.)

Monk received the news of Lambert's coup d'état from Clarges on October 17th. He immediately stopped the post to England, and called a conference at Dalkeith. Majors Hubblethorne and Hughes arrived, and were joined by Captain Morgan, (of Monk's Foot), Captain Miller, (of Wilks' Foot), and also by Lieutenant Colonel Clobery, (of Read's Foot), who happened to have come on a visit to the General. The Baptist Lieutenant Colonel and Major of Monk's Regiment were both absent. Monk informed this group of his confidants of his resolve to march on England when he was ready. Hubblethorne vouched for the loyalty of Talbot's regiment, as their colonel was in England. Captain Johnston was restored to his troop, and as Major Knight was absent, automatically took command of Monk's Horse, and was ordered to draw up two troops in the High Street, Edinburgh, next morning. A similar order was given to Hubblethorne whom the General promoted to the position of Lieutenant Colonel of Talbot's regiment. Hughes was ordered to secure Leith citadel, while Captain Witter, (Daniell's Regiment), and Captain Robson, (Sawrie's Regiment), were commanded to secure their respective citadels; no mean task in the light of the known character of the two garrisons. Finally, Monk sent an express message to Knight, who was at York, to hasten to his command. (Phillips 681-2 ; Skinner, "Monk"

118 ; Price 44 ; Gumble,133.)

Next day, after dinner, Monk proceeded in person to Edinburgh, escorted by only one troop of horse. He found the regiments drawn up according to his orders, and also his own regiment of Foot, under Captain Morgan, who had been commanded not to issue to his men match, powder, or ball. The General first went to his quarters and remodelled this regiment, promoting Morgan to the position of Lieutenant Colonel, and dismissing all whom he felt he could not trust. Then the two regiments marched to Greyfriars Church, where Monk addressed the officers in favour of the Rump. (cit. Phillips 682.) Colonel Wilks and his colleagues unanimously expressed their willingness to follow their general. Immediately after this conference, Monk ordered Captain Johnston to Berwick to secure the garrison there. (Phillips 682 ; Gumble 133 ; Nicoll's Diary 251-2, / states that Monk went to Edinburgh on the 19th. /; Extracts of the Order Book of General, Monk, Letter to the Governor of Berwick, Oct. 19, Clarke Papers IV 65.)

Meanwhile Monk's friends continued their part in securing the Army of Scotland, with marked success. Captains Hatt and Dennis, sent to remodel the troops at Glasgow, and bring them to Edinburgh, triumphed over their Lieutenant Colonel, Young, and brought them safely to the capital. Witter took possession of the citadel at St. Johnston with amazing celerity. He drew up two trustworthy companies on the sands in front of the fort-ress, and gave them Monk's message. At their shout of approbation, many soldiers ran out of the citadel, and Witter coolly marched in and took possession of the fortress. He seized Lieutenant Colonel Keine and Major Kelke, but they were released on promising to support Monk. Witter's reward was promotion to the position of Lieutenant Colonel. A message was sent to Daniell, who was in England, to return to his command at St. Johnston. Robson went more gradually to work at Ayr. He won over all the officers except the Lieutenant Colonel, who fled to Carlisle, and induced that garrison to declare for the Army of England, and the Colonel, who after some hesitation, also fled to England. Robson was promoted to the colonelcy of the regiment. At first Monk made no move so far as the garrison at Dundee was concerned. He hoped that their colonel, Overton,

who was Governor of Hull, would declare for Parliament. Moreover, he probably could have done little if they had gone into active opposition, as they were on the other side of the Tay. Orders were sent to Colonel Charles Fairfax to march from Aberdeen to Edinburgh, and to Colonel Read to bring all his troops from Stirling, except two companies, which were to be left as a garrison for the castle. Another message was sent to Inverness making Man Colonel in the place of Smith, a supporter of Lambert, and ordering him to send three companies to Edinburgh. (Phillips 682-3 ; Skinner, "Monk" 118-20.)

Having made these arrangements Monk proceeded in person to Leith, where he dismissed and imprisoned Knolles, cashiered other Baptist officers, and officially restored Major Hughes. Captain Clifton was ordered to take a company to garrison Edinburgh castle. On October 21st Monk marched to Linlithgow, purposing to continue the march to Glasgow and remodel the garrison there, but went no further on receiving reports of the work done by Dennis and Hatt. (Skinner, "Monk" 121 122 ; Phillips 683 ; Gumble 134.)

Meanwhile the unfortunate Colonel Cobbet (Vide supra, p. 89.) arrived at Berwick on the 22nd, only to be arrested and sent to Edinburgh under escort, Monk having heard that the Colonel had received secret instructions to seize him if he proved obstinate in his support of the Parliament. (Skinner, "Monk" 123-4 ; Letter to Monk, Oct. 22, Clarke Papers, IV 69 ; A True Narrative of Proceedings 34-41.)

While at Linlithgow Monk discussed with his officers what should be done to prevent the Independent Churches in England from declaring for the policy of the Army of England, as the majority of the officers of lower ranks were Independents. So two declarations were drawn up, one to the "Gathered" Churches, and one to the people of England in general. Letters were also dispatched to Fleetwood, Lambert, and others, remonstrating with them for their recent conduct, and to the Speaker, again assuring him of the unswerving devotion to Parliament of the Army of Scotland. (Vide supra, p. 92. Phillips 683 ; Skinner, "Monk" 125-6 127 ; Monk to Fleetwood, Oct 20, Monk's Letters, 19-21 ; Monk to Lambert, Oct 20, Ibid. 14 ; Monk to Lenthall, Oct 20, Ibid. 18-19 ; A Letter of the Officers of the Army of

Scotland to the Officers of the Army of England, Oct 22, Ibid. 15-18 ; Monk to the Officers at Whitehall, /in answer to a letter of the 19th Oct./, Clarke Papers IV 75-7. (A True Narrative of Proceedings 24-5, 26-7.) Changes in the Army continued. Major Knight arrived three days after Monk's first declaration, probably having hastened to escape from England owing to the prevalence of rumours that he had been out with the Booth rebels in the previous September. To strengthen the cavalry forces, dragoon regiments were transformed into an ordinary regiment of Horse. Major Dean was sent to secure Carlisle but foolishly treated with Colonel Elton giving the latter sufficient time to confirm the garrison in their decision to side with the Army of England. (Phillips, p. 683 states that Major Farmer was the officer sent to try to win over Carlisle, but Skinner p. 132 says it was Major Dean, and is probably right, as Farmer was sent to command at Alnwick on November 8. / Clarke Papers IV 108/. Vide also Clarke Papers IV 65.) A gigantic reorganisation of the Army was carried out. In order to keep the cashiered officers by his side Monk promised to pay their arrears of salary, and this dependence on the General made them careful in their speech. Non-commissioned officers were encouraged to justify Monk's conduct in Army meetings, and pamphlets on the same subject were industriously distributed among the troops. The general was careful also to have no dealings with Royalists, which would have roused suspicions. Even Price himself was kept in the background. (Skinner, "Monk" 144 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 23-4 ; Price, 45.)

Monk's letters arrived in London on October 28th, and the Committee of Safety met at Whitehall to consider them. For once the views of Vane and Whitelocke coincided. Both were sure at this early date that Monk was aiming at an ultimate Royalist restoration. The ineffective Fleetwood merely expressed grief, while Lambert characteristically urged military action. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 26 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 585-6.) Finally it was agreed to send Monk's agent Clarges, and Colonel Talbot (whose regiment was in Scotland) to explain the position to the obstinate General in Scotland. These envoys set out on the following day, bearing a reproachful letter from Fleetwood to Monk. (Skinner, "Monk" 129-31 ; Clarke Papers IV 70-4. Vide infra p. 98.) The Independent Churches of London and its environs

also decided to send representatives to remonstrate with him. (Vide infra p.101.) Fearing that explanatory remonstrances and deputations would be of no avail without some other support, the Committee of Safety at last agreed to send Lambert North to join Colonel Lilburne to repel any possible attack on North East England. Lambert left London on November 3rd. The Irish Brigade was restive, suspecting that Lambert was planning to establish himself as Protector, but the general induced Ludlow to write a letter which calmed their fears for the time being. (Ludlow II 153-5.)

Realising that he would not be ready to begin his march for some weeks Monk had sent four troops of horse and six companies of foot under Major Knight to surprise Newcastle. He hoped thus to cause alarm and perhaps indecision at Wallingford House. But on reaching Morpeth Knight received news of the arrival at Newcastle of a detachment of Lambert's forces. He reported this to Monk, who ordered him to retreat to Alnwick. The Committee of Safety's reply to this advance and retreat on the part of Knight was a proclamation, "inhibiting all meetings for the raising or drawing together of forces without orders from the said Committee or the Lord Fleetwood." (A True Narrative of Proceedings 66-7.) Monk however consoled himself with the thought that had Knight succeeded in getting into Newcastle he would certainly have been besieged there by Lambert with the inevitable bloodshed which the Commander of the Army in Scotland was so anxious to avoid. (Phillips 683-4 ; Price 54 ; Gumble 139-40 ; Skinner "Monk" 132-3.)

Colonel Lilburne had concentrated his forces at York, and bound his officers in an association in favour of the Army of England. He wrote to Monk's secretary, Clarke, attempting to win him over from his master, but failed. At this time the veteran Colonel Morgan, of Monk's Dragoons, was at York, nursing his gout. A letter from him to Monk was intercepted but with a duplicity worthy of his friend he dissembled for the time being, and assured Lilburne of his disapproval of Monk's attitude. Soon afterwards Lilburne proceeded to Newcastle, and Lambert arrived in York. (Phillips 64 ; A True Narrative of Proceedings 69.)

On November 2nd Clarges and Talbot (Vide supra, p.97) arrived in Edinburgh

and were well received by the General. Clarges was given an interview that very evening with Monk and urged him to speak frankly as to what was his real purpose. After swearing him to secrecy, remarking that many accused him of a design to restore Charles II, Monk replied that his chief desire was to end the existing anarchy, and felt that the best method of doing so would be to restore the Rump, and then if possible, restore the Secluded Members. He further told his agent that he had a good store of ammunition and £70,000 in money, part of which was already in his treasury, and the remainder due to be paid shortly. (He had allowed the first part of the last assessment to be delayed until, October 10th, the remainder to be paid two months afterwards. Clarges had informed Parliament of this procedure, and had actually induced them to send £20,000 to Monk towards the pay of his Army until the assessment was collected.) (Skinner, "Monk" 133 ; Phillips 685 ; Gumble 138 ; Price 51-2.) Clarges thereupon reported that Lambert's Army though larger than that of Monk, had received only one month's pay in advance, and would therefore be quartering itself in the North of England at the expense of the local inhabitants. Would it not therefore suit best the General's purpose to agree to negotiations, and prolong them as long as possible ? To this Monk agreed, remarking that Knight's advance on Newcastle had been intended merely to give the enemy a false impression of his real strength. Next morning Monk informed his officers that he was willing to negotiate with the officers of the Army of England. The worthy Talbot, who of course had not been present at the previous night's interview, was overjoyed at this result of his mission. Monk asked his officers to name Commissioners, but they urged him to make the choice. Finally he chose two, Knight and Clobery, and again asked them to name the third. To the General's private chagrin, they chose Colonel Wilks, a dour Puritan, who was very popular with the Army of England's leaders. (Clarke Papers IV 96-7 ; Baillie's Letters II 438.) A heated debate arose over the Commissioners' instructions, for many officers pressed for a time limit of a fortnight, which Monk disliked, but dared not show it. At last the instructions were drawn up. Monk also gave the Commissioners secret instructions before they left, urging them to delay a settlement as long

possible, and in any case to stand out either for the restoration of the Rump or for the calling together of a new Parliament. In sending the Commissioners Monk wrote to Fleetwood that no personal discouragement would prevent him from supporting the cause of Parliament. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 32-5 ; Ludlow II 153 ; Skinner, "Monk" 134-6 ; Phillips 685/Instructions given/ ; Instructions for the Commissioners, cit. Clarke Papers IV 97-9 ; Monk to Fleetwood, Nov. 3, Monk's Letters 31 ; Clarges and Talbot to Fleetwood, Nov 4, Ibid. 30.)

The Commissioners set out, and met Lilburne at Cleadon. He readily assented to those parts of their instructions which concerned him, (Commissioners of the Army in Scotland to Monk, Durham, Nov. 6, Clarke Papers IV 103-4.) and sent them on to Lambert, who was at York. They opened negotiations with him, but no settlement was reached for their first demand was for the restoration of the Rump, which the angry General promptly refused. (Commissioners of the Army in Scotland to Monk, Tadcaster, Nov. 8, Clarke Papers IV 109-10.) So he sent them on their way to London, and agreed to a truce whereby neither Army was to advance further, and letters were to pass freely while negotiations were proceeding. (Phillips 685 ; Skinner, "Monk" 137 ; Monk to Lilburne, Nov. 3, Clarke Papers, IV 89 ; Same to Same, Nov. 4, Ibid. 99.)

During the days which followed, Monk had conversations with Clarges, Barrow, and Gumble, but only Clarges began to perceive dimly what were the thoughts which passed through the dark recesses of his master's mind. The anxiety of the leaders of the Army of England can be seen well in the mass of correspondence from England to Monk and to his subordinates. Among the expostulatory letters were one from Lambert, dated October 25th, (Clarke Papers IV 77-8) one from Johnston of Warriston, dated October 29th (Ibid. 80-1) (to which Monk sent a heated reply denying that the Committee of Safety had any lawful authority whatever,) (Letter of Nov. 5, Ibid. 100-1.) and one from twenty two officers of Lawson's Fleet, dated November 4th, urging with reason that the only party likely to benefit from these divisions was the "Old Enemy." (Whitelocke, Memorials, 687.) It can be seen too in the number of deputations sent to Monk. During the week that Clarges and Talbot departed, Fleetwood sent Captain Dean as a personal emissary.

Another deputation was that from the London Independent Churches, which consisted of two preachers, Caryll and Hammond, with a Mr. Barker, and Colonels Whalley and Goffe. (Skinner, "Monk" 142-3 ; The Ministers of the Congregated Churches about London to Monk, Oct 31, Clarke Papers IV 81-2 ; vide supra p. 98.) They started from the capital on November 1st. (Merc. Pol. Oct 27-Nov 3.) The first to arrive was Dean, ostensibly to carry out his duties as Treasurer and envoy, but he abused his position by a deliberate attempt to sow disaffection among the troops in Scotland. He brought a letter from Fleetwood promising any command in the Army to Monk, if only he would support him. Though this appeared to Monk to suggest a division between Lambert and Fleetwood, he wisely rejected the offer. He found difficulties sometimes in restraining his friends in the presence of such visitors. When Dean remarked at dinner one evening that continued disunity could only result in the restoration of the King, Price retorted that Charles I had tried to arrest only five members, but the Army of England had tried to dissolve all. To the minister's discomfiture Monk sent for him to his private room and angrily told him not to meddle again in these affairs. (Skinner, "Monk" 140 ; Phillips 686 ; Price 53-4.)

On November 8th yet another deputation arrived, in the person of Colonel Morgan. Lambert, assured by Lilburne of Morgan's disapproval of Monk's conduct, and informed that Morgan was willing to go to Scotland to try to dissuade his old friend, sent him as a personal envoy. Morgan, who was most popular with the troops, told Monk that he had promised to ask him to fall in with the wishes of the Wallingford House group, but had not promised to return if the General refused; he was not a politician, but he was ready to follow the man whom he trusted. (Gumble 143-4 ; Price 57-8.) This accession was very agreeable to Monk, for only two days previously a troop of Morgan's regiment had gone over to Lambert's Army. Moreover that very night, Morgan, or Troutbeck, (the physician who accompanied him,) gave Monk a letter from Bowles, a minister at York, who had considerable influence with the veteran Lord Fairfax. (Gumble 144.) The writer stated that Fairfax was ready to support Monk, but disliked the General's support being limited to the Rump and Commonwealth

government. Monk remarked to Clarges that he could not declare himself more freely, as even his present declarations aroused some suspicion among his Army. (Skinner, "Monk" 138-9 ; Markham, "Fairfax" 377.) Nevertheless he took two decisive steps. The cashiered officers were expelled from Scotland - without pay, and on November 15th he called a meeting at Edinburgh of the leading Scots nobles and the representatives of the shires and boroughs. He announced to them his intention of marching into England at an early date, and asked that arrears of taxes be paid speedily, and that measures be taken to maintain order during his absence. The Earl of Glencairn replied for the assembly and promised that all assessments due would be paid. He asked that the Scots might be allowed to raise an army to march with Monk, but this offer was declined. The assembly parted happily however, Monk promising to meet at Berwick later any deputation which they might care to appoint. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 38 ; Skinner, "Monk" 143-4 166 ; Gumble 146-51 ; Letters to the Nobles, gentry, and magistrates of Burghs, Oct 27, Clarke Papers, IV 78; Letters to Sheriffs, Ibid. 79 ; General Monk's Proceedings with the Commissioners of Scotland, Nov. 15, Ibid. 113-5 ; Answer of the Commissioners, Nov. 16, Ibid. 115-6 ; Monk to the Commissioners of Scotland, Nov. 17, Ibid. 120-1 ; Nicoll's Diary 257-8 .) (Vide infra p. //3 .) Monk also suggested to Clarges that the agent might go to England, and try to win over Fairfax, Colonel Rossiter, and other leading gentry of the North. Talbot, who knew nothing of Monk's real views, went as Clarges' colleague, and though moderate in views was later won over by Lambert. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 36-8; Phillips 685-6.)

Another arrival was Colonel Barrett from Ireland, who brought a message from Colonel John Jones and Sir Hardress Waller, dated November 4th, declaring in favour of the Army of England. (Vide supra, p. 91) Monk was not unduly discouraged however, for he had received news through his kinsman, Cornet Monk, that Coote and Colonel Theophilus Jones were working for him, and had hopes of winning over the Army of Ireland to his side. (Phillips 686-7.)

Some of Monk's visitors gave him no little trouble. The efforts of Barrett and Dean to seduce his troops had results. Two troops of Twisle-

-ton's Horse refused to serve under Monk. The General promptly cashiered thirty three troopers, replacing them by loyal infantrymen. Forty of one of these troops deserted to Lambert. A captain Guillim made an unsuccessful attempt to seduce some of the Foot stationed at St. Johnston. Thirty cavalry had to be dismounted, and eighteen officers of Fairfax's Regiment had to be cashiered. The work of Hubblethorne and Read however assured that their regiments required little or no re-modelling. Monk came down with a surprisingly light hand on the two unwelcome visitors. Both were merely rebuked and allowed to return to England. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 39-40 ; Phillips 687.)

The Independent deputation interviewed Monk at Holyrood in the presence of Colonel Fairfax, Dr. Barrow, (Judge Advocate of the Army,) Gumble, and Collins, (a leading Independent minister in Scotland.) Caryll warned the General, of the Royalist peril, and argued that if war began the responsibility would rest with the Army of Scotland. Monk angrily denied this, and stated his firm resolve to restore settled government, even if it entailed crushing Lambert and his friends. Caryll in vain tried to modify his unfortunate argument, and Barrow to mitigate Monk's retort. The interview was not a success, but news came from London that negotiations were proceeding satisfactorily, and the deputation departed in a happier frame of mind. (Phillips 688.) Nevertheless, Monk's attempts to secure the co-operation of the Independent Churches, with their vast influence on the Army, were met with cold distrust.

About the time that this interview took place, Clarges and Talbot reached York. The angry Lambert denounced Morgan's conduct to Clarges, but the wily agent replied that Morgan had tried to move Monk towards peace, but having failed did not refuse the position of Major General in Scotland as he felt that he might thereby help the cause of unity. Clarges then proceeded to interview Bowles, who promised to win over not only Fairfax but also Colonel Bethell. While Clarges tarried at York, Bowles travelled to Nun Appleton, six miles away, and returned with word that Fairfax, (who had also received an appealing letter from Charles II through Sir Horatio Townshend,) would rise in favour of Parliament in January, and would be supported by Bethell, and also by Colonel Smithson,

who had influence with Lambert's men. Bowles asked for information on the position elsewhere. Clarges replied that Whetham, Okey, Hacker, Hutchinson, and Hesilrige were quietly working - and then had to pacify the ministers, who grew more and more indignant on hearing the names of his allies. After sending a report of this interview to Monk, and leaving Talbot with Lambert's Army, Clarges continued his journey. A fall from his horse at Doncaster made him an invalid for ten days, but he sent letters to various notabilities appealing for support of Monk. He received a satisfactory reply from Rossiter, who promised to join Fairfax, but he was discouraged by a report that Hesilrige was in despair, confident that a struggle between the two Armies would lead only to a Royalist triumph. Nevertheless Hesilrige was continuing to work for the cause. Clarges sent letters to members of the old Council of State, urging them to go up to London and help to restore the Parliament. He found that many even of Lambert's men were at heart in favour of the Rump, but were suspicious that Monk was working for the King. Highly satisfied with the reports which he had received, Clarges now hastened towards London, where his presence seemed urgently needed. (Echard 752 ; Hutchinson's Memoirs 357 ; Skinner, "Monk" 141 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 48 ; Phillips 687-8.)

On November 12th the Commissioners from Monk had arrived in the capital. Knight and Clobery found that their colleague, Wilks, was as eager for a speedy settlement as were the leaders of the Army of England. Great pressure was brought to bear upon them. The officers attended on them to such a degree that they were unable to follow Monk's advice to get into touch if possible with the Secluded Members and City authorities. Letters which had been written in London, but which purported to come from the North, and which spoke of the mutinous attitude of some of Monk's troops, were shown to them. At last they too ignored Monk's desire for delay, and signed an agreement on the 15th, to the delight of Wallingford House, and to the dismay of Clarges, who arrived just too late. The Treaty consisted of nine articles, viz.:

I. A Declaration against the House of Stuart.

II. A Declaration against a Protectorate.

III. The supreme power for settling the government to remain in the hands of the General Council of Officers, but representatives of Ireland and Scotland to be added to it.

IV. A new Parliament to be elected under suitable qualifications.

V. Payment of arrears for Monk's Army.

VI. A committee of officers, seven from the Army of England, and seven from the Army of Scotland, to consider all dismissals of officers since October 7th. The Committee to meet in Newcastle during December.

VII. Indemnity.

VIII. Support and encouragement for the clergy.

IX. The Armies of England and Scotland to repair to their respective quarters. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 40-1 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Nov 27 N.S., Ibid. 290 ; Phillips 689 ; Skinner, "Monk" 147 148-9 ; Gumble 144 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 688 ; The Articles of Agreement, Monk's Letters, 34-7 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, Nov 28 N.S., C.S.P. Venet. XXXII, No. 97, pp. 93-5 ; Josiah Berners to John Hobart, Nov 29, Clarke Papers IV App. C 299-301 ; Colonel Samuel Atkins to W. Clarke, Dec 1, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/ 131.)

Clarges expostulated strongly with the Commissioners for their precipitancy, and so convinced Knight that in a letter dated the 16th, addressed to the Officers of the Army in Scotland, they admitted that they had exceeded their instructions, but pleaded that they felt that any further delay could only encourage the "Old Enemy." On the same day Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper and others held a conference with the Commissioners in the Fleece Tavern in Covent Garden, but though they convinced Knight and Clobery of the strength of feeling in England in favour of the Parliament they made no impression on Wilks. Three days later Dr. Owen wrote to Monk begging him to accept the Treaty and thus avoid bloodshed. (Phillips 688-9 ; Commissioners of the Army of Scotland to the officers there, Nov. 16, Clarke Papers IV 116-7 ; Dr. Owen to Monk, London, Nov. 19, Ibid. 121-3 ; Christie, "Shaftesbury" I 194-6 199.)

Monk received the unwelcome news in a letter from Clarges, while he was at Haddington, on the evening of the 18th. It placed him in a quandary for he hardly knew how to decline, yet felt that he might be able to

attack Article VI. He placed the matter before Morgan, Charles Fairfax, Barrow, Gumble, and Lydcott, (whom he had recently promoted to the command of Cobbet's regiment. Barrow suggested that instead of outright rejection they should seek to prolong negotiations so as to delay a settlement still further, and with a view to this, ask for the appointment of two additional Commissioners from each side. Later in the evening Captains Wallington and Lloyd and Major Cambridge of the Army of England arrived, bearing the official proposals. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 40 ; Phillips 690.) Next day, Monk returned to Edinburgh, fully resolved to disown the agreement. He listened in silence at first while his officers denounced both the Treaty and their own commissioners; then he suggested that they should say that some of the Articles were obscure, and further negotiations were desirable; to that end the Army of Scotland wished to appoint two further Commissioners, to meet the others at some agreed place in the North of England. This proposal was unanimously accepted. Lloyd and Wallington were instructed to deliver the reply of the Army of Scotland to Fleetwood, and left Edinburgh next morning bearing the letter. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 41-2 ; Price 63-5 ; Gumble 151-2 ; Skinner, "Monk" 149-52 ; Merc. Pol. Nov 24-Dec 1 ; The Council of Officers in Scotland to their Commissioners in England, Nov. 24, Edinburgh, Clarke Papers IV 126-9 ; Monk to Fleetwood, Nov 24, Ibid. 129-31 ; Nicoll's Diary 258, /states that Monk received the news on the 22nd./)

When Monk's plea for further negotiations reached London, Whitelocke realised that further delay could only end in the downfall of the Wallingford House party, and again urged an immediate march by Lambert against the Army of Scotland. But his arguments were in vain; negotiations were re-opened, and on November 20th, Lambert made Newcastle his headquarters so as to make a counter-move more easily if necessary. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 44 ; Whitelocke, Memorials 688 689.) One result of the continued uncertainty was that still more ex-Parliamentarians began to look towards the King. These included not only Scott, who made his attempt to make peace with Charles II in vain, (C. H. Firth, "Thomas Scot's account of his actions as Intelligencer during the Commonwealth, E. H. R. XII /1897/ 123.) but even Fleetwood and Lambert. The latter was

favoured by a section of the Roman Catholics, including at least one of the powerful Howard connection. (Gumble 199 ; W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 7 ; Carte, Ormonde II 193 ; Mordaunt to the King, Calais, Oct 11, Carte, Ormonde Papers II 225.) The Royalists negotiated with him, and even held out an inducement in the shape of a marriage alliance between his daughter and the Duke of York. The Duke was willing, provided that the King's permission was given, and Charles, whatever his intentions, allowed the negotiations to continue. Lambert really felt that the future of both Separatists and Army might be safer in the hands of the King, and later he entered into direct negotiations with the Court but Monk ruined his chances of becoming Dictator and with them the hopes of coming to terms with the King. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 45-6 ; V. Ranke III 262-4 ; Sir E. Nichol- as to the King, Brussels, Oct 8/18, Carte, Ormonde Papers II 237-8 ; Lord Hatton to Hyde, Oct. 30, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 427-8 ; Hyde to Lord Hatton, Nov 18/28, Ibid. 450.) On the other hand there were still many notable champions of the Commonwealth, including not only Hesilrige, Scott, (now sure of no mercy from Charles II,) and Neville, but also members of the Wallingford House group like Vane, while Milton's powerful pen never ceased to defend the Republican cause. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 47-8.)

All this time Monk quietly continued to settle his garrisons in Scotland, for there were still some officers decidedly averse to any clash with the Army of England. (Captain Robert Scrape to Monk, Nov. 14, Dundee, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App. Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/, 126-7 ; Major Y. Robson to Monk, Nov. 21, Ayr, Ibid. 127-8.) From Edinburgh he went to Haddington, and then to Dumbar, but by the end of November he was at Berwick. (Skinner, "Monk" 152-3 ; Price 66 ; Nicoll's Diary, 258, /states that Monk marched to Berwick, Dec 2,/) Everything seemed to point to an immediate clash, and the issue was decidedly uncertain. Monk had six thousand Foot but only fourteen hundred Horse and Dragoons, and it was among the cavalry that the greatest disaffection prevailed. (Skinner, "Monk" 154.) Lambert had three thousand Foot and between four and five thousand cavalry, (Price, p. 53, states that rumour credited Lambert with a force of twelve thousand, including seven thousand Horse.) - a great preponderance of Horse over Monk, and might well be able to receive the support of some twenty thou-

-sand regulars of the Army of England, and perhaps a large force of Militia, estimated at thirty thousand strong. Monk's Army however was more united than that of Lambert, for the latter included numbers of soldiers who had guarded the Parliament and were loath to fight against its supporters, some who liked Monk's declaration and Monk himself, and others who favoured Fleetwood and feared a battle lest Lambert might win. (Gumble 155-6 ; Skinner, "Monk" 164-5.)

But the days crawled by. Monk's Commissioners made no haste in coming North from London, and Monk himself made no move towards appointing the two extra Commissioners agreed upon, though new instructions, both public and private, were drawn up for their use when they should be appointed. (H. MSS. C. Rep. XV, App. Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/ 125-9 129-30.) The bickerings between the two Armies which had begun in early November, continued, and both sides claimed desertions from the other. (Lambert to the Commissioners of the Army of Scotland, Nov. 11, Clarke Papers, IV 110-1 ; Extract from Monk's Order Book, Nov. 12, Ibid. 111 ; Monk to Lambert, Nov 24, Edinburgh, Ibid. 131-2 ; Monk to the Commissioners of the Army of Scotland, N. D., Ibid. 142-3 ; Lambert to Monk, Nov. 29, Newcastle, Ibid. 148-51 ; Captain Thomas Southwell to Lieutenant John Paddon, Durham, Nov. 30, Ibid. 154-5 ; Major Cambridge to Lord Mouns, Nov. 30, Ibid. 156-7 ; Ludlow II 158.) Lambert angrily declared that the demand for a blank pass for the two new Commissioners was only a ruse to gain time, but the matter was more or less amicably adjusted. (Phillips 691 ; The officers under Major General Lambert to the Council of Officers in Scotland, Nov. 29, Clarke Papers IV 143-8 ; Lambert to Monk, Nov. 29, Ibid. 148-51 ; Same to Same, Dec. 1st, Ibid. 182-3.) Before Monk's Commissioners reached Newcastle, Lambert sent a personal letter to Monk with Colonel Zanche, who was given a friendly reception. Monk drew up a letter in reply on December 7th, but news arrived that some of Lambert's forces had penetrated further North, and that a party of dragoons had seized Chillingham Castle. The letter was therefore not sent, and orders were given to the Army of Scotland to draw towards Coldstream. Before Monk left Berwick his three Commissioners arrived from London, and the General showed clearly that he knew whose was the responsibil-

-ity for the premature agreement by imprisoning Wilks and depriving him of his commission. (Gumble 160 ; Skinner, "Monk" 158-60; Monk to Lambert, Dec 7, Clarke Papers IV 171-5 ; News from Berwick, Dec. 8, Ibid. 179 ; Col. Hughes to Monk, Leith, Dec 16, Ibid. 197-8 ; Phillips 692 ; Ludlow II 162 ; Nicoll's Diary 259.)

In London the Committee of Safety strove to deal with the ordinary business of government as well as to make some move towards setting up a constitution with some appearance of permanence. As early as November 1st, the Committee of Safety had nominated a committee consisting of Fleetwood, Ludlow, Salway, Tichborne, Vane, and Whitelocke, to consider a permanent settlement for the government of the three nations, (Ludlow II 149 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 686 ; A True Narrative of Proceedings, 62-3.) and before Lambert started North he had urged this committee to persevere with their consultations, promising his approbation and support. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 27-8 ; Ludlow II 151 .) The appointment of the committee led to a renewal of the struggle between the rival theorists. One powerful body of opinion favoured legalising the existing military rule. One interesting scheme on these lines was that of Vane's friend, Henry Stubbs. He advocated that all who had helped in the suppression of the Booth rising should be especially honoured and bear the title of "Liberators"; the chief positions would be in their hands, and they would appoint a Senate from which Episcopalians, Roman Catholics and Presbyterians were excluded; a parliament elected by all not hostile to the government would sit for three months in each year and enjoy legislative and executive authority only in those spheres not reserved for the Senate; during intervals there would be a Council of State ; a certain number of Senators would have seats in both parliament and council. Other theorists urged complete religious freedom and condemned any coercion by the civil power - even against Roman Catholics. Harrison and his friends still raised the standard of "King Jesus" and pleaded for the rule of the Saints. (V. Ranke, III 258-60.)

One of the government's chief difficulties was the attitude of the City. The refusal to pay taxes, based on the Rump's Act of October 11, was widespread, (T. Cheverel to M. de Selly, London, Nov 3, H. MSS. C. Rep. XV, App.

Ormonde MSS, (New Series, Vol. I) / 1902/, 330-1.) so it was necessary to approach the City for a loan. Two interviews took place, on November 4th and 8th, between the Army leaders and the Common Council. Desborough strove to justify the force put upon the Rump, and Vane warned his hearers that Monk was plotting for the Stuarts. Whitelocke and Fleetwood contented themselves with pleading that there be no division. But all their efforts were in vain; the City gave them nothing but formal thanks. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 29-30 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Nov 24 N.S., Ibid. 287-8 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 686 ; A True Narrative of Proceedings 66 68 ; "Three Speeches made to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London by the Lord Whitelocke, the Lord Fleetwood and the Lord Desborough, at the Guildhall, Nov. 8 1659" O. P. H. XXII 10-17.) The quarrel was accentuated by the attitude of absolute hostility to the Committee of Safety, taken up by a strong minority of the commissioners of the City Militia, who opposed any reproachful letter being sent to Monk, and also by the Westminster Militia. The appointment of new Commissioners did nothing to heal the breach. (A True Narrative of Proceedings, 63-6 70-1 ; Newsletter of Nov 5, Clarke Papers, IV 101-3 ; A Letter of the Commissioners of the Westminster Militia to Lt. Gen. Fleetwood, Nov. 14, Ibid. 112-3 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Nov. 27 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 290.) Monk sent a Mr. Atkins and Colonel Markham with an encouraging letter to the City, dated November 12th (Merc. Pol. Nov. 17-24 ; O. P. H. XXII 46.) but the Committee of Safety imprisoned the two envoys, and Monk's Commissioners declared that the letter must be fictitious. Soon afterwards, Monk wrote to the Commissioners, stating that the letter was sent owing to reports that Lambert and the Committee of Safety were raising Militia, contrary to the Treaty, but if the leaders of the Army of England were still prepared to negotiate, nothing in the letter would be allowed to prejudice an agreement. (Commissioners of the Army of Scotland, Nov. 24, Clarke Papers, IV 134-7 ; Monk to the Commissioners, N. D., /Nov. 29 ?/, Ibid. 140-1 ; Colonel Samuel Atkins to William Clarke, Dec. 1, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App. Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/, 130-1 ; Phillips 690-2.) This naturally caused the City leaders to be less active for Monk for the time being.

So far as foreign affairs were concerned, the Rump's isol-

-ationist policy left few difficulties for the new government. For some time Sir Philip Meadows had been begging the Rump to relieve him from the distasteful task of representing a policy with which he was not in sympathy. (Sir Philip Meadows to the Council of State, Aug 11, Thurloe S. P. VII 727 ; Same to Same, Sept. 15, Ibid. 743-4 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 138.) In October he reached London, where he soon soothed his anxieties over arrears of salary with hopes of future employment, believing that if the Army leaders won the struggle, it would mean a return to Oliver's principles in foreign policy. Such a view underestimated the powerful influence of Vane, (Bordeaux to Mazarin, Nov. 3 N. S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 201.) and the fact that Sidney was allowed to remain at the Court of Sweden, steadily pursuing the Rump's policy, despite the scorn and anger of Charles Gustavus. (A. Sidney to Whitelocke, Nov. 13, Elsinore, Sydney Papers, /Blencowe/ 169-73.) Another ambassador in London was Downing, who came from the Hague to report and to await new credentials. (Letter to Rosening, Hague, Nov. 11, N. S., Thurloe S. P. VII 775 ; Nieupoort to de Witt, Westminster, Nov. 21, N. S., Ibid. 783.) The various foreign envoys spent their time carefully watching the trend of events. Lockhart also arrived in early November, though he stayed only a fortnight and then departed for Dunkirk. Since August he had been in the vicinity of St. Jean de Luz, but realising the complications in the negotiations, he had returned to London before the final settlement was reached in late November. Before he left the capital he found an opportunity of visiting Vane, and bitterly deplored the divisions in England, which, he said, had prevented him from securing much better terms. (Ludlow II 171.)

The increasing anarchy in England had the effect of driving still more Cromwellians and Republicans in a Royalist direction. Colonel Herbert Morley was not the only one to turn his eyes towards the exiled King. In the government itself were men who were wavering, who were wondering if even a Restoration would be better than the tender mercies of Heselrige and his friends. A symptom of their feelings was their release of some of those imprisoned about the time of the Booth rising, including Castleton, Bellasis, Falkland, Fauconberg, Howard, and Herbert, and soon afterwards Fanshawe. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 30-1 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 686

689 ; Merc. Pol. Oct 27-Nov 3 ; A true Narrative of Proceedings, 63.) During the month of November Wallingford House showed its anxiety to achieve some settled form of constitution by taking steps to consider the question of the government. Not only the special committee but the General Council of Officers itself deliberated on the matter. Vane found that he had to reckon with the steady opposition of Whitelocke, who gave his ear to Owen and Nye on all religious questions. (Neal, Hist. Puritans, IV 240.) He was further weakened by the absence of the Fifth Monarchist Harrison, who had failed to secure election to the Committee of Safety. (Bordeaux to Mazarin, Nov 6 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 275.) Johnston of Warriston stood aside from both parties, his chief contribution being a stern hostility to anything more than a very limited religious toleration. (Ludlow II 161-2 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 689.) Attendances at the Committee were irregular. The real root of the trouble was that the Army leaders did not trust each other. Vane, Fleetwood, and Desborough all distrusted and were suspicious of Lambert, and more and more doubted the wisdom of the Policy which was being pursued. (V. Ranke, III 269-70 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Dec 5 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 293-4.) The Rota still exerted a considerable influence, despite the publication of pamphlets intended to throw ridicule upon it, including "Decrees and Orders of the Committee of Safety of the Commonwealth of Oceana." Harrington himself was not idle. On November 17th he published "Valerius and Publicola, or the True Form of a popular Commonwealth extracted e puris naturalibus." (Masson, "Milton" V 509 ; Harrington's Works, 475-495.) The government appointed a committee of nineteen members to consider qualifications of Members of Parliament under the new Constitution. It was also agreed to summon a great council consisting of two representatives from every regiment, together with representatives from the Navy, at Whitehall on December 6th, by which time it was hoped that a complete draft of the new Constitution would be ready for final consideration. (Ludlow II 159.) This council duly met on December 6th, though no representatives had arrived from Lambert's Army or from Ireland, and it was known that none had even been elected by the Army of Scotland. Divisions soon became apparent in the debates, which were carried on for over a week. Ludlow

and Rich raised their voices for the despised Rump, while friends of the Protectorate once more urged its claims. (Ludlow II 162-8 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Dec 22 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 306.) Fleetwood and Desborough pleaded for the recommendations of the Committee of Safety, except those of Vane, which Whitelocke had successfully side-tracked. The chief of these proposals was an election for a new parliament according to ancient custom but with qualifications both for electors and candidates. Ludlow's proposal for "Conservators" was agreed to, but his plans for the restoration of civilian Republican influence failed, for though he himself was elected, men like Johnston of Warriston and Tichborne were preferred to orthodox Rumpers. But though Ludlow withdrew in disgust, his idea of "Conservators" was incorporated in the new Constitution which the General Council of Officers ratified on December 14th. Next day a proclamation was issued announcing that a new parliament would meet in February 1660. (Ludlow II 171-4 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 307-8, /Bordeaux to Mazarin, Dec 25 N.S. /; Newsletter, Dec. 15, Clarke Papers IV 194.) (Whitelocke, Memorials, 690.)

Meanwhile Monk was at Coldstream, where he had arrived from Berwick on December 8th. (Skinner, "Monk" 160-1 ; News from Berwick, Dec 8, Clarke Papers, IV 179.) His chaplain gives a vivid description of the General's quarters: "The General's palace was a little smoky cottage that had two great dunghills at the door; a Hall or entry as dark and narrow a man could not turn in it; the rooms were worse than I can describe; he ate and lodged in the same; and I think his Secretary was his chamber-fellow or else he must have laid upon the snow and ice; his bed was like a bird's nest into which he was forced to creep." (Gumble 177.) On December 13th Monk went to Berwick to meet an influential deputation from the commissioners of the Scots shires and burghs, (Vide supra, p. 102.) who presented a paper of five propositions. Their chief suggestions were that there should be a standing council in each shire with power to raise forces to secure safety, and that they should be supplied with arms by Monk ; that if Monk's negotiations should fail the Scots commissioners should have power to raise forces to support him; and finally that 6000 foot and 1500 horse be raised as part of Monk's forces. (Phillips 692 ; Price 66-7 ;

Skinner, "Monk" 167 ; The Proposals of the Commissioners of the Shires... etc..Dec.13,Clarke Papers IV 190.) He considered these proposals with his inner circle.Read favoured arming the Scots ; others suggested including a party of Scots in the invading force;Barrow thought that the General should content himself with a request that Scots gentry should supply horses to mount English soldiers.Monk then met the/commissioners again and gave answers to their proposals.(Phillips 692-3 ; Nicoll's Diary, 258,/states that Monk met the Commissioners on the 12th./) Despite Glen-cairn's pleading he refused to countenance any arming of the Scots,and though the commissioners were dissatisfied and refused to supply horses, fortunately for Monk there was no open breach.(The Lord General Monk's Answer....Clarke Papers,IV 190-1 ; Monk to the Governor of Stirling,Dec. 15,Ibid.194-5 ; Ibid.App.B,276 ; Phillips 692-3 ; Skinner,"Monk" 166-8 ; Nicoll's Diary 260.) After this meeting Monk returned to Coldstream where he received encouraging messages from Lord Fairfax and Clarges.(Guizot, R.Crom.II 53-4 ; Skinner,"Monk" 169-70.) Though both General and Army had such wretched quarters Monk had one great advantage over Lambert ; he had money with which to pay his Army - Lambert had not.What was more, though Lambert was growing ever more suspicious of Monk's anxiety to continue negotiations,(Monk to Lambert,Dec.14,H.MSS.C.,Rep.XV,App.Leybourne Popham MSS,/1899/ 133 ;Enclosure,Articles of Agreement,Ibid.133-4.)even after Monk had sent back Zanchez with a generous message,he was not in a position to fight,for forty miles of snow and ice separated the two armies,and Lambert's numbers "were melting faster than the snow." Skinner,"Monk" 169-70.) Monk now prepared for an open breach with the leaders of the Army of England.He first sent a message to Clarges to send some cavalry officers as soon as possible by sea.These officers arrived soon after,Captain Goodwin bearing Monk's commission as Commander in Chief.(Vide infra,p.115.) The Ogles of Northumberland raised two troops in support of the Army of Scotland.(Gumble 194 ; Letter to William Clarke,Nov.,Clarke Papers,IV 118-9.) Monk himself increased the number of musketeers in his Army to withstand better Lambert's superiority in Horse. Coldstream was an excellent place for his headquarters since his troops could be gathered within six hours from the villages clustered round

about, while the villages across the border were exposed to any attack he might make. If Lambert marched North West the way to London was left open to the Army of Scotland ; if he divided his troops, half of them could easily be imperilled by Monk. (Phillips 693.)

Hostility to the rule of Wallingford House was widespread. Apart from Monk, who had never acknowledged its authority, there was the little group in London, centred in Hesilrige and Scott, representing the old Council of State. Nine of these had met on November 19th, and though annoyed at the way in which they had been ignored by Monk's Commissioners, had sent an encouraging letter to the General, and soon afterwards drew up a Commission, dated November 24th, appointing Monk Commander in Chief, (Vide supra, p.114.) leaving it with Clarges until a safe messenger could be found. (Phillips 691 ; Skinner, "Monk" 155-6 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 49 ; Commission to General Monk as Commander in Chief, Nov. 24, Clarke Papers IV 137-9.) Morley, Walton, and Hesilrige left London to join their friend Whetham, Governor of Portsmouth, and on December 3rd they seized all officers sympathising with the Committee of Safety, and declared for Parliament. In reply to a remonstrance from Fleetwood they sent a defiant message, but agreed to his request for the release of three officers, provided that he set free Markham and Atkins. (Vide supra p.110.) Forces were sent against Portsmouth, but the soldiers mutinied, seized their officers, and joined the triumphant Rumpers. (Ludlow II 155 ; Skinner, "Monk" 171 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 50 ; Fleetwood to Mon, Dec 6, Clarke Papers IV 168-71 ; Sir A. Hesilrige, H. Morley, and V. Walton to Fleetwood, Portsmouth, Dec 14, Thurloe S. P. VII 795.) Hesilrige and his friends sent the troops from Berry's regiment under Colonel Unton Croke to secure the Isle of Wight, and there they increased to about seven hundred in numbers. (Ludlow II 169-70 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 690 ; Newsletter, Dec. 10, Clarke Papers IV 210 ; The Speaker to Col. Lydcott, Dec. 22, Ibid. 216.) The troops at Taunton and elsewhere in the West country began to show signs of disaffection to Wallingford House. (Clarke Papers, IV 216.) Philip Howard left London to rouse the North West. (Dr. Thomas Clarges to Thomas Gumble, London, Dec. 26, H. MSS. C. Rep. XV, App. Leybourne Popham MSS, 899/ 138.) Sir Michael Livesey and others raised two regiments for

for Parliament in Kent. (Phillips 694 ; Clarke Papers IV 216.) The Parliamentarians in London won over Colonel Fitz, Governor of the Tower, who promised to admit Okey and three hundred men on December 12th. But the Committee of Safety discovered the plot, and Desborough arrived at the Tower on the previous night with a strong force. The guards were changed and Fitz was replaced by Lieutenant Colonel Miller. Nevertheless Fleetwood had to read a letter from the Republican leaders glorying in the attempt and trusting that God had raised up Monk to deliver them from a government whose sole basis was the sword. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 55 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Dec 22 N. S., Ibid. 305-6 ; Ludlow II 169 ; Merc. Pol. Dec. 8-15 ; Christie, "Shaftesbury" I 199-200 ; Newsletter, London, Dec 13, Clarke Papers, IV 186-7 ; Sir A. A. Cooper, J. Berners, T. Scott, J. Weaver to Fleetwood, Dec. 16, Thurloe S. P. VII 797-8.) Then Lawson and his officers declared for Parliament on December 13th, and were supported by the men at the blockhouses at Gravesend. Their declaration was issued rather earlier than had been intended. This was due to the presence of Okey and Scott, (Clar. H. G. R. VII 389 names Okey and Cooper.) who had fled to the Fleet after the failure of their plot to seize the Tower. The Army leaders sent Lawson's friend Colonel Barrow, to dissuade the Fleet from supporting Parliament but the Vice-Admiral's resolution was unshaken. A further visit to Lawson by Vane, Salway, and Salmon was just as ineffective. (Ludlow II 175-6 181-2 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 56 .) In the Isle of Man, James Chaloner attempted to overthrow the military party and though a regicide, seems to have been working with the Countess of Derby and the Royalists. His action failed however, and the "Wallingfordians" imprisoned him in Peel Castle, where he died. (H. MSS. C. Rep. VII, App. Part I, House of Lords MSS Calendar, /1879/ , Petition of Edmund Chaloner, , 147.)

During the third week of December Fleetwood gave Ludlow news that the Army of Ireland had secured Dublin Castle, seized John Jones and the other Commissioners, and had issued a declaration in favour of Parliament. Ludlow was disturbed when he saw that not only his brother in law, Colonel Kempson, had signed, but also old Cromwellians like Colonel Theophilus Jones and Colonel Bridges. These two, with others had met at Dublin to petition for a General Council of Officers of the Army of Ire-

-land to discuss the situation caused by recent events in England. Colonel John Jones vetoed any such proposal. The conspirators, who had won over many of the infantry, induced three sentinels to open the gates of the Castle. The guard was surprised by a storming party under Major Warden, and the castle was secured. (December 13th.) (Carte, Ormonde II 202 ; Merc. Pol. Dec. 29 - Jan. 5.) The Commissioners were arrested. Sir Hardress Waller's conduct was decidedly ambiguous, but he finally took the side of the Parliamentarians, though with profound misgivings as to the real aim of many of his associates. Having secured the capital, the Parliamentarians then took measures to settle the rest of the country. Coote seized Galway and imprisoned those officers who sympathised with the Army of England, while Captain Campbell hastened across the Irish Sea and on to Coldstream to bear the news of the coup to Monk, who sent back an encouraging reply and also forwarded the tidings to the Irish Brigade, pointing out their plight if they did not join him. (Ludlow II 184-7 ; Skinner, "Monk" 174 ; Gumble, 182-4 ; Sir Hardress Waller to Monk, Dublin, Dec. 16, Clarke Papers, IV 202-3 ; Monk to Sir H. Waller, Coldstream, Dec. 28, Ibid. 225-6 ; Monk to the Council of Officers in Ireland, Ibid. 227-8 ; Monk to the officers of the Irish Brigade, Dec. 28, Ibid. 228-9.) (Vide infra pp. 121 . 125 .)

In England events were rapidly progressing towards a climax. Windsor Castle was taken by Parliamentarians. (H. Baron to Mordaunt, Dec. 29, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 500 ; C. J. Dec. 28 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, Jan. 9 N. S., C. S. P. Venet. XXXII, No. 112, p. 107 ; Noble, Mems. House. Cromwell, II 184.) Colonels Redman and Bret, whom Ludlow had removed from their commands, won over the Irish Brigade. (Ludlow II 203 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 689.) Then Fairfax and his friends rose in Yorkshire. Lambert had realised earlier that the veteran, though daily tormented by gout and stone, was by no means a negligible force, and had therefore detailed Robert Lilburne to watch his movements. Thus harassed, Fairfax determined to strike rather earlier than he had intended. On December 21st he sent Brian Fairfax to Monk asking that the General would take any measures necessary to prevent Lambert from turning on a rising in Yorkshire, and on the 31st, after a romantic and hazardous journey, the envoy return-

-ed with the reassuring report that Monk would watch Lambert " as a cat watches a mouse." (Echard 752 ; Markham, "Fairfax" 377-80 .) Fairfax therefore travelled round the county in his carriage to rally his friends. The rendez vous was fixed at Denton on January 1st, but this was changed to Marston Moor when Fairfax heard from Colonel Redman that the Irish Brigade was prepared to join him. (Echard 752 ; Markham, "Fairfax" 381.) The gentry, including Fairfax's Cavalier son in law, the Duke of Buckingham, and Sir Thomas Slingsby, Sir Hugh Cholmondley, and Colonel Bethell, rose in arms, though many of their servants were but ill equipped. Some of Lambert's troops, including most of Lilburne's regiment under Major Smithson, an admirer of Monk, joined the rebels, though Fairfax refused to agree to the Irish Brigade's stipulation that he should declare against a restoration of the Monarchy. Indeed there seems to have been some vagueness as to whether the Yorkshire gentry were rising for the Rump or for a "Free" Parliament, and at one point there was such divergence among the leaders that Fairfax saved a considerable desertion by owning the authority of the Rump as the existing Parliament. (J. Godfrey to Sir A. Hesilrige, Wetherby, Dec. 31, C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 288 ; T. Chamberlain to the Army Commissioners, Ripon, Jan. 1st. 1660, Ibid. 293 ; J. Godfrey to Sir A. Hesilrige, York, Jan. 2, 1660, Ibid. 293-4.) Fairfax had warned Bowles that he would appear before York on January 1st., and asked him to secure the posterns on the South side of the city. When the rebel force arrived, Colonel Lilburne made preparations for defence, but the citizens rallied to the Minster at the tolling of the bell, and, led by Colonel Philip Monckton, an old Cavalier, rushed to the gate, only to find the captain of the guard, and Lister, (Lambert's brother in law.) going with a paper of terms to Fairfax, who was admitted in a few hours. Lister carried the news to Lambert, who sent four hundred horse, but it was too late. The walls of York were no longer manned by Lilburne's troopers, and all over the county men were flocking to arms in the name of Parliament. Fairfax anxiously awaited support from Monk. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 65-6 ; Phillips 695 ; Monckton's Narrative, cit. W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 6-7 ; Thomas Gower to John Langley, Jan. 5, H. MSS. C., Rep. V, App. Part I, Sutherland MSS, /1876/ 193-4.)

Meanwhile in the South, the inefficient Fleetwood could not cope with the rising tide in the City. The citizens were regaining their spirit. They defeated the supporters of the Army in the local elections and drew up so many petitions in favour of a new parliament that the Committee of Safety had to forbid such appeals. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 54 ; Whitelocke, Memorials 689.) It was not only religious but political differences which embittered the City. The general stagnation of trade, collapse of the ordinary channels of justice, and general feeling of insecurity and fear of violence, which united wealthy merchants and humble apprentices against the government. (Many pamphleteers throughout this period point to disastrous trade conditions as a result of Puritan government. Vide "Awake, O England...etc. 1660, Harl. Misc. I 267-70.) The magistrates did little to curb the turbulence of the mob. (V. Ranke III 273-5.) Preparations for a Royalist rising were discovered and easily crushed on December 18th, but the Cavaliers avenged themselves by fomenting discontent and encouraging petitions to the Common Council in favour of a "Free" parliament. (Bordeaux to Brienne, Dec 28 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 312 ; Cooper to Hyde, Dec. 16, London, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 488 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, Dec 19, N.S., C. S. P. Venet. XXXII No. 106, p. 101 ; Same to Same, Dec. 26 N.S., Ibid. No. 108, p. 103.) Tumults were common, and in one of these, on December 5th, Hewson's troopers replied to a shower of stones by firing on the mob, three or four of whom were killed, an incident which caused an abiding hatred among the citizens for the grim one-eyed Colonel. (Fleetwood to Monk, Dec. 6, Clarke Papers IV 166-71 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Dec. 15 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 299-300 ; Dr. Morley to Hyde, Dec. 15/25, Breda, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 484 ; Pepys' Diary, Jan. 25 1660 ; Rugge, cit. Muddiman, "King's Journalist, 92 ; 'Quaesumus te; or the Supplement to the New Letany for these Times, /1660/ p. 8.) The City made a strong protest and two days later six City leaders were invited to a conference with Desborough and others in a vain attempt to preserve some semblance of amity. The general anarchy began to affect the troops in London, who began to realise that Lambert's coup had been a blunder after all. (Ludlow II 177-8 ; Whitelocke, Memorials 689.)

All this had its effect in the North. On receiving a report from Clarges of the excellent state of the Parliamentarians, Monk sent Major Bannister to Lambert, requesting a free conduct so that Bannister might go to the Parliamentary leaders in Portsmouth, and also demanding the withdrawal of Lambert's forces from Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. Lambert refused, and both sides prepared to fight, though news from the South inclined Lambert to the view that his best policy might be to march to the aid of Fleetwood rather than wait to fight Monk. (Phillips 694 ; Monk to Lambert, Berwick, Dec. 16, Clarke Papers, IV 195-7 ; The Officers at Coldstream to Sir A. Hesilrige, etc., Dec. 19, Ibid. 207-8 ; Same to the Officers at Newcastle, Dec. 19, Ibid. 208-10 ; Monk to Lambert, Coldstream, Dec. 24, Ibid. 218-9.)

By this time the Committee of Safety was in desperation. Their proclamation of December 15th, calling a new parliament on January 24th had done nothing to allay the widespread hostility in the country. When the news of the desertion of the troops sent against Portsmouth arrived, an effort was made to promote a declaration promising to stand by each other, and though the officers finally voted in favour of such a paper, their leaders saw clearly that such a course was highly unpopular, and only held them up to further ridicule from Prynne's venomous pen. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 61-2 ; Ludlow II 184 ; Prynne, "Ten Queries upon the Ten new Commandments of the General Council of Officers of December 22nd, 1659, declaring themselves the only supreme legislative and absolute sovereign Lords of the three Kingdoms." / 1660 /, / 8 pp. /) Moreover the leaders of the party had fallen out among themselves. Fleetwood had difficulty in composing a quarrel between Whitelocke and the officers, for when Whitelocke refused to seal some measures on the ground that they were contrary to the law of the land, there were angry voices raised against the part lawyers had played since 1640. In vain did Ludlow seek to reconcile Hesilrige and Vane, and to dissuade Desborough from making violent speeches against the leading Rumpers. Worse still the leaders had lost control over their own troops. Insolent bands of soldiery terrorised many parts of the country. More and more veterans were turning their minds back once more to the Rump. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 57 - § 62 ; Ludlow II 166 - 7 ; Whitelocke,

-orials, 690.)

Whitelocke had sufficient vision to see that the inevitable result of all this instability must be the return of the Stuarts. Ingoldsby and others had urged him to carry the Great Seal to the King, but he had refused to do so. Nevertheless he followed the advice of Lord Willoughby and some of the City leaders to press Fleetwood to declare for Charles II. He urged that if Charles were to be restored it would be better for their own sakes if they were the chief instruments. But Fleetwood hesitated. He had received a crushing and unexpected blow by Lawson's defection, and Berry, Vane, and Desborough told him that he could not honourably take any such step without consulting Lambert. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 59-60 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 691.) So he sent a letter to the Speaker, "The Lord has blasted our counsels and spit in our faces." (Clar. H.G.R. VII 391.) Some leading Rumpers gathered at Lenthall's residence, and ordered Colonels Alured, Okey, and Markham to rendez vous the troops in Lincoln's Inn Fields. As they marched down Chancery Lane, they cheered the Speaker, who gave them the pass word for the day, and ordered them to their quarters. Desborough fled to join Lambert, but Fleetwood gave his complete submission to the Speaker, to whom he sent the keys of the Parliament House. Miller, commanding the Tower garrison, also acknowledged Parliamentary authority, and Lenthall and his friends found a not unfriendly attitude displayed by the City leaders. So two days later, on December 26th the Rump resumed once more, and black despair fell again on the minds of the English Royalists. The one faint gleam in their horizon was Monk, of whose views, they - and all England - were uncertain. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 63-4 ; Ludlow II 203 ; Phillips 694 ; Clar. H.G.R. VII 391-394 ; Rumbold to Hyde, Dec 23, Cal. Clar. S.P. Bod. IV 492 ; Barwick, "Barwick" App. XX 480 ; Newsletter, Dec. 24, Clarke Papers, IV 219-20 ; Col. Samuel Atkins to Monk, /or Mayers, Governor of Berwick/, Dec. 24, H. MSS. C. Rep. XV, App. Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/ , 136-7.)

When Ludlow heard of the Irish coup d'état from Fleetwood, (Vide supra pp. 116-7.) he set off for Ireland, and received a full report on reaching Chester. He resolved to press on, and left the town - with Croxton's declaration for Parliament fresh in his mind - and proceeded to Beau-

-maris to take ship. Next day, December 30th, the vessel cast anchor off Monkstown. Ludlow was not sure of the welcome awaiting him, so sent a letter to Sir Hardress Waller announcing the restoration of the Parliament and expressing his desire to join with the officers of the Army of Ireland to accomplish their wishes. (Ludlow to Sir H. Waller, etc., Dec 31, Ludlow II, App. II, Letter III, 449-50.) The ship's guns were fired as a signal to the authorities in Dublin. Kempson and other officers came aboard and told Ludlow how old Cromwellian officers, especially Coote, had the ascendancy in the counsels of the Army; not only friends of the Army of England, but in some cases solid Republicans were being displaced; important towns like Drogheda, Athlone, and Wexford were in the hands of the Parliamentarians; Coote and his friends had carried a resolution at a council of officers not to receive Ludlow, whom they accused of being a friend of the Army of England, and an enemy of Parliament. (Ludlow II App. III, No. 2, 471 ; C. S. P. Ireland 1647-60 695-6.) On hearing this dismal report Ludlow drew up letters to some of the Republican officers, assuring them of his loyalty to Parliament, and begging them to oppose the machinations of Coote and his party; if they were overpowered he suggested that if they retreated to Munster, he would do his best to aid them. One Mildmay, who had accompanied Kempson, undertook to deliver these letters. (Ludlow II 187-90 ; C. S. P. Ireland 1647-60 704.) On January 1st a servant came aboard with the news that troops had gone to Ludlow's house to arrest him, but on finding that he had not yet landed were awaiting his coming on shore to seize him. Next day, Captain Lucas arrived with the reply of the officers at Dublin, which rejoiced at the restoration of the Parliament, but condemned Ludlow as a friend of the Army of England. The accused General angrily denied the charge, and declared that he felt certain that the persons who had the ascendancy in Ireland aimed at nothing less than the restoration of the Stuarts. (Ludlow II 191-2 ; Sir H. Waller, etc. to Ludlow, Ibid., App. III, Letter IV, 450-1.) Realising that he was wasting time by staying off Dublin, Ludlow resolved to find some better landing place, and set sail once more. On January 4th he sighted Wexford, and landed at Duncannon Fort, where he was welcomed by the Governor, Captain Skinner, who informed him that Colonel Phaire at Cork,

Colonel Richards at Wexford, and Colonel Saunders at Kinsale, were resolute for their old commander's authority. Ludlow immediately made arrangements for victualling the fortress, and sent letters to Wexford, Cork, Kinsale, and Waterford, urging them to stand firm. A deputation from Waterford arrived and asked Ludlow to assure them that he was not a friend of the Army of England, and was sincerely loyal to Parliament. Ludlow sent them away apparently satisfied with his reply. (Ludlow II 193-4.) Neither Ludlow nor the officers at Dublin were anxious to open hostilities. The latter let it be thought that Coote himself was preparing to march against Duncannon Fort, and this had the effect of making the garrison at Waterford issue a definite declaration in favour of Parliament and the new régime. (Col. William Leigh etc. to Ludlow, Waterford, Jan. 6, C. S. P. Ireland 1647-60 705-6 ; The Same to the Commander of the "Oxford" frigate, Jan. 6, Ibid. 707 ; The Same to Ludlow, Jan. 6, Ibid. 707-8 ; Same to Same, Jan. 7, Ibid. 708-9.) On the arrival of a besieging force outside Duncannon Fort, Lieutenant Colonel Scott, son of the regicide Member of Parliament, sent a message, on January 11th demanding the surrender of the garrison, to which Ludlow returned a defiant reply. (C. S. P. Ireland 1647-60 712-3 ; Ibid. 713-4.) Meanwhile the officers at Dublin were encouraged by a reply to their letter to Monk, and again wrote to Ludlow accusing him of allying with Wallingford House. They also sent a similar letter to Parliament, asking that Ludlow be recalled. (Ludlow II App. II, No. VI, 451-5 ; The Officers in Ireland to the Speaker, Dublin, Jan. 11, Clarke Papers, IV 241-3.) Before Ludlow had sent his reply, (Ludlow to Sir H. Waller, etc., Jan. 21, Ludlow II, App. II, No. VII, 455-63.) news arrived that Parliament had ordered his return, despite his letter to Hesilrige that he and his friends were the true champions of the Commonwealth. Warning Skinner not to surrender, Ludlow took ship and landed at Ilfracombe, from whence he hastened to London. (Ludlow II 195-201 ; C. S. P. Ireland 1647-60 709-10.)

VI. THE END OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

When the Moncke shall unvaile his hood,
 And fifty thousand here shall reign,
 And traitors' heads shall swim in blood,
 We shall be happy then again .
 Till then expect no settlement
 From Army or from Parliament.

"The Game is Up," (1659) p.8.

On its resumption, the Rump was still a travesty of a Parliament so far as its numbers were concerned. Its attendance was seldom more than fifty in the short period of its life which yet remained to it. One or two faces appeared however, which had not been present in the previous May. Alexander Popham took his seat, and, more important, on January 7th Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper joined the assembly, the Parliamentary committee at last having agreed to the validity of his election eighteen years before. (Vide supra, p.23.) Naturally enough Fleetwood and others who had supported the rule of Wallingford House were missing from their places. Again Prynne and his friends attempted to take their seats, and once more they were unsuccessful. (C. J. Jan. 7 ; Ludlow II 205-6 ; Christie, "Shaftesbury" I 202-3 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 65 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Jan. 8 N.S., Ibid. 323 ; Same to Same, Jan. 15 N.S., Ibid. 329 ; Newsletter, Dec. 31 1659, Clarke Papers IV 232 ; "A brief Narrative of Divers Members of the House of Commons comming December 29th last to discharge their trust were again shut out by the pretended order of the Members sitting" /1659./)

The Rump quickly showed that it had not lost its old industry. A Council of State of twenty one Members of Parliament and ten others was appointed. The Members of Parliament were Hesilrige, Harrington, Dixwell, Fagg, John Corbet, White, Widdrington, Wallop, Walton, Weaver, Scott, Morley, Love, Reynolds, Neville, Thomas Chaloner, Say, Marten, St. John, Robinson, and Robert Thompson; the non-Parliamentary members, Lord Fairfax, Monk, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Alderman Foot, Alderman Love, Josias Berners, Commissioner Tyrell, Robert Roll, Vice Admiral Lawson, and Slingsby

Bethell. (C.J. Dec 29 30 , 1659, Jan. 2, 1660. Sir A.A. Cooper appears among the non-Members of Parliament because he did not take his seat until January 7th.) Another committee was appointed for the government of the Tower. (C.J. Dec. 26 1659. This lasted until January 7th, when Morley became Lieutenant of the Tower. /C.J. Jan. 7 1660./) Two months' pay was voted to the troops, and on Tuesday, December 27th, an act was rushed through continuing the Customs and Excise. (C.J. Dec. 26 27 1659.)

The opposition to the Parliament collapsed everywhere. Desborough submitted in a humble letter received on the 29th of December. Ludlow, Corbet, and Lilburne were among those who recognised Parliament in early January, and the messenger bringing Monk's letter to the Rump on January 4th stated that Lambert was near Northallerton with barely fifty men. (Whitelocke, Memorials, 692 693 ; W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 6.) The Rump appointed seven Army commissioners, and they sent orders to Lambert to disperse his troops, but before their orders arrived, the process of disintegration had well begun. (C.J. Dec. 26 1659 ; Whitelocke, Memorials 691 ; Christie, "Shaftesbury" I 198-9 201 ; Locke, Memorials of Sir A. A. Cooper, Works, III 495.) Redman and Bret had carried out their promise to Clarges to win over the Irish brigade to the Parliamentary cause, (Vide supra, p. 117.) and they were supported by the two regiments which had been recalled from Flanders. (Vide supra, p. 51 .) Captain Campbell had brought news to Monk of the progress of the Parliamentarians in Ireland, (Vide supra, p. 117.) who had been joined by the Dublin militia, two thousand strong. Cornet Monk was engaged in winning over Wexford and Waterford, Broghill was using his influence in Munster, and Coote was performing the difficult task of winning Connaught. Monk had sent back Campbell with a request for six troops of horse to strengthen his own forces, but the progress of affairs in England enabled him to write on January 1st that the Army of Ireland need not send him any assistance after all. (Phillips 694-5 ; Gumble, 182-4 ; Ludlow II 185-9 ; Monk to Sir H. Waller, Jan. 1, Coldstream, Clarke Papers, IV 237.)

In the House Hesilrige and his friends had great influence now, though the Venetian envoy reported that there were as many as three or four parties in this Parliament of less than fifty members. On January 10th

Scott became an informal Secretary of State, but a week later the appointment was confirmed, and he was given charge of both foreign and domestic intelligence. (C.J. Jan 10 17 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 693 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, Jan. 30 N.S., C.S.P. Venet. XXXII, No. 116, p. 113.)

Of course Lambert's coup d' état and the subsequent usurpation were not overlooked, though it would be unjust to accuse the House of a revengeful spirit. Votes of thanks were passed to those who had remained faithful, and votes of censure on Parliament's opponents. (C.J. Dec 27 28 29 1659 Jan 12 1660.) The actions of the late Committee of Safety were made null and void. (C.J. Dec. 26 1659.) On January 2nd, the House promised pardon and indemnity to all who submitted before the 9th, and despite Hutchinson's opposition included even Lambert in this vote. On the 24th, Henry Scobell, Clerk, was ordered to bring all papers and letters of the late Committee of Safety to the House a week later. Vane and the Army leaders were ordered to retire to their country houses. Though Vane's unpopularity was at its height he was not without some faithful friends, for at the beginning of February, Henry Stubbs published a pamphlet vindicating his hero. Vane and Lambert proved somewhat obstinate, and though votes were passed against them, they seem to have had little effect, despite Hutchinson's angry demands for further action. A similar vote committing Salway to the Tower on the 17th was rescinded four days later, and he was allowed to retire to the country. The indemnity to the Wallingford House party, must, in the circumstances be considered generous. It is somewhat surprising to find that Hewson was apparently forgiven. Perhaps the Rump had no tender feelings towards the London apprentices ! (C.J. Jan 2 9 14 17 21 24 ; Council of State to John Leadbeater, etc., Jan. 13, C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 309 ; Ibid. Jan. 14, 309 ; Hutchinson's Memoirs, 358 ; Ludlow II 201 217 ; Whitelocke, Memorials 693 ; Clark, Life and Times of A. a Wood, I 303 .) Both Whitelocke and Johnston of Warriston escaped punishment. Whitelocke had been fearful of what might happen, especially as he knew of the anger caused by his acceptance from Fleetwood of the post of Constable of Windsor Castle, and he had heard that Scott had threatened that he should be hanged with the Great Seal about his neck. On Lenthall's advice he attended the House, but finding that the Rumpers

were very bitter, he wisely retired to the country until the storm should blow over, having left orders with his wife to take the Great Seal to Lenthall, and burn any papers which might be incriminating. (Whitelocke, Memorials, 691-2.) Fleetwood was even considered as a candidate for high military command, but Sydenham was expelled from the House. (C.J. Jan. 17.) Some bitterness was shown against Ludlow, whom members regarded as a renegade. On December 28th the officers of the Army of Ireland had drawn up Articles of Impeachment against Ludlow, Miles Corbet, and Matthew Thomlinson, accusing them of having allied themselves with the Wallingford House party against Parliament. These were presented to the House on January 19th by Colonel Bridges. The attack on Ludlow was supported by Monk in a letter to the Speaker from Ferrybridge, dated January 16th. (It is not easy to determine how far Ludlow believed that he was acting for the good of the Parliament and Republicanism by pursuing the course he did. Indeed many of his contemporaries, including Charles II, were not really sure which party claimed his affections.) The House took decisive action. The powers of Ludlow and the commissioners were suspended, and Coote, Sir Hardress Waller, Goodwin, and Weaver were appointed commissioners for the government of Ireland. Further, Ludlow was ordered to surrender Cork, Duncannon Fort, and any other places he and his partisans held, and attend Parliament to answer the Articles of Impeachment. Some Members would have condemned him out of hand, but Neville persuaded the House to wait until they had heard Ludlow's defence. Ludlow arrived in London before the end of January, and on February 1st, he and Miles Corbet took their seats in the House. He begged Parliament to listen to his report on Irish affairs, (He had already prepared a speech justifying himself and the Duncannon garrison. C.S.P. Ireland 1647-60 Addenda, 697-8.) and February 8th was fixed for the day of hearing, but this was postponed until later. (C.J. Jan 17 19 Feb. 1 8 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 314 ; C.S.P. Ireland, 1647-60 717 ; Ludlow II 210 213-4 ; Articles against Ludlow, Ibid. App. III, 464-70 ; Ibid. No. III, 471-2 ; Hyde to Barwick, Jan. 12, N.S., W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 1.)

No doubt the Rump would have liked to have struck at the Royalists, but the bulk of the latter wisely lay low. Plans were made and money collec-

-ted for a rising in the City, but little action was taken except bitter pamphlet attacks, including "A New Year's Gift for the Rump", "The Rump roughly but righteously handled", "Letany for the New Year", and "A New Ballad to an old Tune." (Guizot, R. Crom. II 79 ; Rump Songs II 4-7 8-11 60-6 94-5.) Mordaunt was at this time concentrating on winning over more Presbyterians, and had convinced such London notables as Aldermen Robinson and Langham. Great Presbyterian peers too, like Manchester and Northumberland, were coming into the open more for the restoration of the Monarchy. Nevertheless some Royalists believed that there was little hope of winning over the bulk of the Presbyterian party, who, they thought, would prefer a restoration of Richard Cromwell rather than of Charles II. (V. Ranke, III 282 ; /R. Bellings/ to James Sydenham, Jan. 3, Paris, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App. Ormonde MSS, New Series, Vol. I, /1902/ 332.) Charles II himself had not been eager to see either Monk or Lambert victorious, building his hopes on continued division, though "the fallings out in England" gave no grounds for optimism in the opinion of such a competent observer as Langdale. Ormonde however, believed that Monk had some hidden intentions which might be favourable to the King, and made his hope the basis of a new - and again unsuccessful - solicitation of Mazarin. (Carte, Ormonde, II 195-6 ; Hyde to Langdale, Feb. 2/12, Brussels, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App. Harford MSS, /1903/, 362-3.)

Once more a reorganisation of the Army began. (C. J. Jan. 11 12 13 18 20 23 24 27 31 Feb. 2 3 4 7 8 10 11 13 14 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 307 309 310 326 342 354.) Among those who received commissions were Unton Croke who was rewarded for his action in the Isle of Wight in the previous December, with the command of Berry's regiment, (vide supra p. 115.) and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who got Fleetwood's regiment of Horse. (C. J. Jan. 11 ; Ludlow II 206 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 693.) One of Parliament's first acts was to restore Colonel Herbert Morley to the Governorship of the Tower. (C. J. Jan. 7 11.) John Evelyn came again to tell him that the King was ready to pardon him, but found the colonel much more reserved than formerly. The two almost quarrelled, and Evelyn sent quite a sharp letter to Morley. But Morley was now working in his own way, with Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper and Arthur Annesley, and moreover was not very

sure of his hold on his garrison. Nevertheless he was feeling his way to the Cavalier side, as his opposition to the Abjuration Oath soon after showed clearly. (Phillips 694-5 ; Evelyn's Diary, Dec. 10 1659, Jan. 12 22 1660.) A new committee for the Army was finally elected on January 27th, and the bill passed on February 2nd. Commissioners for the Admiralty were appointed on January 28th. (C.J. Jan. 27 28 Feb. 2.) A further attempt to restore order into the finances was made when a bill for raising an assessment of £100,000 per month, which had lain dormant since the interruption, was revived and passed. (C.J. Jan. 16 26.)

The "conservative" party in the Rump was growing stronger. The oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth, and against King, Single Person, and House of Lords, to be taken by members of the Council of State, was passed on January 2nd, (C.J. Jan. 2 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 296 ; Phillips 696.) though about one third of the councillors, including Lord Fairfax, Weaver, Fagg, St. John and Morley refused to act in consequence. But Hesilrige's bill to impose a similar oath on members of Parliament met with strong opposition, not only from men suspected as Royalists, like Ingoldsby and Fielder, but from stern Republicans and Cromwellians, like Hutchinson, Weaver, Dove, and the Purys. (Phillips 696 ; Hutchinson's Memoirs 358-9.) He carried a first reading by 24 votes to 15, but the measure was held up in committee, and finally altered on February 14th and 16th to a simple oath of fidelity to the Commonwealth. (C.J. Jan. 3 6 10 Feb. 14 16 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 80 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Jan. 26 N.S., Ibid. 331.) The real strength of the conservatives was shown in the instructions given to a committee on January 21st, and a declaration published two days later, emphasising that while the House was resolved to uphold Commonwealth government, it did not favour arbitrary power, nor was it an enemy to Magistracy and the Ministry ; judicial proceedings must be according to law ; a learned and godly ministry must be encouraged, and maintained by tithes, and augmented from appropriated lands ; Universities and schools must be upheld ; trade must be restored and public debts paid. (C.J. Jan. 21 23 ; O.P.H. XXII 58-62 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Feb. 9 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 338-9.) Obviously the Rump was making an effort to win over the Presbyterian and Independent

ministers of the Establishment, and the general body of the nation. To do this the House was apparently willing to break with the voluntaryist Puritans who aimed at the overthrow of State domination in religious matters, but Pepys' comment was significant - " I do not find people apt to believe them. (Pepys' Diary, Jan. 24.) Nevertheless Hesilrige and his friends were dismayed to hear even members of the Rump refer to the "fanatics". The expression, "The Good old Cause", once the rallying cry of English Puritanism at its best and strongest, was rapidly becoming a term of derision, even among many who could still be regarded as Puritans.

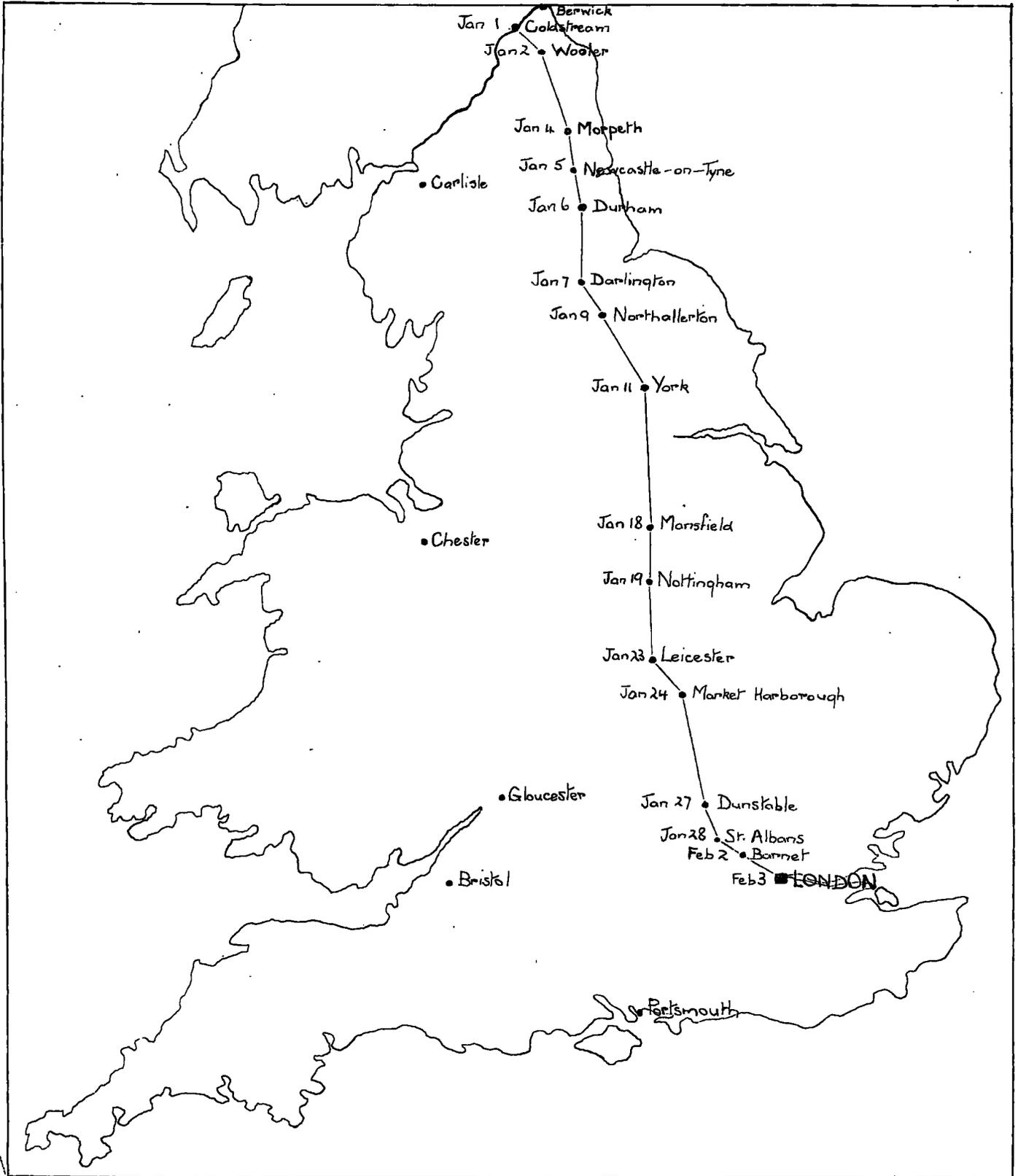
Whether "conservatives" or "fanatics", the majority of the House had no desire to see the dour General from Scotland in their midst, yet they were unable to prevent that happening. The same message that brought Monk news of the restoration of Parliament, also gave him the news that Lambert was moving South against Fairfax. Monk therefore ordered his troops to cross the Tweed, and on New Year's Day, the famous march began, the troops being preceded by standards bearing such words as " For Magistracy and Ministry", "For the Gospel", and "For the Privilege of Parliament and the Liberty of the People." Instructions were sent to Berwick for the General's wife and son to go to London by sea. (Skinner, "Monk" 180 ; Nicoll's Diary 259.) Next day Monk was at the Northumbrian village of Wooler, where he received the Speaker's letter of December 27th, which did not however invite him to proceed. Nevertheless the General drew up a courteous reply stating his intention of marching to the capital. On the night of the 3rd, he lodged at a vicar's house midway between Wooler and Morpeth. On the 4th he reached Morpeth. The advanced guard, under Colonel Knight, which had come to Morpeth on the previous day was already at Newcastle, and had received information of the declaration of the Tynemouth garrison for Parliament. Monk's forces now numbered 5,000 foot and 2,000 horse, the former especially being in excellent condition. The rear guard was under the command of Colonel Read. While at Morpeth, Monk received a letter from the City, delivered by the word Bearer in person. News also arrived that Lambert's men were dispersing to their various quarters in accordance with the orders left

with them by the messenger bearing Lenthall's letter to Monk. (Skinner, "Monk" 180-3 ; Gumble 192 197-8 ; Phillips 695-6 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 67 -8 ; Price 76 ; The Speaker to Monk, Dec. 27, Clarke Papers, IV 222 ; Monk to the Speaker, Jan. 2, Wooler, Ibid. 238-40 ; The Lord Mayor, etc. to Monk, Dec. 29, Monk's Letters, 45-7 ; C. J. Dec. 27 1659 Jan. 9 1660. /The entry for the 9th refers to the reception of a letter of Monk's written on the 3rd, but this must be an error for the 2nd.) (H. MSS. C., Rep. XIII, App. Pt. VI p. 3.)

On the 5th, Monk marched into Newcastle, where he stayed three days. John Emmerson, the grim Puritan sheriff, who had welcomed Leslie in 1640 had now as Mayor, to welcome Monk. (Monthly Chronicle of North Country Lore and Legend, /1886/ 442.) From here the General sent Gumble with his reply to the Speaker's letter received at Wooler. Gumble also carried a copy of the City's letter to Monk, his reply to it, dated January 6th, a letter to Fairfax, and further instructions to Bowles. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 70 ; Skinner, "Monk" 184-5 ; Gumble 202-4 ; Price 77 ; Monk to the Lord Mayor etc., Newcastle, Jan. 6, Monk's Letters 47-9.) The chaplain delivered Monk's messages and rejoined the General at Mansfield. (Vide infra, p. 134.) (Guizot, R. Crom. II 68-9 ; Gumble, 207-17 ; Ludlow II 206-7.) Monk also gave the City Sword Bearer a respectful but non-committal reply to his masters and sent him on to London. (Skinner, "Monk" 184.)

The General continued his journey by Durham, (where he sent an encouraging letter to Coote and the Irish officers, /Skinner, "Monk" 187./) Darlington, and Northallerton, to York, which he reached on the 11th. While at this city, he visited the veteran Lord Fairfax, who now disbanded his volunteers. He also paid a visit to Bowles who urged him to declare for the King, but Monk contrived to be inscrutable. Furthermore, when one officer openly expressed the opinion that the General intended to restore Charles II, Monk angrily struck him with a cane. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 70-1 ; Price 79-81.) Colonel Charles Fairfax's regiment was left at York, while Clark's Foot, and Morgan's Horse were ordered back to Scotland. (Council of State to Monk, Jan. 25, C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 323.) Monk disbanded four companies of Ashfield's Foot, taking some of the privates into his own units. He also remodelled Lambert's and Lilburne's regiments, giving the

MONK'S MARCH TO LONDON.



command of the former to Smithson, and of the latter to Bethell. (Phillips 696 697 ; Monk to the Speaker, N.D., Clarke Papers IV 253 ; Smithson had already been given the command at York, - vide Council of State to Major Smithson, Jan. 5, C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 301.) His total forces now consisted of four regiments of foot (about 4000 men,) and three of horse, (about 1800 men.) Before he departed, he heard that Overton at Hull was making hostile preparations, and therefore sent Smithson to remonstrate. Overton's reply showed clearly that he was suspicious; he said that rumour had alarmed him, but he was glad to hear that Monk was supporting the Rump and was opposed to the restoration of the Secluded Members as well as to a "Free" Parliament or Single Person government. (Phillips 696 ; Monk to the Mayor of Hull, Jan. 12, York, Clarke Papers, IV 243 ; Monk to Overton, Jan. 12, Ibid. 244-5 ; Overton to Monk, Jan. 13, Hull, Ibid. 245-6 ; Monk to Overton, Jan. 14, York, Ibid. 246-7.)

By this time, Parliament had realised that it must bow to the inevitable. On December 27th and 29th, formal thanks had been voted not only to Monk, but also to Lawson, the Vice-Admiral being further complimented on January 9th. Monk's military reorganisation had been confirmed, and he and Lord Fairfax added to the Council of State. Nevertheless his friends were troubled at the mild treatment of Lambert's party. On hearing of his march by his letter of December 29th, the Council of State sent him belated orders to proceed. These orders were brought to Monk at York by Auditor Thompson (C.J. Dec 27 29 30 1659, Jan. 6 9 1660 ; OPH XXII 39-41 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 303 307 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 73 ; The Speaker to Monk, Jan. 7, Clarke Papers, IV 240-1 ; W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 23.)

Leaving Major General Morgan at York, with instructions to return to Scotland and take command there on recovering from his indisposition, (There is a conflict of evidence here. Echard, /753/ states that Morgan was sent back to the Scotland command before Monk's march began. Phillips, /695-6/ says that the Major General was left sick at Morpeth. In the Leybourne Popham MSS, /H. MSS. C. Rep. XV, App., 1899, p. 149/ there is a letter from Morgan dated Feb. 11, stating his intention of leaving York for Scotland. Nicoll's Diary provides a clue. /Vide pp. 271 274 276/. Mor-

-gan was left sick at York, commenced to march back to Scotland on Jan. 24th, halted at the beginning of February owing to disturbances in the South in the cause of a "Free" Parliament, but had taken up the Scotland command by the third week of February.) Monk departed on the 16th, and two days later marched into Mansfield, where Gumble was awaiting him. The chaplain had appeared before the House on the 12th, and had been voted £100 and the promise of a benefice. This promise was carried out on the 26th by a recommendation to the Provost and Fellows of Eton that Gumble be elected to the first vacant Fellowship. Nevertheless he had not received an altogether friendly reception, for the Council of State had sharply questioned him as to Monk's intentions. He told Parliament what measures Monk recommended, and also seized the opportunity of having conversations with leading Rumpers, and also City magnates and Secluded Members, sending regular reports to Monk. Having stayed four days he had left the City, and thus rejoined his General. (Price 82 ; Skinner, "Monk" 190 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 74-5 ; Gumble 209-21 ; C.J. Jan. 12 26 ; C.S.P. DOM. 1659-60, 308 324 592 ; Merc. Pol. Jan. 12-19.)

On the 19th Monk was at Nottingham, and next day he was joined by Clarges. The two held a secret conference, and the agent gave a full report of the disposition of the regiments in London, having received a list of quarters from Quarter Master General Butler. Of the thirteen colonels, only Fagg and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper were likely to support Monk. He therefore urged the General to write to the Council of State asking that the London troops be sent to new quarters, as they could not be depended upon until their officers had reduced them to obedience. Monk objected that the Council of State might order an equal number of his troops and of the London regiments to quarter in the City, but Clarges replied that the General could easily reply that it would be foolish to mingle the soldiers in existing circumstances. At last Monk agreed to the plan, and Clarges drew up a letter. They decided however that the letter would not be sent until they had reached St. Albans, so that the Rump might be lulled with the thought that it came with the approval of their own commissioners, who were on the way to meet Monk. Then the General, Clarges, and Colonel Read secretly drew up a schedule of new

quarters for the London troops. (Skinner, "Monk" 192 ; Gumble, 221 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 83 ; Phillips 701-2. Vide Appendix II.)

As Monk was approaching Leicester on the 23rd, he met two others who were not so welcome, Scott and Neville. Their mission nominally was to give to the General Parliament's letter prepared on the 12th, and the vote of the 16th, giving an estate of £1000 per annum to Monk and his heirs for ever, but really they were the Rump's spies, sent to watch Monk's words and actions and report to their masters. The General was anxious to know how to answer possible questions concerning his attitude to the Abjuration Oath, and conferred with Gumble and Clarges. They urged him to say that he had heard that persons of known integrity had refused to take the oath, and that he preferred to wait until he had reached London, and had heard both sides. To Monk's relief however, the first interview passed off amicably, the commissioners not only delivering the letter and communicating the vote, but expressing Parliament's joy that Monk was coming to London. (Guizot R. Crom. II 81-2 84 ; C. J. Jan. 16 ; Phillips 702 ; Gumble 224 ; Price 83. The Council of State in a letter to Monk, dated Jan. 14 suggest that the Irish Brigade be sent to Chester to be ready for Ireland if necessary, /C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 310. / and Monk in a letter from Ferrybridge, dated Jan. 16, /Ludlow II App. III, No. III, p. 472. / also suggests sending them there, and apparently they went. /Ibid. 238-9. / But Skinner, /"Monk" 195. / and White Kennet, /Reg. & Chron. 33. / say that Redman and Bret had them drawn up at Leicester for review, and Price, /83/ states that he saw them there. Perhaps the explanation is that given in Clarke Papers IV, /Monk to the Speaker, N. D., 251-4. / in which Monk says that he has remodelled the officers and sent them to Chester.)

At Market Harborough Monk received a deputation representing the City of London, consisting of Aldermen Fowke and Vincent, and Mr. Bromfield. When Bromfield urged the claims of the Secluded Members, Scott interrupted angrily. Publicly Monk seemed to agree with Scott, but Clarges secretly encouraged the citizens. The Northamptonshire gentry, headed by Sir John Norris, had intended to make a similar address at Northampton, but felt discouraged at the brusque reception given to the London

deputation. Barrow, however told Philip Howard to advise them to present their address, no matter how unsatisfactory the answer might be. So Norris was waiting at Northampton, and duly presented the address. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 89 ; Phillips 703 ; Skinner, "Monk" 196 ; Pepys' Diary, Jan. 20 ; The Northamptonshire Address, cit. Barwick, "Barwick" App. XXXV, 534-7.)

At Dunstable, on the 27th, Monk conferred with Clarges and Knight about the letter prepared at Nottingham. (Collins tries to take the credit of advising Monk to seek the removal of the London regiments, and says that the schedule was drawn up at Barnet, but the weight of evidence seems to be against his contention. Vide H. MSS. C. Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS., /1899/, *Mysteria Revelata*, 204-12.) The General wished to keep Knight at his side, and to send Clarges to consolidate the party in the House friendly to himself, so finally Lydcott, who was a friend of Lambert, was sent with the letter. He departed on the Saturday, and delivered the letter, on Monday the 30th. Hesilrige strongly opposed the suggested arrangements, and pleaded that London be guarded by four of Monk's regiments and four regiments of the forces already there. After a long debate however, Lydcott was sent back to Monk bearing Parliament's consent to his proposals. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 91-2 ; Monk's Letters, 53-4 ; Phillips 703 ; Gumble 227 ; Price 85 ; C. J. Jan. 30.)

Meanwhile Monk had arrived at St. Albans on the 28th, where he waited five days in order that the section of his troops which had marched by Newark might catch him up, and also to see how Parliament would reply to his request. On the Sunday he listened to a sermon preached by the redoubtable Hugh Peters, Oliver's famous chaplain. More petitioners were awaiting him, and when Sir Richard Temple presented his address, the angry Scott swore that old as he was he would draw his sword again before such terms were granted. At the request of Price and Knight he also granted an interview to an important personage, un-named by contemporary writers, on behalf of the ex-Parliamentarian peers and Secluded Members. This person succeeded in obtaining from Monk a private assurance that he had not abjured monarchy. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 94-5 ; Skinner, "Monk" 197 199 ; Echard 754 ; Price 85-7 ; Mordaunt to the King, Feb. 4, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 546-7. Guizot gives Price, p. 88 as reference to the

un-named person. There is no such incident recorded on that page. Perhaps Guizot is confusing this interview with one later in London, of which Price gives an account on p. 94.)

Throughout the march addresses had poured in from counties and towns urging Monk to secure the recall of the Secluded Members or a free Parliament, and it was significant that the majority of the petitioners was composed of men who had fought against the King, or at least had never fought for him. (The Gentry of Devon to Monk, Jan. 28, C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 330-2 ; Declaration of the Gentry of Norfolk and Norwich, Jan. 28, Ibid. 332 341 ; The Gentry etc., of Suffolk, to Monk, Jan. 28, Ibid. 332 ; Request of the Knights, etc., of Leicester, Jan. 30, Ibid. 335-6 ; Declaration of the Knights etc., of Warwick, N. D., Ibid. 340 ; Declaration of the Nobility etc., of Kent, N. D., Ibid. 340 ; Congratulations and Address of the Knights etc., of Buckinghamshire, N. D., Ibid. 341 ; Declaration of the Lords, etc., in the counties of Chester, Salop, and Stafford, N. D., Ibid. 341 ; Declaration of the gentry etc., of Bedford, N. D., Ibid. 341 ; Representation of the apprentices and young men of London to Monk, Feb. 2, Ibid. 344-5.) Either course would end inevitably in the restoration of the Monarchy. Hence the Royalists, though they would have preferred a new Parliament, were ready to support their more powerful ally the Presbyterians, in their demand for the restoration of Prynne and his friends. The Rump was fully alive to the danger, and was now willing to throw over much that they had considered essential in the past, so long as an oath of fidelity to the Commonwealth was enforced among themselves. Their commissioners strove hard to learn Monk's intentions but were defeated by the General's invincible taciturnity. They were somewhat cheered by his ungracious reception to the county addresses, for they were not aware that Gumble, Price, and Barrow were privately encouraging the deputations. On the very day that the commissioners joined Monk, he wrote a letter in reply to the address from his own county of Devon, in which he made a definite declaration against Monarchy. (Monk to William Morris, /Morice/, Jan. 23, Clarke Papers, IV 260 ; "A Letter of General Monck's, dated at Leicester, and directed to Mr. Rolle, etc., /7 pp. / /1660. /) A copy was duly forwarded to Parliament, and the jubilant Rump formally

legalised the General's actions, and carried out the Council of State's secret promise made in November, by appointing him Custos Rotulorum of the county of Devon. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 85-8 ; C. J. Jan. 26 31 .) One point of disagreement between Monk and the Parliament's commissioners was the presence of Captain Cuff, who accompanied the General as the representative of the Army of Ireland. Scott warned Monk that Coote and Broghill were working for ends other than the supremacy of the Rump, but the General replied that he was assured of their fidelity. (Phillips 703.) Another visit to Monk during the march was from Sir Stephen Fox, Charles II's private Treasurer, who brought a letter from his master. Though he did not succeed in obtaining a reply, he was not hindered or molested in any way, a new experience for Royalist agents in their dealings with soldiers of the Commonwealth. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 90-1 ; Memoirs of Sir Stephen Fox, 30-1.)

While on the journey to the capital, Monk sent letters to the Scots leaders, asking them to draw up a list of their grievances and forward them with a view to their presentation to Parliament. A convention duly met in Edinburgh, on February 2nd and 3rd, but the representatives of the nobles disagreed on many important points with those of the shires and burghs, and finally each sent a representative to Monk to give their respective points of view. (Nicoll's Diary 272.)

Not only Monk, but Parliament too was harassed by floods of petitions and addresses, and struck back by having the leading petitioners arrested and imprisoned. Some districts were not content with persuasive tactics. Colonel Unton Croke had difficulty in quelling a tumult in Exeter, which had been fomented by men of rank. It was with profound thanksgiving that the Rump solaced itself with a loyal address from the London watermen, though Prynne and others were unkind enough to suggest that the signatures of even this address were collected by fraud. (F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, Feb. 13 N.S., C. S. P. Venet. XXXII No. 119, p. 114 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 330 ; C. J. Feb. 1 ; W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 32 38 ; Pepys' Diary Feb. 2 ; "The Humble Petition and Address of the Seamen and Watermen in and about the City of London to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Council of the City of London, in common coun-

-cil assembled, for a free and legal parliament." / 1660./)

On January 30th the House ordered the London regiments to march out to the quarters assigned to them. A letter from Scott and Robinson arrived enclosing an address to Monk from Buckinghamshire, and this induced the House to order its committee to consider qualifications for members to fill vacancies that very afternoon. Next day Parliament made Monk Keeper of St. James's Park, and Clarges Commissary General. Though one month's pay was voted to the London regiments, some of them were mutinous, especially at St. James's and Somerset House, and the officers had great difficulty in restraining them. Probably Lambert and Vane, both of whom were still in the capital, and even Hesilrige and Neville encouraged the mutineers. It is significant that Black Rod was ordered to arrest Vane and convey him within three days to his country seat at Raby. At midnight on February 2nd several hundred Londoners raised a shout for a "Free" Parliament, hoping to be joined by the mutineers, but they were disappointed, for two or three troops of Horse dispersed them, and thirty eight of the crowd were imprisoned in Lambeth House next morning. At first the Council of State had been alarmed and sent orders to Monk to hasten his march, but these orders were countermanded as the General was so near the City. (C. J. Jan. 30, Feb. 1 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 96 ; Phillips 704 ; Ludlow II 214 ; Clar. H. G. R. VII 400 ; Pepys' Diary, Feb. 1 2 ; Ibid. Feb. 3 ; Council of State to Monk, Feb. 2, C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 344 ; John Watkins to Ed. Wilcox, Feb. 7, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App. Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/ 144 ; Bordeaux to Brienne, Feb. 17 N. S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 342-3.)

On February 2nd, while Parliament was listening to another discouraging report on the state of the Treasury, (C. J. Feb. 2.) Monk arrived at Barnet. That night he was aroused from sleep by Scott, who gave him news of the mutinous attitude of some of the London troops, but Monk refused to march immediately, and contented himself with sending two officers to make enquiries. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 95-6 ; Price 88-9 ; Skinner, "Monk" 200-2.)

On the following day, Friday, February 3rd, the London regiments having left in the morning, his weary veterans, 5,800 strong, marched into the capital. Their only welcome from the City crowds was shouts for a "Free" Parliament. (Pepys' Diary, Feb. 3.) The troops proceeded down Gray's Inn

Lane into Holborn, and thence through Temple Bar and along the Strand to Whitehall. Monk and the cavalry headed the procession, followed by the Foot. Near Somerset House Monk was greeted by the Speaker. Having arrived at Whitehall, guards were set, and the troops sent to their allotted quarters. Some of the Council of State called on Monk and invited him to take his seat among them, but he excused himself on the grounds that he was not yet satisfied about the Abjuration oath. (Phillips 704 ; Skinner, "Monk" 202-3 ; Price, 89-91. Vide App. II.)

During the week-end Monk was engaged in receiving visitors at Whitehall, where the Prince of Wales's Apartments had been set aside for him. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 98.) On the evening of the 3rd, Vice Admiral Lawson brought Ludlow to see him. Monk spoke warmly of his attachment to the Commonwealth, and the visitors departed with the honest sailor at least elated at the General's attitude. (Ludlow II 215-6.) Scott called on the Saturday to tell Monk that the House would receive him formally on the Monday, and would expect him to denounce the demands for the restoration of the Secluded Members and a "Free" Parliament. The General disappointed Scott by murmuring only thanks. (C. J. Feb. 4 ; Order of the House of Commons, etc., Feb. 4, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App. Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/ 142 ; Ludlow II 216 .) A different type of visitor was one Sturdy, who was introduced by an old Cavalier. He brought a story that he had heard Scott's son boasting of a plot to murder Monk. The General rewarded Sturdy for his solicitude - or imagination - by giving him a place in his personal guard. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 103 ; Price 90-1 ; Skinner, "Monk" 206.) A diversion was caused by the arrival of news that Cockeram's regiment, stationed at Gravesend, had mutinied on being ordered to embark for Dunkirk, and Monk had to send some cavalry there to combine with Eyre's regiment in the restoration of order. (Whitelocke, Memorials, 694 ; W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 48 ; J. Watkins to E. Wilcox, Feb. 7, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App. Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/ 145 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Feb. 16 N. S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 341 ; Same to Brienne, Feb. 17 N. S., Ibid. 343.)

On Monday, February 6th, the two commissioners introduced

Monk to the House. (C. J. Feb. 4 6 .) Though theoretically he was only one of a committee of five - and in communications Parliament had persist-

-ently addressed him as Commissioner, despite the fact that they had sent him a commission as Commander in Chief - the attitude of the majority of the House clearly showed that they regarded him as a deliverer. (Phillips 704 ; Warwick's Memoirs 460 ; Bordeaux to Brienne, Feb. 17 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 344.) The troops in the courtyard and Palace of Westminster stood under arms. Robinson and Scott, preceded by the Sergeant bearing the Mace, led Monk to a chair covered with velvet at the left of the Bar, but the General asked leave to stand. Lenthall then delivered a speech of welcome and congratulation. (Phillips 704-5 ; Ludlow II 216 ; Monk's Letters 54-6 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, Feb. 20 N.S., C.S.P. Venet. XXXII, No. 120, pp. 115-6.) Monk's reply was somewhat of a shock to the House. He said that he had noticed during his march the general desire of the people for a settlement ; most of the petitioners asked for a "Free" Parliament or the re-admission of the Secluded Members, without any previous engagement or oath ; he had replied that the existing Parliament was free and that if there were any force upon it, he would endeavour to remove it ; he had not said to the petitioners, but he would say to Parliament that the less oaths and engagements there were the sooner would a satisfactory settlement be reached. He went on to urge Parliament to seek the support of the sober gentry and discourage not only Cavaliers but also fanatics. Then he denounced the late government in Ireland, and commended the general feeling of the people of Scotland, and ended by expressing the hope that the Act of Union would be speeded up, and that the civil government of Scotland would be settled. (Phillips 705-6 ; Gumble, 230-3 ; The Lord General Monk's Speech, delivered by him in the Parliament on Monday, Feb. 6, 1659/60., Monk's Letters 56-8.) Scott and Robinson listened aghast to the General's speech, and nearly interrupted him, for they told their friends that such a speech would not help the attitude of the Army of Ireland, and would certainly raise Cavalier hopes. (Phillips 706.) That their fears were justified was shown by the greatly increased popularity of the word "fanatic" among opponents of the Commonwealth. Sectaries were alarmed by some of Monk's less prudent followers breaking up a Quaker meeting, especially as Monk issued no order protecting such

meetings until a month had passed. The Republican party had good reason to be despondent. Vane, Lambert and Ludlow were in disgrace. Hesilrige and Scott were certainly not the men to save the Commonwealth in a crisis, especially if Monk were to prove disloyal. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 100 ; Clark, "Life and Times of Anthony & Wood" I 303 ; Order of March 9 1660, Neal Hist. Puritans, IV, Supplement to chap. IV, 283.)

Citizens and Royalists alike could still make nothing of the General. (Jermyn to Ormonde, Paris, Feb. 19, Carte, Ormonde Papers, II 306 ; Pepys' Diary, Jan. 18 20 26 30 31.) Such clear sighted observers as Mordaunt and Rumbold feared that he was for the Commonwealth. Yet the hopes of many were rising, and the faces of Cavaliers which had long been absent from London began to appear once more. Parliament replied by arresting some of them, and on February 7th brought in a strong measure for sequestration of Royalists' estates. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 106-7 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 695 ; C. J. Feb. 7 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 348.) At the same time the Rump struck out at some of the renegades. Despite his illness Vane had difficulty in obtaining a week's respite of the order banishing him to Raby. On the 2nd, the warrant for £2999 given to Thurloe for secret service payments was annulled, and a strict enquiry ordered. On the 8th Lambert was examined before the Council of State, and ordered to retire to Holmby unless he took an oath of fidelity to the Commonwealth. (C. J. Feb. 1 2 6 8 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 345 350 ; A Paper of Secretary Thurloe relating to the Post Office, Thurloe S. P. VII 807 ; Resolution of Parliament, Ibid. 807 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 107-8.)

During this time the pamphlet war did not cease to rage fiercely. Harrington published "The Rota, or a Model of a Free State or Equal Commonwealth", on January 9th, and "The Ways and Means whereby an equal and lasting Commonwealth may be suddenly introduced" on February 8th. (Harrington's Works, App. 621-32 ; Ibid. 539-40.) The enemies of the Rump brought out "A Coffin for the Good old Cause", while Prynne's interminable pamphlets continued. The Royalists too were not idle, and "Scutum Regale" was a bitter attack on those who had executed Charles I and were keeping Charles II from his inheritance. (Masson, "Milton" V 530-1 ; W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 53 ; "An exact Catalogue of all printed books and pap-

-ers of various subjects written upon sundry occasions by William Prynne, Esq.," /1660/, Nos. 151 ff., pp. 13-14 ; W. Prynne, "The Signal Loyalty and Devotion of God's true Saints and Pious Christians towards their Kings." /1660./)

On February 3rd the Rump had decided to increase its own numbers to a total of four hundred, and, having agreed that the constituencies should be the same as in 1653, proceeded to debate the question of qualifications for prospective members. The news of this manoeuvre caused intense indignation in the City. Riots broke out, in which the apprentices took a leading part. Then the Common Council met, and passed a resolution that they would pay no more taxes until Parliament was properly completed. To add to the Rump's difficulties news came that riots had broken out in Bristol, and that they had been quelled only by a promise to promote an address for a "Free" Parliament. The Council of State therefore despatched Okey to deal with the troubles in the West country. (C.J. Feb. 3 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 694 695 ; Phillips 706 ; W. Pritchard to W. Canne, Gray's Inn, Feb. 7, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/, 142 ; Same to W. Gunter, Feb. 7, Ibid. 143.) The Council was not slow to deal with the City too. On February 8th it called Monk to a conference, of which his friends Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper and Weaver had purposely not been informed. The length of time spent in discussion made the General's wife anxious, but she was unable to get to her husband. At three o'clock in the morning Monk returned home, having agreed to carry out the Council's orders to march into the City, arrest eleven prominent enemies of the Rump, take down the chains and posts, unhinge the Gates and portcullises, and quarter himself in the City until it was reduced. On the same day, Parliament had again struck at its enemies by introducing a clause into the Bill for regulating the elections, debarring from seat or vote all who had supported the Stuarts since February 1st, 1649. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 107 ; C.J. Feb. 8 11.) Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper remonstrated in vain with the General who commenced the execution of the orders without question. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 109-11 ; Skinner, "Monk" 211-2 ; Ludlow II 218 ; Christie, "Shaftesbury" 206-7.) Two of the "wanted" citizens

could not be found, (Monk to the Speaker, Feb. 9, Guildhall, Monk's Letters, 59-60.) but Aldermen Bludworth and Vincent, and Messrs. Bromfield, Thomas Brown, Spencer, Penning, Jackson, Chamberlain, and Ford were arrested. Some officers, especially Hubblethorne, angrily remonstrated with Monk, but he urged a waiting policy on them. He received many visitors at his headquarters at the "Three Tuns" in Guildhall Yard, and promised some indignant citizens that he would ask Parliament to mitigate the severity of its orders. (Phillips, 706-7 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 113 ; Gumble, 236-42.) That night, therefore, he wrote to Lenthall, informing him that he had carried out his instructions, except those relating to the destruction of the Gates and portcullises, which he felt would needlessly exasperate the City; he therefore urged a policy of mercy. (Vide supra, Monk to the Speaker, Feb. 9.) Parliament had three sessions, and at its second meeting it was announced that Monk had performed his task, and that the Lord Mayor, Allen, had promised to call together a meeting of the Common Council. The Rump then decided that the General need not proceed to carry out the orders to destroy the Gates and portcullises. Hesilrige expressed the jubilation of his party : " Now George, we have thee, body and soul. . . . All is our own; he will be honest." (Echard 755 ; Ludlow II 219.) Following the presentation of a petition, (cit. O. P. H. XXII 94-7.) by Praise God Barbon, on behalf of their City adherents, urging the imposition of an oath of allegiance on clergy and all Government officers, however, Parliament allowed itself to be carried into extreme measures, in spite of Monk's letter. The Common Council was dissolved, and a new one ordered. To the indignation of the soldiers and the amazement of the citizens, the orders to wreck the Gates and portcullises were renewed. (C. J. Feb. 9 ; Pepys' Diary, Feb. 9 10 ; Clar. H. G. R. VII 406-8.) Colonel Morley visited the General to promise his own support and that of Colonel John Fagg if Monk would stand by the City, but he received little satisfaction. Monk's obedience made it impossible for Clarges to convince the City leaders that his master was not really the puppet of the Rump. London's cup of bitterness was filled to overflowing when it heard that Parliament had sent thanks to Allen and the Aldermen for their moderation during this time of disorder. The

Rump had already voted Monk £10 a day for the maintenance of his table and now voted him £10 a day upon the establishment of the Army since his entry into England. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 115 116 ; Price 105 ; Gumble 243-4 ; Phillips 707 ; C. J. Jan. 30 Feb. 10 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 335 591 592.)

Yet the scene changed with lightning swiftness. On the same day, Monk returned to Whitehall, where Clarges sought him out, and told him that his policy would lead to his ruin, for other towns would be alarmed by the treatment meted out to London. The General replied that he must consult his officers, and would make no move before the Tuesday. Clarges got Barrow and others to go to the General to urge the danger of delay. Monk was induced to confer with some of the leading officers, and finally agreed to march into the City again next day, without offering any reasons to Parliament. (Dr. Barrow's Note, Clarke Papers, IV App. B, 274-5.) Private orders were issued however to about a dozen chief officers, commanding them to meet at headquarters at six on the following morning. A letter to Parliament having been drawn up, and the General having agreed to its substance, Monk went to bed, leaving the others to write it out. The leading officers duly met next morning and agreed to the letter, and Clobery and Lydcott were ordered to bear it to the Speaker. It said that Parliament had given the Army odious work in the City, for the House favoured fanatics and had not punished those who had been responsible for its overthrow in the previous October; Parliament allowed men who had been charged with treason to sit in the House; (This was obviously an attack on Ludlow and Miles Corbet.) it did not give its confidence to its true friends, and had delayed in approving, or had not approved commissions of worthy officers; it had made no arrangements for a dissolution in May ; writs for filling vacancies must be issued at once. (Phillips 708 ; Ludlow II 220 ; Skinner, "Monk" 219-21 ; "A Letter from His Excellence the Lord General Monck and the Officers under his command to the Parliament, in the name of themselves and of the soldiers under them; 11 Feb. 1659/60./)

On the Saturday the troops rendezvoused in Finsbury Fields. Not without difficulty was Sir Thomas Allen made to believe that Monk was genuinely on the side of the City, but leading Presbyterian ministers supported

Clarges (Reliq. Baxt. I 105-6.) who said finally that if the troops were not to quarter in the City, at least Monk would dine with the Lord Mayor. At last Allen consented to see Monk, who thereupon marched his men into the City. The General interviewed Allen and assured him that "he hoped to make them of another mind in a few hours." (Phillips 708.) Privately however, Monk felt despondent at his reception, and it took all Clarges' ingenuity to keep him to his new policy. The Common Council met at five o'clock in the afternoon and listened to an address from Monk, which left them in no doubt as to his break with Parliament. (Skinner, "Monk" 228 ; The speech is given in Phillips 709.) The General then went first to Cheapside to supervise the quartering of his troops, and then took up lodgings in the Glass House, Broad Street, while Drapers' Hall was being prepared for him. (Phillips 709 ; Whitelocke, Memorials 696.)

The tumultuous joy of the mob expressed the feelings of the capital. Thousands of bonfires blazed far into the night; from one point of vantage Pepys could see thirty one great fires. Rumps of pigs, geese and other creatures were "broiled on the coals" and basted by stout apprentices. The Church bells rang merry peals, and street urchins seized the opportunity of breaking the windows of Barbon's house. Gumble and Price were threatened owing to a mistaken notion that they were Scott and Robinson. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper and Colonel Popham were in another ugly scene, but Cooper saved the situation by asking the mob good-humouredly, "What ? Is there not one good pæce in a Rump ? " Monk took vigorous measures against both those citizens who wished to eject the Parliament forthwith, and those soldiers who grew violent and insubordinate, partly no doubt due to the drink with which they were plied by the citizens. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 123-4 ; Ludlow II 231-2 ; Skinner, "Monk" 221-3 ; Price 106 ; Gumble 253 ; Christie, "Shaftesbury" I 209 ; Pepys' Diary, Feb. 11 12 13 ; Evelyn's Diary, Feb. 11 ; Butler, "Hudibras" Part III, Canto II 363-4 ; "Sir Eglamor and the Dragon," Rump Songs I 373 ; "The Rump" Act V, Tatham, Dramatic Works, 269-73.) John Tatham's play, "The Rump, or the Mirror of the Late Times" published about this time, deserves mention as a not unimportant factor in

preparing the people of London for the downfall of Republicanism, but it did not take many years of Charles II's reign to make many worthy citizens wonder if they had been so wise in their frenzied joy on that unforgettable night. (Tatham, "Dramatic Works" 191-278 ; Pepys' Diary, May 29 1662, May 29 1656.)

The rejoicings in the capital were imitated elsewhere, and during the demonstrations at Oxford a rump was thrown in at the window of the room where Dr. John Palmer, the Warden of All Souls, lay sick. (Wood, Ath. Ox. I xxxix - xl.) Royalist hopes began to rise once more. Deep despondency had fallen upon the Cavaliers when Monk had obeyed the Parliament's orders, but the new turn in affairs was at least an improvement. (Clar. H.G.R. VII 406 419-20.)

The Rump was alarmed at the course of events. Billing, the Quaker, on encountering Hesilrige, had cried, "Thou man, will they beast carry thee no longer ; thou must fall." (Pepys' Diary, Feb. 11.) The House voted thanks to Monk for his letter, and sent Scott and Robinson to inform the General that qualifications for prospective members were being discussed when his letter arrived. The unfortunate commissioners met with an unfriendly reception. Colonel Bridges asked angrily why he and other officers sent from the Army of Ireland to arraign Ludlow had been kept waiting from day to day, while Barbon was immediately admitted with a seditious petition. Clobery remarked that Parliament's jealousy of Monk was shown by the way in which it had sought to counter his influence by encouraging his enemies. Finally Monk said that all would be well if Parliament paid attention to his letter, and with this Scott and Robinson had perforce to be satisfied. (C.J. Feb. 11 ; Phillips 708 ; Skinner, "Monk" 225-7 ; Price 106.) Efforts were made to placate the General by speeding up the committee ordered to report on the actions of the late Committee of Safety, and commanding Vane once more to depart from London within a given time, and to Lambert to surrender himself. No move was made however against Ludlow, though he was still unable to get a hearing for his defence. Vane urged his friends before he departed that the General still had some masks to pull off, and the growing distrust of Monk was shown in two votes on the appointment of

five Army commissioners. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, the nominee of those friendly to Monk was rejected by 30 votes to 15, and the Republican, Colonel Matthew Alured elected, and a proposal that Monk should always be a member of the quorum was summarily rejected. These votes may be regarded as a victory for Hesilrige over the more moderate members.

(C.J. Feb. 11 13 ; Proclamation against Lambert, O.P.H. XXI 129 ; Ludlow II 221 223-4 ; Noble, Lives of the Regicides, I 75 ff. ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 695 ; Christie, "Shaftesbury" I 208.)

On the Sunday Monk went with his new friends to St. Paul's, and there heard Tobias Conyers, an Independent Arminian, preach, and thousands flocked to the church to catch a glimpse of the popular hero. (W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 58 ; Jackson, "Life of Goodwin" 382-3 ; Sir R. Burgoyne to Sir R. Verney, Feb. 16, H. MSS. C., Rep. VII, App., Part I, Verney MSS., /1895/ 462.)

It was probably during this week-end that Monk was warned of yet another assassination plot. The worthy Sir John Hinton, a Royalist physician and an old friend of the General saw many soldiers with "arms fixed" in the early hours of the morning, and conceiving that they meant to murder their commander, judging by some expressions which they used, he got the Earl of Stamford to take him to Monk later in the morning. The General thanked the physician and sent some officers to enquire into the matter, but Hinton, unlike Sturdy, went unrewarded other than a belief that he had greatly contributed towards the Restoration. (Hinton, "Memoires" 28-31.)

On Monday, the 13th, the Council of State asked Monk to return to Whitehall, and to take his seat among them, but he replied that such a course was impossible so long as the Abjuration Oath remained in force. Colonel Alured, the Council's envoy, pleaded in vain; Monk asked why Hesilrige was conniving at Vane's continued residence in London contrary to Parliament's orders, and why he was corresponding with Lambert. He remained absolutely unmoved by Sir Arthur's expostulatory letters. (Phillips, 709; Council of State to Monk, Feb. 13, C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 360 ; Monk to the Council of State, Feb. 13, Clarke Papers, IV 261-2 ; Same to Same, Ibid. Feb. 14 53.)

Next day, Parliament tried to meet his objections by replacing the Abjuration Oath for the Council of State by a simple oath of fidelity

to the Commonwealth. (C.J.Feb.14.) It also tried to pacify him by voting a month's pay to the troops, and the payment of arrears of all Monk's forces, though this could be little more than a gesture, for the Treasury had not sufficient money, and the City would certainly not advance any loan. (Guizot, R.Crom. II 125 ; C.J.Feb.13 14 ; C.S.P.Dom. 1659-60 364.) Debates on the Bill for filling vacancies were resumed, but on their completion the Bill was clogged with provisions effectually debarring from future power all except rigid Republicans. A great effort to get Monk to return from the City was made, while Hesilrige strove to win over individual officers and stir up a hostile feeling among the rank and file of the soldiery. (Guizot, R.Crom. II 125 ; O.P.H.XXII 131-2 ; C.J.Feb.11 13 14 16 18 ; Phillips 709.)

Meanwhile, at his quarters at the Glass House in Broad Street, and later at Drapers' Hall in Throgmorton Street, Monk was besieged by visitors. Ludlow was granted an interview and defended himself against the charges which had been brought against him. He solemnly warned the General that a re-admission of the Secluded Members meant an inevitable Restoration of the Stuarts. (Ludlow II 225-7.) Republican pamphleteers hastened to give the General similar advice. ("A Letter of Advice to His Excellency the Lord General Monk, /1660/, Harl. Misc. VIII 600-2.) But above the clamour of many voices, the restoration of the Secluded Members was the one incessant demand which arose, not only in London but in petitions from the provinces. (Whitelocke, Memorials 696.) Lord Falkland and others came from Oxfordshire with an address to Monk. Lord Fairfax and his friends were working for the same ends in Yorkshire, greatly to the mental disturbance of Colonel Charles Fairfax, though it was significant that Morgan was more agitated over the murmurings of the troops against Monk's policy. Prynne continued to write furiously on his own and his brethren's behalf. ("Declaration of the Gentry, Ministers and freeholders of the county of Oxfordshire to General Monk," Feb.13, C.S.P.Dom.1659-60 361 ; Thomas, Lord Fairfax etc., to the Lord Mayor and the Common Council of London, Feb.10, Ibid.356 ; Declaration of the Lords Knights, gentry and ministers of the county of Yorkshire Feb.10, Ibid.356 ; Colonel Charles Fairfax to Monk, York, Feb.11, H.MSS.

C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/, 146-7 ; Major General Morgan to Monk, York, Feb. 11, Ibid. 147-9 ; Pepys' Diary Feb. 14 ; W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 59-60 ; An exact Catalogue of all printed books and papers of various subjects written upon sundry occasions by William Prynne, Esq., /1660/, 13-14.) The Secluded Members were not without friends in the House, Ingoldsby and Lassels being especially favourable to them, (Ludlow II 217.) but Monk was not at all sure of the wisdom of such a step as their re-admission. The characters of Prynne and his friends suggested that their first task after resuming their seats would be an ample measure of revenge on their Independent and other enemies; the land settlement might be imperilled ; finally, the General was not satisfied that his own officers would support him in putting the intolerant Presbyterians in the saddle. After holding several conferences with leading Secluded Members, he called a joint meeting of the leaders of both sides, on Saturday, February 18th. The Secluded Members present were Sir William Lewis, Sir John Evelyn, Sir John Holland, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir John Temple, Colonels Harley, Norton, and Birch, and Messrs. Annesley, Knightley, Crew, and Temple. The Rump was represented by Hesilrige, St. John, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Alexander Popham, Morley, Weaver, White, Thompson, Hutchinson, and Rawleigh. Monk did not send sufficient notice to Scott and Robinson, so they were not present. (Phillips, 709 ; Monk to Sir A. Hesilrige, Feb. 15, Drapers' Hall, Clarke Papers, IV 264 ; The Same to St. John, /inviting him to bring Cooper, Reynolds and Rawleigh/ Ibid. 264 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Mar. 1 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 356. Ludlow II 228 states that Scott and Robinson were present at this conference.) He found the Rumpers, with the important exception of Hesilrige who left the conference in anger at a remark of Annesley's, not altogether unfriendly, but no definite agreement was reached. The next two days were spent in winning over the officers to the idea of the resumption of the Secluded Members, and securing from the latter a "gentlemen's agreement" as to the course they would pursue if they were restored. The negotiations were by no means easy. Clarges, Gumble, and Clobery met and conferred with the Secluded Members, and, while the latter agreed to sit only to bring about a dissolution of the Long Parliament, leaving

the Constitution to be settled by the next parliament, they refused to guarantee a confirmation of the land settlement, pointing out that they could not pass any act in the absence of the House of Lords. When this report was made many officers began to turn against the Presbyterians, but once more Clarges won over the General. He showed how disastrous it might be if the Army broke with the Secluded Members over a matter of self interest; nearly all his own land was in Ireland, but he was willing to wait for the final settlement by the next parliament; he did not believe that the Secluded Members would hold to the view that they could pass no Act, as then no money could be raised or dissolution made. Monk agreed, "upon which, all the rest assented." (Phillips 710; Gumble 260.) The Secluded Members were asked to sign a paper consenting to confine their work in Parliament to the subjects stated. Monk's final terms were that they should settle the command of the three Armies, make provision for the payment of arrears, appoint a Council of State which should issue writs summoning a new Parliament to meet on April 20th, the candidates having qualifications so as to secure Commonwealth government, and lastly make arrangements for the dissolution of the Long Parliament. (Phillips 710, /paper given./; Clar. H. G. R. VII 416-7; Price 113-4.)

Hesilrige does not seem to have been convinced of Monk's conversion to the cause of his enemies at this point, and was interested only in filling vacancies so as to keep out the Secluded Members. Yet one story told by Ludlow shows how low Parliamentary authority had fallen. Sir Robert Pye, who had been imprisoned for presenting the Berkshire petition in favour of the Secluded Members, sued for his Habeas Corpus on January 25th, and the Counsel for the Commonwealth actually said that he had nothing against its being granted. Justice Newdigate replied however that he would not discharge anyone committed by order of Parliament, so Pye had to wait till his brethren's return to the House. Yet if Parliamentary authority had almost collapsed, Monk strove to maintain order. Malcontents in the City were disarmed, and any excesses on the part of the troops sternly punished, two soldiers being hanged for disorder. (Ludlow II 232-3; C. J. Feb. 21; Noble, Mems. House Cromwell, I 104-5; Whitelocke, Memorials, 696; Pepys' Diary, Feb. 18.)

On the morning of February 21st, the troops marched out of the City. Monk met about sixty of the Secluded Members at Whitehall where he made a speech to them, and had his declaration read. This document opened with a declaration in favour of Commonwealth government and moderate Presbyterianism as opposed to Monarchy and Prelacy, and then laid down the conditions on which they were to resume. (Monk's Speech and Declaration at Whitehall, Feb. 21, Monk's Letters 68-71 ; Phillips 710.) Then, provided with an escort under Major Miller, they proceeded to the House in triumph, Prynne's famous basket-hilted sword making him a conspicuous figure. Monk was left at Whitehall to meet his leading officers later in the day. (R. Booth to R. Legh, Feb. 21, H. MSS. C., Rep. III, App., Legh MSS, /1895/, 269 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Mar. 2 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 359 ; Same to Same, Mar. 4 N.S., Ibid. 359-62.) Some of the peers who had sat in 1648 made overtures to Monk to be allowed to take their places, though a letter from Northumberland to Manchester shows that they were divided as to the wisdom of this step. Monk sent Clarges however to explain to one of their leaders why a restoration of the House of Lords was out of the question in the light of the temper of the Army. A number of "young" lords, (i.e. those who had been too young to have taken part in the Great Rebellion), headed by Strafford, actually attempted to take their seats, but were roughly repelled by Major Miller. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 139 ; Phillips 714 ; Ludlow II 246 ; Skinner, "Monk" 265.)

The Journals show clearly what happened at the House. On Saturday, February 18th, the Rump was engaged in discussing qualifications. There is no entry in the Journals for the Monday's sitting, but apparently there was a stormy scene in the House. Lenthall refused to sign writs summoning a new parliament, and despite arguments and protests adhered to his decision. The Rump therefore passed an act enabling the clerk to sign the writs. Before the House adjourned, Ludlow made another unsuccessful attempt to induce Parliament to listen to his defence, but it was refused, and the House broke up in some disorder. (Ludlow II 233-5 ; Pepys' Diary Feb. 20 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, Mar. 5 N.S., C. S. P. Venet. XXXII, No. 122, p. 121.) On the Tuesday, the Secluded Members had

taken their seats before the House had been constituted. Hesilrige bitterly attacked Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, whom he blamed for using all his influence with Monk on behalf of the Secluded Members, though Cooper had assured Hutchinson that he was firmly for Commonwealth government. (Christie, "Shaftesbury" I 212 ; Hutchinson's Memoirs 359.) Some of the more rigid Rumpers shook off the dust of the House for ever, but the majority remained either to collaborate or to obstruct their old colleagues. Indeed Hutchinson strongly condemned those who left, on the grounds that there was a number of the Presbyterian members favourable to Commonwealth government, and, had all the Rumpers stayed, there would have been a majority in the House hostile to the Restoration. (Hutchinson's Memoirs 359.) The reformed House passed straight to business, and that very day all votes of 1648, 1649, 1659, and 1660, excluding the Presbyterian members, were annulled. (C. J. Feb. 21 ; further resolutions expunging former votes were passed on March 2nd.) Once more the City rejoiced, and once more the unhappy Barbon's windows were broken. (Pepys' Diary Feb. 22.)

Meanwhile Monk had met a council of his officers, and a committee was appointed to draw up a letter to be sent to all regiments and garrisons in England, Ireland, and Scotland. This letter was intended to pacify the rising suspicions of the soldiery by stating that no change in the Constitution was contemplated, and that the Commonwealth would be continued. Monk well knew that only such an assurance would keep the rank and file of the troops quiescent. All day clerks were employed and by nightfall copies had been sent off to all regiments. (Phillips 710-11; Monk's Letters 74-6 ; Skinner, "Monk" 243-4 ; Bordeaux to Brienne, Mar. 6 N. S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 368.)

Though some still thought that Monk favoured a Commonwealth on the Dutch model, with himself as Stadtholder, his letter did not still all fears. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 417.) On hearing a report that Colonel Rich was stirring up trouble among the troops at Bury St. Edmunds, (Quarter Master H. Warren to Monk, Bury St. Edmunds, Feb. 24, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham Mss., /1899/, 157 ; Same to Same, Feb. 27, Ibid. 162 ; Same to Same, Feb. 28, Ibid. 162-3 ; Articles against Col. Rich, Ibid. 168-9.) Monk resolved to send the Life Guard against them, and to replace Rich by

Ingoldsby. He found that he had first to remodel the Life Guard for disaffection had crept even into its ranks. He made Philip Howard its colonel, and his kinsman Harry Monk, Cornet. Within six hours the regiment was on its way to Suffolk. (W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 67-8.) Rich sent a reproachful message to Ingoldsby, (Col. N. Rich to Col. R. Ingoldsby, Feb. 28, H. MSS. C. Rep. XV, App. Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/, 163-4.) but discreetly retired before the Government troops reached Bury St. Edmunds. Ingoldsby was able to take over his command without opposition, and eject such officers as had "froward principles in religion or government." (Phillips 712-3 ; Gumble 264-5 ; Ludlow II 238 ; Whitelocke, Memorials 697 ; Ingoldsby to Monk, Feb. 29, Newmarket, H. MSS. C. Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/, 165-6.)

Another danger spot was North Wales, where the troops had been under the influence of Colonel John Jones. Monk therefore sent Colonel Carter as Governor of Beaumaris Castle. (Phillips 713 ; Note on N. Wales, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/, 162.) A more formidable menace appeared in Yorkshire, where Overton was still Governor of Hull. He was not of any outstanding ability, but held a vital position where he might easily be joined by Lambert. He drew up a letter, dated February 28th, in favour of Commonwealth government, and induced his officers to sign it. After dispersing many copies of it among the troops stationed in the North, he sent the original to Colonels Charles Fairfax, Smithson, and Bethell. He also wrote to Monk, pledging his support in favour of the maintenance of the Commonwealth, but urging watchfulness lest there be a Royalist rising, and deprecating changes in the Army in the existing circumstances. (Phillips 713 ; Garrison of Hull to Monk, Feb. 28, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/, 163 ; Overton to Monk, Mar. 6, Hull, Ibid. 170-1.) Colonel Fairfax and his colleagues took measures to counteract the influence of the letter, and reported to Monk, (Cols. Bethell and C. Fairfax to Monk, Mar. 2, York, Clarke Papers, IV 264-5.) who sent Colonel Alured and Major Smith to pacify Overton. Smith, who was very popular in Yorkshire, was instructed to work upon the officers there to persuade Overton to submit when Monk was ready to take more drastic

steps. Having thus prepared the way, Monk sent a commission to Colonel Fairfax to be Governor of Hull, enclosing an open letter to Overton, ordering him to come up to London. (Phillips 713 ; Monk's Letters, 72-3.) Overton was taken by surprise, and realising the futility of resistance, submitted and set off for London. (Phillips 713-4 ; Skinner, "Monk" 249-50 ; Whitelocke Memorials 697-8 ; Gumble 266-7 ; Price 125-6 ; Ludlow II 246-7.)

The Army of Scotland, in which Morgan's influence was enormous, acquiesced in the events in England, except for one company in the Orkneys, which was reduced and disbanded. (Phillips 714.) Ireland also accepted the new régime. When the rule of the commissioners was overthrown, the government had been assumed by a council of officers. On the petition of the Lord Mayor of Dublin, the council agreed to call together a Convention of the Estates. This met at Dublin on February 7th, under the presidency of Sir James Barry. The majority of its members were Royalists, but for the time being they allowed the Presbyterian minority to have its way. Indeed, until Charles II's views were known, all seemed to favour Presbyterianism. (D.N.B., "James Barry" ; St. J. D. Seymour, "The Puritans in Ireland" 178.) Despite orders and protests from the Rump's Council of State, the Convention proceeded to assert the absolute independence of Ireland from England, and its abhorrence of regicide. On March 8th the new English Council of State wrote to Broghill, Coote, and others, announcing the restoration of the Secluded Members, and expressed Parliament's pleasure that those who received the letter together with certain others, should act as commissioners for the government of Ireland. (C.S.P. Ireland, 1647-60, Addenda, 862-3.) The Ireland Army officers had declared in favour of the Secluded Members before ever Monk restored them, and on March 12th the Irish Convention again gave a lead to England by declaring in favour of a "Free" Parliament. ("A Declaration of the Lord Broghill and the officers of the Army of Ireland in the province of Munster, Feb. 18, Thurloe S.P. VII 817-20.) Care had been taken to remodel the Army. In February Sir Hardress Waller, realising too late what were the aims of his associates, had tried to hold out in Dublin Castle in favour of the Rump, but had been forced to

surrender, and was imprisoned. (Phillips 715 ; Ludlow II 228-31 ; Sir Charles Coote and the officers at Dublin to Monk, Feb. 16, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/, 152-3.) Coote then hastened from Dublin and settled the danger in Galway by imprisoning the Republican governor, Colonel Sadler. (Heath, 438.) The Irish Convention, though favourable to Charles II, included many who feared for their lands, and desired some conditions to be made, but Coote threw all his influence against this party. He had sent Sir Arthur Forbes during February to Brussels, bearing his submission to the King, and had received a gracious reply dated March 6th. Charles even thought of going in person to Ireland, but he finally resolved to await the consummation of events in England. Broghill, too, was favourable to Charles, but his nature was more cautious. The Royalist leaders, though they distrusted Broghill, found it necessary to curb Coote's ardour, for they feared that a premature monarchical declaration from Ireland would only arouse the susceptibilities of the English Presbyterians, and thus hinder the coming of the Restoration. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 475-7 ; Morrice, "Life of the Earl of Orrery 31-2 ; Carte, "Ormonde" II 203-4 ; The King to Sir C. Coote, Mar. 16 N. S., Carte, Ormonde Papers, II 314-5.)

Remodelling of the Army of England continued during the sitting of the Long Parliament, and in the interval before the meeting of the English Convention. When Monk received his commission on February 25th the method of appointing officers which had prevailed under the Protectorate and had been changed by the Rump was revived. All commissions ran in the name of, and were signed by the Commander in Chief. (Firth, "Cromwell's Army " 48-9 ; C. J. Feb. 25 1660.) The Rump had given Desborough's regiment to Colonel Walton, but Monk transferred it to Colonel Charles Howard, whom he also made Governor of Carlisle. (Phillips 713 ; Ludlow II 238.) Clarges had already been made Commissary General of the Musters by the Rump, and this was confirmed, while Morrice became Governor of Plymouth. (C. J. Feb. 17 ; Phillips 714 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 694 698.) Rumpers were dismayed on seeing men like Okey, (who had acquiesced in the readmission of the Secluded Members,) and Alured, lose their commands, and commissions given to types like Fauconberg and Rossiter. (Gum-

-ble 273 ; Whitelocke, Memorials; 700 ; Monk to Falconbridge, Ap. 23, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Wombwell Collection, /1903/, 115 ; Okey to Monk, Feb. 27, Bristol, Ibid., Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/, 160 ; R. Ellsworth to Monk, Feb. 29, Bristol, Ibid. 164-5.) In connection with Monk's remodelling of the Army a story was current that when the General assured a Rumper of his fidelity to the Commonwealth, the Member replied that it reminded him of a tailor going to make a new suit with pick-axe and spade, and who, on being asked why he was going to use such instruments replied that they were the tools then in fashion. (Ludlow II 207-8 ; Price, 151-2. Price places the currency of this story as late as April 1660.) Parliament seconded Monk's efforts. So as to disperse the large number of officers in London and to prevent assemblies of troops in the provinces, a proclamation was issued ordering all troops to repair to their quarters. (Phillips 713 ; C. J. Feb. 27 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 376.)

During this period the part played by James Sharpe as adviser to Monk is worthy of note. There is reason to believe that Sharpe, who was minister at Crail, first came to Monk at Coldstream, with the blessing of David Dickson and Robert Douglas, the "Resolutioner" leaders, and may even have helped to draw up one of the General's declarations. (Stephen, "Life of Sharpe" 20-1.) It is certain that he had been fomenting trouble in England earlier in the year, for the Council of State made an order in June that he return to his parish "and not intermeddle with public affairs either by correspondence or negotiations." (Lauderdale Papers, /Camden Society/ 5-6.) On January 10th 1660 Dickson and Douglas again wrote to Monk asking him to receive Sharpe in London, and the General replied from Ferrybridge asking that Sharpe might follow him speedily. (Monk to Dickson and Douglas, Ferrybridge, Jan. 16, Wodrow, I, Intro, vi.) On February 6th some Edinburgh ministers met and agreed upon some instructions to Sharpe. (Wodrow, I, Intro., vi, App. I li.) They also wrote to Monk warmly recommending him and agreed to pay his expenses. On arriving in London on the 13th, Sharpe was welcomed by Monk, and also by the leading Presbyterian ministers, including Calamy, Ash and Manton. (Wodrow I Intro., vi.) The restoration of the secluded Members, and the release of the Scots peers, (vide infra, p. 160.) were both measures which received

Sharpe's hearty support. (Stephen, "Life of Sharpe" 24-35 ; Sharpe to Douglas, London, Feb. 21, Wodrow, I, Intro., vii-viii ; Same to Same, Mar. 1, Ibid. viii-ix ; Baillie's Letters, II 440.) (Vide infra, p. 185. 199.)

All parties were still uncertain as to Monk's intentions, but this applied especially to the Royalists. Charles himself was not sure how far his cause had been furthered by the return of the Secluded Members, for many of them had replaced Cavaliers who had been expelled, and Monk still talked the jargon of the Commonwealth, especially in the presence of the troops. Some observers were confident that the General aimed only at his own aggrandisement, yet hopes still rose, and one of Pepys' Royalist friends showed the diarist the "Lion and Unicorn" at the back of his chimney, made bright in expectation of the King's return. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 423 ; *Mysteria Revelata*, /John Collins/, Leybourne Pop-ham MSS, /1899/, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App. ; Pepys' Diary, Mar. 5.)

Prynne estimated that 194 Secluded Members were alive in 1660 ; another list enumerates 177. The total attendance during February and March 1660 however seldom reached more than 120. Ludlow, Marten, Neville, Harrington Fleetwood, Whitelocke, Salisbury, and other Rumpers never took their seats again after the return of the Secluded Members, but about one third of the House consisted of Rumpers, and though six regicides were among that number, they generally acted in harmony with the majority. (Masson, "Milton" V 544 ; Ludlow II 235-6 ; "A Full Declaration of the true state of the Secluded Members' Case", /W. Prynne/, /1660/ p. 55.) Some old Rumpers went straight to Monk to ask an explanation of his conduct. The General replied that he had felt unable to resist the Presbyterian Members' importunities, but solemnly assured the deputation of his unswerving loyalty to the Commonwealth. Taking Hesilrige by the hand he swore that he would oppose the restoration of Charles II to the utmost, and suggested that the Rumpers' fears were groundless, for if they had executed Charles I, the Secluded Members had brought him to the block. This speech probably reassured those Rumpers who continued to sit. (Ludlow II 236-7.) Some Secluded Members were not in London at the time of the re-admission. Among them was William Morrice. Nicholas Monk wrote to Clarges, saying that Morrice should be sent for, as he

would give valuable assistance to the General, of whose wife he was a kinsman. Monk agreed when Clarges approached him on the subject, so a letter to Morrice was enclosed when Clarges replied to Nicholas Monk. Morrice thereupon came up to London, where he was destined to play no mean part. He, Prynne, and Annesley soon became the leading spirits in the House. Parliament soon showed its distrust of those members who did not sit by empowering the Council of State to arrest those who had not sat since the re-admission of the Secluded Members, and on March 6th Hesilrige was ordered to take his place. (Phillips, 712 ; Gumble, 268 ; M. Coate, "William Morrice and the Restoration of Charles II", E.H.R. XXXIII, /1918/ 369-70; C.J. Feb. 27 Mar. 6 ; Ludlow II 241 ; Pepys' Diary Mar. 2 7.)

One of Parliament' first tasks was to form a Council of State, the former Council of State Act and the Abjuration Oath having been repealed. Monk was chosen by open voting on February 21st, and the others by ballot in a House of 116 members, on February 23rd. The final membership of the Council was : Denzil Holles, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Crew, Swinfen, Knightley, Annesley, John Trevor, Monk, Montague, Sir William Waller, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Sir John Holland, Sir William Lewis, Colonel George Thompson, Sir Harbottle Grimston, Sir John Evelyn of Wiltshire, Sir Richard Onslow, Colonel John Birch, John Weaver, Colonel Morley, Colonel Norton, St. John, Sir John Potts, Sergeant Maynard, William Pierrepont, Colonels Edward Harley, Rossiter, and Popham, Sir John Temple, Lord Fairfax, and Widdrington. The great majority of the Council was Presbyterian in religion and political outlook. (C.J. Feb. 21 23 ; Ludlow II 239.) Having settled the Council of State, other officials were appointed. Thomas St. Nicholas was made Clerk of Parliament on the 24th, and three days later Thurloe and John Thompson were made joint Secretaries of State in place of Scott, dismissed on the 23rd. The more rigid Presbyterians, led by Annesley and Sir William Waller, voted against the appointment of Thurloe, but it was carried by 65 votes to 38. William Jessop, Thurloe's old colleague, became Secretary to the Council of State. (C.J. Feb. 25 27 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 594.)

The reconstituted Parliament soon turned its attention to the question of redress and reward to its friends, and punishment of its enemies. The

privileges which the City had lost were restored, the Common Council was allowed to meet once more, and the House voted that the repairs necessary following Monk's obedience to the Rump's orders should be made at the expense of the State. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 143 ; C. J. Feb. 21 22.) The grateful merchants replied with a sorely needed loan of £60,000. (C. J. Feb. 23.) Not only the imprisoned aldermen, but also Sir George Booth and other rebels in durance were released. (C. J. Feb. 21 22 23 25 ; Ludlow II 245 ; Phillips 712.) So were Sir Robert Pye, Sir John Northcott, Sir Richard Temple, and others, whom the Rump had sent to the Tower for petitioning in favour of the Secluded Members. (C. J. Feb. 7 21 22 23.) A committee was appointed to review the cases of those in prison for political offences. Recent sequestrations ordered by the Rump which bore hardly on the Booth rebels, were suspended, and on February 27th Chester regained its lost Charter. On March 3rd the Scots lords, Lauderdale, Sinclair, and Crawford, left the imprisonment which had begun soon after Worcester fight, and soon afterwards the Presbyterian Parliament was sufficiently magnanimous to release the Laudian bishop, Matthew Wren. (C. J. Feb. 21 22 25 27 Mar. 2 3 15 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 145 ; Ludlow II 246.) So far as punishments were concerned, the Council of State, though it was empowered to arrest even Members of Parliament who might be dangerous, (C. J. Feb. 27.) pursued a moderate policy. It contented itself with stern enquiries after such lesser offenders as Colonels Lilburne, Cobbet, Hacker, and Major Creed, and receiving promises of acquiescence. (C. J. Mar. 14 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 381 383..) Among those who promised not to disturb the peace was Sir Hardress Waller, who too late had found that he and Coote were pursuing different policies, and had been imprisoned at Athlone. (Ludlow II 239 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 398.) Colonels Hutchinson and Croke lost their sheriffdoms, Harrington his commissionership of customs, and Okey ceased to be Custos Rotulorum for Bedfordshire. (C. J. Feb. 24 25 Mar. 5 6 ; W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 67 78 .) Though at first given leave to live quietly on security, Lambert was committed to the Tower after an examination by the Council, and the House confirmed this on March 6th. (Council of State to Colonel H. Morley, Mar. 5, C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 381.) On the same day, Overton was dismissed from his command, and Hesilrige ordered to answer charges in the House.

Hesilrige defended himself next day, and the case was again referred to the Council of State. (C.J. Mar. 16 7 ; Ludlow II 241.)

Of course Monk, and his naval ally, Montague, were idolised by both Parliament and City. An act was prepared for settling Hampton Court on Monk, but his friends opposed it, and it was rejected by 44 votes to 37, Rumpers, for obvious reasons being largely in the minority. The General was compensated by a vote giving him £20,000 and the Stewardship of Hampton Court for life. His agent Clarges was also rewarded with the Hanaper Office. (C.J. Feb. 25 27 Mar. 15 16 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 398 594 ; Ludlow II 245 ; Phillips 715 ; Price 127-8 ; H.M.S.S.C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/, *Mysteria Revelata*, 225-6 .) The act appointing five Army commissioners having been repealed, Monk was appointed Commander in Chief, and though the Republican Lawson was confirmed as Vice Admiral, Montague was given command of the Fleet. (C.J. Feb. 21 24 25 Mar. 2 ; Ludlow II 237 ; Phillips 712.) The great Livery Companies vied with each other in entertaining Monk, and Ludlow is unkind enough to suggest that the popular hero was intoxicated at these celebrations. At one function a poet praised monarchy, and hinted at a Restoration, but if this was one of the occasions on which the General was drunk, he still had the wit to keep silence. At another banquet the Royal arms were prominently displayed - but this was after the dissolution of the Long Parliament. Among the many presents sent to Monk were a pair of golden spurs, a gold sword hilt, and an embroidered belt, from the officers of the Army of Ireland, as a mark of their esteem. (Whitelocke, *Memorials*, 698 699 ; Ludlow II 244 245 ; Guizot, *R. Crom. II* 147 ; Pepys' *Diary*, Ap. 11 ; H.M.S.S.C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/, *Mysteria Revelata*, 223.)

So as to strengthen its hold on the country, Parliament proceeded to replace Republican justices of the Peace by trusted adherents, and reorganised the Militia under Presbyterian - or at least, anti-Republican, squires. (Guizot, *R. Crom. II* 142 ; C.J. Feb. 22 23 27 29 Mar. 1 2 5 6 7 8 9 10 12 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 390.) It also found that it too had to wrestle with the desperate finance problem. On February 25th the House ordered the continuance of customs and excise, and on March 1st a comm-

Committee was appointed to consider the whole question. Two days later a report was given to Parliament on the state of monies charged on assessments for the Navy, and the House was informed that the estimated debts amounted to £694,112, and the estimated charge of putting a Fleet of 20,000 men to sea for eight months was £750,000. Thus Parliament would have to find £1,451,112. Small wonder that the House urged a policy of retrenchment on the Council of State. The Rump's assessment act was enforced however, and further commissioners added, and on March 15th a special act was rushed through to facilitate collection. (C. J. Feb. 25 Mar. 1 2 3 6 14 15 .)

As was to be expected, the House quickly showed its religious policy. The City ministers presented a paper to Parliament expressing their desires, and on February 29th a committee, including Sir Samuel Luke, (the Hudibras of Butler's satire,) was appointed to consider religious matters. It reported to the House on March 2nd, and as a result the Westminster Confession, with the exception of two chapters, was adopted. Monk too, favoured Presbyterianism, and allowed Reynolds, Calamy, Ash, Manton, and other leading ministers to think that they had great influence with him. Calamy and Manton were appointed as preachers on the Thanksgiving Day for the restoration of the Secluded Members, (February 28th,) though the more rigid Presbyterians were not so pleased when the Lord Mayor appointed Dr. Gauden as well as the moderate Presbyterian Reynolds, to preach before him at St. Paul's on the same day. Both these divines' sermons were noteworthy. The cautious Reynolds was content to hint in favour of a Restoration, but Gauden openly declared for Monarchy and Episcopacy. Nevertheless Monk seemed to give his confidence to Calamy, who was allowed to recommend those who were to preach before the General. Price was anxious to give Anglican clergy an opportunity to preach before Monk, and attempted to persuade the General to hear Pearson, (later Bishop of Chester,) but he was rebuffed until he secured the aid of the Presbyterian Morrice. (Sharpe to Douglas, Mar. 1, London, Wodrow I, Intro. viii-ix ; The Desires of the City Ministers, Feb., Ibid., App. II, li-lii ; C. J. Feb. 23 24 29 Mar. 2 ; W Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 66 67 68 69-70 ; Skinner, "Monk 260-1 ; Hutton, "History of the English Church from Charles I to

Anne, 163-4 ; KAKOYPTOI sive medicastri; Slight healers of public hurts set forth in a sermon....by John Gauden, Feb. 28th, 1659/60. "/1660./) On March 5th the Solemn League and Covenant was again set up. A bill was introduced for the approbation of ministers, and also to divide the country into ecclesiastical divisions, the Long Parliament's ordinances having been put into effect only in the Presbyterian strongholds of London and Lancashire. Orders were made for the enforcement of tithes, and an olive branch to moderate Episcopalians was offered in a bill for re-settling incumbents in sequestered livings, though a proviso was added that persons admitted to such livings must officiate according to the Directory. Presbyterianism was once more in the saddle, "a dream and a wonder" to Scotland, if not to England. (C.J. Mar. 25 16 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 392 394-5 ; Ludlow II 246 ; Nicoll's Diary, 277.) Traditional Presbyterian intolerance was shown in re-enforcing the laws against the Roman Catholics and a reward of £20 was offered to any person bringing a Jesuit or Popish priest before a Justice of the Peace. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 145 ; C.J. Mar. 5.) The sectaries began to grow apprehensive at the trend of Parliament's religious policy, and their fears were increased by Owen's displacement as Dean of Christ Church by Reynolds. (Whitelocke, Memorials, 698 ; C.J. Mar. 13.) Scott, Hesilrige, and others consulted together and came to the conclusion that if there had to be a change in the government, they would prefer a Protectorate of Monk to a Monarchy of Charles II. Finding that they were supported by a section of the officers, they sought an interview with the General at Whitehall on March 14th. Hesilrige acted as spokesman and urged Monk to take the government upon himself. The General replied by saying that he thought their fears of a restoration of monarchy groundless, while so far as he personally was concerned, the fate of the Cromwell family led him to refuse any such offer as they proposed. Hesilrige and his friends strove to cause dissension in the Army, and induced some officers to offer Monk a declaration binding General and Army in favour of Commonwealth government. Monk's face showed his distress, and Clarges and Secretary Clarke urged that the matter be postponed until next morning, the 15th, when a council of officers would meet. When the off-

Officers gathered, Okey pleaded that the Army should appeal to Parliament to join them in declaring for Commonwealth government. Charges opposed this on the grounds that the composition of the House was such that it would probably dissolve and leave the government once more in a state of anarchy. Monk also opposed, and said that Parliament would soon dissolve and the new one was to be elected under qualifications. One officer asked how much reliance could be placed in these qualifications when Parliament itself was the judge of new members' right to sit. Monk knew that he had no reply to this, so remarked that interference in civil matters was harmful to military discipline, and therefore he forbade further meetings of officers to discuss constitutional changes. (H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/, *Mysteria Revelata*, 225 ; Phillips 715-6 ; Price 126-30 ; Skinner, "Monk" 255-8 ; W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 82-3 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Mar. 18 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 376-7 ; Same to Same, Mar. 22 N.S., Ibid., 379.)

The restoration of the monarchy had been brought appreciably nearer by the return of the Secluded Members. This was clearly shown in the ever growing demonstrations throughout the country. Pepys noticed how the old preciseness was missing from conversation at Magdalen College supper table, "specially on Saturday nights." (Pepys Diary, Feb. 24.) Well known Royalist agents like Mordaunt moved about with perfect freedom and received overtures from officers of the Army. The King's health was drunk "without fear and not privately as before." (Clar. H. G. R. VII 432 ; Pepys ' Diary Mar. 6.) In late February, some one set up a printed proclamation of Charles II at Bury St. Edmunds, the troops clashed with a Royalist mob at Durham, and another crowd threatened the military at Newmarket. (W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 71 ; Capt. W. Richardson to Monk, Durham, Feb. 25, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/, 159 ; Robert Ellison to Monk, Newcastle, Feb. 27, Ibid. 161-2.) One or two London clergy openly adopted the Prayer Book, and one Masterton went so far in his sermon as to plead for the restoration of Charles II. (Nicholas Papers IV 198.) One party in the House, led by Prynne, now hailed by Royalist ex-enemies as the "Cato of the age", (T. Luttrell to Ormonde, Mar. 9, London, Carte, Ormonde Papers, II 312.) and Sir

Harbottle Grimston, were eager to bring home the King by their action instead of leaving the issue to the next parliament, and they were supported by some Presbyterian opinion in the constituencies. (Hallam, Const. Hist. I 693, footnote 1 ; Reliq. Baxt. I, Part II 214 ; "A Pertinent Speech made by an Honourable Member of the House of Commons tending to the establishment of Kingly government as the only way to the settling of these three distracted Kingdoms in their due rights, Privileges and Immunities" /6 pp. 1660/; F. Ciavarina to the Doge & Senate, Mar. 19 N.S., C.S.P. Venet. XXXIII No. 126, p. 128 ; Ibid. Note 2, p. 128.) But they found an insuperable obstacle in Monk, who still did not declare his attitude, probably because he was still uncertain whether he could rely on the Army's following him. The General's astute agent, Morrice prevented the House from following Prynne's suggestions, and on February 22nd Parliament voted that the new parliament should meet on April 25th. Two days later the Solicitor General was ordered to bring in a bill, and this was read a first time on the 27th. After further discussion it was agreed that the dissolution should not be later than March 15th. The Bill for calling a parliament on April 25th was read a first time on March 8th, and a second time on the following day. An attempt to refer the bill to a grand committee of the whole House was negatived by 84 votes to 66 on March 9th. (Price 130 ; C.J. Feb. 22 24 27 Mar. 1 8 9.) A committee was appointed to consider qualifications. The "Engagement" was annulled on March 13th, but the committee's proposal to debar from voting all Royalists and their sons except those who had shown penitence, was rejected by 93 votes, (Lord Ancram and Mr. Herbert, tellers,) to 56, (Thomas Scott and Henry Marten, tellers.) A heavy blow was struck at the sectaries by the disfranchisement of all denying magistracy and ministry to be Divine ordinances. (C.J. Mar. 13 ; Ludlow II 247.) The only qualification against the Royalists was that no one who had borne arms for the King and had not shown penitence could stand as a candidate. In practice however, the electors, with Monk's active connivance, ignored this prohibition. (C.J. Mar. 13 ; Phillips 716 ; Ludlow II 247-8 ; Price, 130-2 ; Barwick, "Barwick" 260.) It was finally agreed to leave the settlement of the constitution to the next Parliament. Two problems arose. Monk had prevented any peers from

faking their seats, but the House was tender of the Lords' privileges, and in the act dissolving Parliament a proviso to this effect was inserted. The other problem was "In whose name were writs to run ?" Parliament rejected Prynne's suggestion of "King Charles II" and adopted "The Keepers of the Liberties of England." (C.J. Mar. 13 16 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 395 ; Ludlow II 247 ; Pepys' Diary Mar. 9 ; Nicoll's Diary 276.)

The last sitting was not allowed to pass without a "scene". John Crew, an ex-Secluded Member, proposed that before the House dissolved itself, the members should testify against the execution of Charles I, whereon the indomitable Scott rose and declared that "though he knew not where to hide his head at that time, yet he durst not refuse to own that not only his hand but his heart was in it", and added that he asked for no better epitaph than "Here lies one who had a hand and a heart in the execution of Charles Stuart, late King of England." (Ludlow II 249-50 ; Noble, Mems. House Cromwell, I 413.)

The last resolution of all was typical of the Puritan assembly- April 6th was named as a Fast Day. Then on March 16th, all that was left of the most famous of all English Parliaments pronounced its final dissolution, and many Englishmen read without surprise that such a stupendous event had been marked by disturbances of Nature, for " a huge and mighty fish much like unto a black bull, and a mermaid, being a fish so called," had been seen in the Thames. (C.J. Mar. 16 ; "Strange Newes for England: being a true and perfect relation of two great and unheard of wonders seen in the Thames.... the day before the dissolution of the Parliament." /4 pp. -1660/.)

VII. THE COMING OF THE KING.

We are sensible now that there is no one thing,
 Can full satisfaction to all interests bring,
 But only Charles the Second, our known lawful King,
 Which nobody can deny.

("The Rump served in with a grand sallet", v.35, Rump Songs,
 II 125.)

During the interval which elapsed between the dissolution of the Long Parliament and the meeting of the Convention, the Council of State continued to exercise its functions pursuant to Parliament's orders. (C.J. Mar. 14 15.) Annesley usually presided over its meetings. Parliament had provided for the exigencies of government by the assessment of £100,000 a month for six months. (C.J. Mar. 15. Vide supra, p. 162.) The chief tasks of the Council were to keep the peace and carry out the provisions of the new Militia Act. So far as the former was concerned, proclamations were issued, on March 17th, banishing not only known Cavaliers and Roman Catholics, but also disbanded officers, from London, and forbidding the troops to meet and sign declarations and remonstrances. (Pepys' Diary, Mar. 19 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, Ap. 2 N.S., /and note, /, C.S.P. Venet. XXXII, No. 130, p. 134.) The latter was not without its difficulties. The act had roused ominous murmurings among the troops which had been voiced by Monk himself. On the other hand, the City authorities had expostulated with the General, and told him bluntly that his changes of mind made the citizens unwilling to subscribe the money they had promised to lend. (Bordeaux to Mazarin, Mar. 29 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 382-3 ; J. Williamson to Mr. Cheverel, London, Mar. 2, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Ormonde MSS, /New Series Vol. I, / /1902/; 334.) Nevertheless, though the bill was introduced on February 27th, and passed on March 12th, it was not printed until Monk had been satisfied. (C.J. Fe. 23 27 29 Mar. 2 10 12 16 ; /Commissioners for the militia appointed from day to day in C.J. / ; Ludlow II 248-9 ; Act for settling the Militia, Mar. 12, C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 390. Vide supra p. 161.) Then the

the Council was able to proceed with the work of reorganising the Militia, and efforts were made to exclude Independents, Baptists, Fifth Monarchy men, and Quakers. (Price 123 ; H.M.S.S.C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/, 166-8.) The Common Council invited the Council of State and the General to take up quarters in the City, as they felt that such an arrangement would add to their safety, but the invitation was politely but firmly refused. (Whitelocke, Memorials, 698 ; Barwick to Hyde, Mar. 19, Thurloe S.P. VII 860.)

Most of the leading politicians hastened to woo their constituencies. Prynne issued "Seasonable and Healing instructions" to the electors advising them how to vote when the time came. (W. Prynne, "Seasonable and Healing instructions humbly tendered to the Freeholders, citizens, and burgesses of England and Wales, to be seriously recommended by them to their respective Knights and burgesses elected or to be elected for the next Parliament", /1660./) The Republicans were now desperate. The Rota club had died of inanition about the time of the return of the Secluded Members, but anxious conclaves were held. Hesilrige's attempt to induce Monk to assume the government (Vide supra, p. 163.) had been in vain, and during March Ludlow and others had considered proposals for saving the Commonwealth, but no concrete plans had been forthcoming. (Ludlow II 242-4.) Just before the dissolution of Parliament, Milton made a last supreme effort against the Restoration. When Lambert had prevented the Rump from sitting, Milton had condemned him in "A Letter to a friend concerning the ruptures of the Commonwealth", and on the Rump's return, he had welcomed it in "The Ready and easy way to establish a Free Commonwealth." He now reissued this last pamphlet with a preface to Monk, but his appeal was ignored, as was also probably that of John Maudit to "seek the Lord." (Guizot, R. Crom. II 163-4 ; Masson, "Milton" V 644-657 ; Milton's Prose Works, II 102-6 108-38 ; J. Maudit, "A Letter to his Excellency the Lord General Monk, "/1660/.) Royalist pamphleteers rushed into the fray, and one of their best efforts was "The Censure of the Rota upon Mr. Milton's book intituled 'The Ready and Easie Way to establish a Free Commonwealth'". L'Estrange openly pleaded for a return to the ancient Constitution. (Masson, "Milton" 659-

663 ; "The Censure of the Rois,"etc.,1660,Harl.Misc.IV 179-86 ;R.L'Estrange,"A Plea for limited Monarchy",/1660/,Ibid.I 14-18 ; vide list of L'Estrange's pamphlets from Dec.1659 - Ap.1660 cit.Muddiman,"King's Journalist" 109,note 3.) St.John,representing the anti-Royalist Cromwellians,approached Monk with a proposal that the Protectorate of Richard Cromwell should be revived,but he too was rebuffed.For a while this little group continued to have shadowy hopes,and discussed whether a marriage between Richard's sister and Hesilrige's son would unite a sufficient party to ward off monarchy,but their plans never materialised.Indeed by April,the ex-Protector's one concern seems to have been that the new Parliament would not let him be held liable for debts contracted in the public service.(Guizot,R.Crom.II 225 ; Luttrell to Ormonde,London,Mar.2,Carte,Ormonde Papers,II 310 ; I.Whyte to the same,Ap.29,Antwerp,Ibid. 331-2 ; Major Wood to Hyde,London,Feb.24,CAL.Clar.S.P.Bod.IV 572 ; J.Heath to the same,Mar.2,Ibid.581 ; Massey to the same,Mar.2,Ibid.583 ; J.Cooper to the same,Mar.2,Ibid. 584 ; Morland to the same,Mar.3,Ibid.586 ; W.Howard to the same,Mar.9,Ibid.592 ; Morland to the same,Mar.9,Ibid.595 ; Pepys ' Diary,Mar.2 ; R.Cromwell to Monk,Ap.18,Ramsey,R.Crom.116-7.)

Another cross current was provided by M.de Bordeaux,the French ambassador.He sent his secretary to see Clarges and ask for an interview with Monk.Clarges himself talked with the Ambassador,who offered French co-operation to establish a government either under Charles II or the General himself.The agent replied that Monk was resolved to leave the settlement of the government to the approaching Parliament.Bordeaux enlarged on the difficulties of such a course,and induced Clarges to sound Monk on his intentions,without mentioning their conversation.The agent took the news to the General,who conferred with him and also with Morrice.Monk then took the effective course of sending word to Bordeaux that he was ready to grant him an interview,provided that the Ambassador did not mention anything in reference to constitutional changes.Bordeaux found that he could not break through the impenetrable reserve of the General,and having so misread the course of events,was soon afterwards recalled in disgrace,and died of a broken heart.(Phillips 717;

Price 152-3 ; Echard 758 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Ap. 5 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 393-4 ; Same to Same, Ap. 12 N.S., Ibid. 395 ; Same to Same, May 21 N.S., Ibid. 425-6 ; Same to Same, June 10, N.S., Ibid. 439.) There is a story that Monk did in fact agree to the ambassador's suggestions, that his wife sent Clarges to Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and that that intrepid politician hinted in a Council meeting that Monk was not playing a loyal game, and that the Council forced Monk to agree to changes in the Army, including the replacement of Lockhart at Dunkirk by Colonel Edward Harley. But the whole trend of Monk's actions casts grave doubts on the authenticity of this incident. (Echard 758 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 186-8 ; Carte, "Ormonde" II 196 ; Salmon, I 423-6 ; Locke, "Memorials of Sir A.A. Cooper", Works, III 496 ; Christie, "Shaftesbury" I 215-8. Christie also rejects the suggestion that the ambassador approached Monk to help the General to Kingship, and argues that Bordeaux was for Charles II all along.) The renegade Sir Richard Willis also apparently urged the formation of a government with Monk at its head, and some like Whetham, who had served both Cromwell and the Rump, were not averse to such a course. It was probably in this connection that a curious pamphlet "The Pedigree and Descent of his Excellency, General Monk" was published. It purported to prove that the General was descended from Arthur Lisle, last of the Plantagenets, and was thus himself of royal descent. Toland suggests however that the real aim of the pamphlet was merely to compliment the General on having Royal blood, but emphasise the title of the Stuarts. (Col. N. Whetham to Monk, Ap. 12, Chard, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899, / 173 ; "The Pedigree and descent of his excellency General George Monk: setting forth his descent from King Edward III by a branch and slip of the White Rose, the House of York; and likewise his extraction from Richard, King of the Romans." /1660./) (Toland, 38-9.) The General having showed clearly that he was not prepared to establish a Protectorate, with either Richard Cromwell or himself at its head, the pent up feelings of the Royalists overflowed like a torrent. The King's health was drunk openly, and the Royal arms restored, apparently by order. (Pepys' Diary, Mar. 6 16 May 1 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, Mar. 26 N.S., C.S.P. Venet. XXXII, No. 127, p. 132 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 393.) Even

before the Long Parliament had dissolved itself, on March 15th the inscription "Exit Tyrannus", placed by the regicides at the Exchange, was erased. (V. Ranke III 293 ; Pepys' Diary, Mar. 16 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Mar. 25 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 362.) Not only Royalists but competent foreign observers were convinced that Charles II's moment was fast approaching. (An intercepted letter, Mar. 10/20, Brussels, Thurloe S. P. VII 841-2 ; Van Sasburgh to the States General, Mar. 20 N.S., Brussels, Ibid. 842 ; De Thou to Bordeaux, Mar. 26 N.S., Hague, Ibid. 847 ; An intercepted letter, Ap. 3 N.S., Calais, Ibid. 870 ; Ditto., Ap. 10 N.S., Brussels, Ibid. 880 ; Langland to Thurloe, Ap. 23 N.S., Leghorn, Ibid. 896.)

The stream of deserters to the Royal side increased. No longer had Charles to welcome such despicable characters as Morland and Downing. Morland, who had served under Thurloe, had revealed some of the plotting which had gone on during the Interregnum, and the perfidy of some whom Charles had regarded as honest Royalists. He was rewarded with a knighthood. (Sir William Lower's Journal, cit. W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 135 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, June 4 N.S., C. S. P. Venet. XXXII, No. 148, pp. 151-2. Vide supra, pp. 51 52.) Downing, envoy at the Hague under the Cromwells and the restored Rump, had begun to be alarmed, and anxiously asked Thurloe what he thought was going to be the probable outcome of events in England. Not reassured, he approached Charles through Thomas Howard and as guarantee of his fidelity showed a letter from Thurloe asking him to keep close watch on the King and try to discover his intentions. At the same time he kept a dutiful correspondence with Thurloe, and did not scruple to request him to take care that his salary and expenses were paid. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 192 ; Carte, "Ormonde" II 197 ; Downing to Thurloe, Mar. 1660, Thurloe S. P. VII, 838 ; Same to Same, Mar. 16, Ibid. 850 ; Same to Same, Ap. 16 N.S., Ibid. 885 ; Thurloe to Downing, Ap. 6, Ibid. 886-7 ; Thomas Howard to the King, Ap. 5, Hague, Carte, Ormonde Papers, II 319-21 ; Ormonde to T. Howard, Ap. 10, Brussels, Ibid. 321-2 ; T. Howard to Ormonde, Ap. 13, Hague, Ibid. 322-3.) The King was somewhat perplexed as to his course when he received overtures from Ingoldsby, a regicide who had been consistently Royalist since the fall of Richard Cromwell. He finally accepted the gallant colonel's somewhat lame story that Oliver had forced his hand

to sign the death warrant of Charles I. (Noble, Lives of the Regicides, I 368-9 ; Noble, Mems. House Cromwell, II 188-9 ; Clar. H. G. R. VII 489-91.) But Carte, Ormonde Papers II 332-4. better men than these were now anxious to win the King's favour. The great Presbyterian peers held conferences with Royalist leaders to discuss how to further the Royal cause. (Warwick, Memoirs, 465.) Thurloe came to terms with him. (Hyde to Sir John Grenville, Ap. 23 N. S., Breda, Thurloe S. P. VII 897-8.) Annesley actively corresponded with him, and the King had already had occasion to express his gratitude for Morrice's work in advancing his cause. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 425 ; Carte, Ormonde Papers, II 315-6 ; Charles II to W. Morrice, Mar. 27 N. S., Brussels, Thurloe S. P. VII, 858 ; Same to Same, Ap. 8 N. S., Ibid. 858-9 ; M. Coate, "William Morrice and the restoration of Charles II", E. H. R., XXXIII, /1918/ 372-3.) Montague, Admiral once more, had previously given evidence of his Royalism, and sent young Edward Montague to promise the King his assistance, and to ask an awkward question, which Charles evaded - had the King come to any agreement with Monk ? (Admiral Montague's Journal, cit. W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 114 118 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 700 ; Clar. H. G. R. VII 433-8 ; Pepys' Diary, Ap. 18 20 21.) Rather an unworthy part was played by Broghill, who wrote to Thurloe expressing grave fears of a Restoration without "conditions", yet was at the same time an ardent correspondent of Charles II. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 191 ; Broghill to Thurloe, May. 17, Dublin, Thurloe S. P. VII 859 ; Same to Same, May 2, Ibid. 911 ; Same to Same, May 8, Ibid. 912.) Charles had to face one set-back however. He was anxious to secure Dunkirk so as to be in possession of some English territory, and was encouraged by reports that the garrison was not unfriendly ; but he found in Lockhart one man who was unwilling to betray his employers, and who steadily refused Royalist overtures, despite the most generous offers, and the fact that he had been originally a King's man and had deserted to Cromwell. The governor believed Monk to be sincere in his protestations in favour of the Commonwealth, and told a Cavalier friend that he could not betray a government which trusted him. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 192-3 ; Noble, Mems. House Cromwell, I 254 ; Burnet, Hist. O. T., I 146-7 ; Clar. H. G. R. VII 448-50.)

Now came the all important task of securing Monk's adhesion. This was entrusted to Sir John Grenville, who had made many previous attempts to

interview the General but had always been rebuffed. Since the failure of Nicholas Monk, the Royalists had been by no means inactive. In July 1659, at the same time that Charles had authorised Grenville to make promises to Monk on the King's behalf, (vide. supra, p. 69.) an effort was made to reach the General through Colonel, Clobery, who had turned Royalist. (The King to Barwick, June 2/12, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 218 ; Barwick, "Barwick," 186-90, 275, App. VIII, 419-20.) But for long Hyde and his trusty correspondent Barwick, despaired. In July Clobery dared not approach Monk on the subject. Though Hyde wrote that if Monk would but declare for the King, Charles would so trust him as to come in person, yet Monk still gave no sign. In November, Barwick spoke more hopefully, especially when Clobery was appointed one of the Commissioners for the Army of Scotland, but in the next month he was as doubtful as ever. At the time of the dissolution of the Long Parliament however, he was able to report progress once more, though for a time Clobery and Monk had been very reserved towards each other, as each was not sure how far the other was genuinely working for a Restoration. The influence of Monk's wife was no mean factor in guiding the General's mind towards Royalism. (W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 8-10 ; Barwick, "Barwick," 221-30 ; App. XI, 433, App. XIV, 451, App. XVI, 467 ; Hyde to Barwick, Nov. 11/21, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 439 ; Same to Same, Nov. 18/28, Ibid. 451 ; Barwick to Hyde, Dec. 5, Ibid. 471 ; Same to the King, Feb. 9, Ibid. 550-1 ; Barwick to the King, Mar. 16, London, Thurloe S. P. VII 852-3 ; Same to Sir Edward Hyde, Mar. 16, Ibid. 853-4, Same to Charles II, Mar. 19, Ibid. 859-60; Noble, Mems. House Cromwell, I 389.)

Grenville first approached Morrice, who went to the General, but Monk demurred to giving an interview to so well known a Cavalier, and suggested that Grenville should give his message to Morrice. The Royalist envoy refused, so at 9 o'clock, on the evening after the Long Parliament was dissolved, a secret conference took place in Morrice's room, Morrice himself guarding the stairs. Grenville delivered the King's letter to Monk, who read it, and then told the envoy that though he had been numbered among the King's enemies, he had only been awaiting an opportunity of doing him service. Grenville informed Monk that he was authorised to offer him £100,000, and the position of Lord High Constable,

but the General brusquely refused any rewards in advance. When Morrice had been called into the room to advise the General, Grenville asked that Monk write a reply which he could take to the King. Monk again demurred, on the grounds that secrecy was essential; not only would there be no letter from him to the King, but any reply from Charles must be by word of mouth. A meeting was arranged for the next night at the same place, when Monk gave orally the terms on which he was prepared to further the Restoration, viz., a free and general pardon, an act to secure public sales and disposal of lands, payment of Army arrears, and religious toleration for all who did not disturb the peace. These were written down by Grenville and memorised, after which the paper was burnt. Monk also urged that Charles should leave Brussels for a town in Holland, preferably Breda. (Lady Carlisle had previously sent a message to the King, stating what purported to be Monk's advice, and this included an injunction to the King to go to France. As Lady Carlisle had previously visited the Queen Mother, it seems probable that this advice was manufactured by them in Paris, and did not come from Monk in London. -Hyde to Sir John Grenville, Ap. 23 N.S., Breda, Thurloe S. P. VII 897.) The reason for this advice was not only that Spain was still officially at war with England, but that the General had received a visit from the Portuguese ambassador, Don Francisco de Melo, who had said that he did not know if Monk was inclined towards a Restoration, but if so, he, (Melo) had information that the Spanish government intended to detain Charles in their territory until their demands were granted. (It was at this interview that the proposal for a marriage alliance between Charles II and Catherine of Braganza was first broached.) Grenville proceeded secretly to Ostend on March 23rd, and did not inform even his fellow passenger, Mordaunt, what precious news he was bearing to their master. On arriving at Brussels he sought the King and gave him the gist of Monk's statements. The suggestions about the land settlement, liberty of conscience, and an indemnity including even most of the regicides, (for Monk suggested not more than four exceptions,) were not favourably received by Charles, who consulted with Hyde, Ormonde, and Nicholas. Finally he ordered letters to be drawn up throwing the onus of carrying out the

terms as far as possible on Parliament, believing - with good reason, that the next Parliament would be violently Royalist, and that even the Presbyterians who might be elected to the Convention could be relied upon to punish the regicides. The faithful Grenville was not forgotten. He was promised the positions of Groom of the Stole and First Gentleman of the Bedchamber, together with an earldom, the payment of his own and his father's debts, and an estate of at least £3,000 a year. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 168-74 ; Clar. H. G. R. VII 443-50 ; Phillips 617-8 ; Price 133-7 157-60 ; Gumble 275-9 ; Skinner, "Monk" 266-75 ; Echard 758.)

Before Charles left Brussels however, he received an influential Presbyterian deputation, which stated the terms on which they were prepared to restore him. They urged that Charles would be wise to accept them, as Monk was in favour of even more stringent conditions, based on the Isle of Wight negotiations with Charles I. This was certainly the impression which Monk had given them in his conversations with the Presbyterian leaders at Northumberland House. The King, safe in the knowledge of Monk's real views, allowed the Presbyterians to continue to believe that they were his only hope. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 174-7 ; Skinner, "Monk" 281-2 ; Echard 757 ; Clar. H. G. R. VII 439-40 ; Pepys' Diary Ap. 29.)

The great Powers began to realise that the Restoration was a possibility after all. Spain, however, had been completely misled by her ambassador in London, Alonzo de Cardenas, who regarded the Republican and Cromwellian parties as the strongest force in English politics. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 445 - 6.) Don Luis de Haro, the Spanish minister, was an ardent Roman Catholic, who hated Hyde and his Anglican friends. The only person to receive any real kindness from Spain was James, Duke of York, who had been offered the position of Admiral if he would openly embrace the Roman faith. (Newsletter, Mar. 5, N. S., Brussels, Thurloe S. P. VII 823 ; M. H. to Thurloe, Mar. 6 N. S., Brussels, Ibid. 824.) But the clear sighted Mazarin strove to induce Charles to proceed to French territory so that he might use the opportunity to continue the alliance. There had been transient negotiations for the marriage of Charles II to one of the Cardinal's nieces, but the project had fallen through. (Copy of a letter from Brussels, Mar. 3/13, Thurloe S. P. VII 830 ; F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, Sept. 26 N. S., 1659, C. SP. Venet.

XXXII, No. 69, p. 71 ; Same to Same, Mar. 12 1660, N. S., Ibid. No. 125, p. 127.) Maz-
 -arin persuaded Henrietta Maria to help him, but the Queen Mother real-
 -ised that her hopes of a triumphant personal return were negligibâe, for
 her enemy Hyde was in the asendant. Nevertheless she sent Jermyn to urge
 Charles to come to France, but the unhappy envoy reached Charles after
 the King had arrived at Breda, and was rewarded with the expected refus-
 -al. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 240-1 ; Carte, "Ormonde" II 197-8 ; Clar. H. G. R. VII
 493-5.) Another power friendly to Charles was the United Provinces. The
 Orange family naturally favoured him, and when Ormonde took a letter from
 the King to his sister at the Hague, he received a friendly visit from
 the all-powerful John de Witt. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 189-91 ; Downing to Thur-
 -loe, Ap. 20/30, Hague, Thurloe S. P. VII 902.) Charles finally left Brussels
 on April 4th, (O. S.) He informed Carracena of his destination, adding that
 he was going to visit his sister, and also that messengers from England
 who dared not come to him at Brussels were awaiting him there. Apparently
 Charles departed rather earlier than the Governor expected, for Carracena
 was planning to detain him in Spanish territory. Even after Charles had
 got to Breda, Carracena made strenuous efforts to induce the King - or
 at least York or Gloucester- to return to Brussels, but in vain. Cardenas
 was laden with reproaches by the angry Spaniards for not having seen the
 trend of events more closely, and for having consistently urged against
 a policy of active assistance to bring about a Restoration. (Guizot, R.
 Crom. II 242-3 ; Clar. H. G. R. VII 451-2 492-3 ; Carte, Ormonde, II 189 197-8.)

Meanwhile English Republicanism was rapidly pro-
 -ceeding to its doom. A conference of old Republican leaders had met in
 London, and discussed measures to raise funds to secure the release of
 Lambert and to oppose Monk. A plan was actually drawn up for a rising in
 Wales which was to be the prelude of a general rising which would set up
 the Rump at Shrewsbury until London was won. (Desborough, etc., to Livewell
 Chapman, Ap. 8, Llanothing, C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 409-11.) But when Slingsby
 Bethell took their resolutions to Hesilrige, he found the old Rumper in
 hopeless despair. Scott evaded arrest by leaving London and boldly stand-
 -ing as candidate for Wycombe. Ludlow also left the capital, - and was
 just in time, for next day John Jones, Miles Corbet and Thomlinson were

summoned before the Council of State to give assurances of acquiescence. He proceeded to Wiltshire and collected rents from some of his tenants. Then he went secretly into Somerset, though his name was brought forward as a candidate for Hindon. (Noble, *Mems. House Cromwell*, I 368 ; Ludlow II 251-6 ; W. Thynne to Sir J. Thynne, Ap. 2, *Ibid. App. V*, 477-8.) The unhappy Barbon was forced to give a written promise to the Council to do nothing to disturb the peace. Among precautionary arrests during the next two months were those of Major General Harrison, and even Miller, who had commanded the escort of the Secluded Members on their return, though Miller was freed on promising to do nothing to the hurt of the State. The Council and Monk extracted promises similar to that given by Barbon from Scott, Hesilrige, Kelsey, and Desborough. (Guizot, *R. Crom. II* 183-4 ; Whitelocke, *Memorials*, 699-700 .) Marchamont Nedham was dismissed from his official post of Intelligencer, and was replaced by Dury and Muddiman. (Whitelocke, *Memorials*, 699.) The last had been an official pamphleteer for the restored Rump, but as early as January had assured Pepys that he plied his pen only to get money, and heartily disliked his masters. (Pepys' *Diary*, Jan. 9.) He was a worthy successor to Nedham, who had served with his pen, in turn, the King, the Rump, and the Protectors, and though dismissed by the Rump in May 1659, had been replaced after his attack on Charles II in "Interest will not lye." (*Vide infra.*, p. 183.) Mr. Muddiman defends his namesake by pointing out that he was the official pamphleteer of Monk's Army rather than of the Rump, and dismisses the diarist's entry as a mistake. Nevertheless, Muddiman's description of Charles II in his second number, as "the pretended King of England" has a true Republican flavour. (C. J. May 13 Aug 15 1659 ; Muddiman, "The King's Journalist" 14 46 66 85-8 90.)

One great obstacle to the Restoration remained. What was going to be the attitude of the Army ? Monk's bold policy of cashiering had done much towards making his own men reliable, and he had also made important changes in those regiments which had formerly supported the Committee of Safety. (*Vide supra*, pp. 156-7.) Just as Independents had replaced Baptists in Scotland, so Presbyterians now replaced Independents, and it was not long before the Presbyterians lost their places. (Skinner, "Monk" 296.) Already

known Royalists were numbered among the officers of the Army. But the strong Republicanism of the rank and file made great caution necessary, and the officers still used the phraseology of the Commonwealth in the presence of the troops. (Barwick to Hyde, Mar. 26, Thurloe S. P. VII 870.) The wit of Clarges hit on an expedient to silence if not to crush the malcontents. Meetings among the troops were prohibited, and Clarges drew up a declaration in favour of the civil power, promising to accept the findings of the coming Parliament. (cit. Phillips 718.) Monk consulted with some of his intimates. Knight promised to collect the signatures of the officers of his own regiment, of Monk's Horse, and of the Life Guards. Howard went to Croydon to secure the adhesion of his officers. Then they met at the house of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and arranged to convene a council of officers. This council met, and Knight opened the discussion by saying that there had been attempts to divide the Army but they had failed; he had seen an engagement with which he had so cordially agreed that he had signed it. Clarges and his friends had already talked with many of the officers, so there was little dissension in the council. Four days previously the engagement had been sent to Charles Fairfax and Bethell for their adhesion. On April 9th Colonel Howard and forty other officers presented the engagement to Monk at St. James's. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 184-5 ; Phillips 718-20 ; Ludlow II 240.) Copies were sent to the provincial regiments and to Scotland. The Army of Scotland, under the veteran Morgan, could be relied upon, though in some places including Leith, there was anxious debate before the engagement was accepted. Monk had heard reports of attempts to tamper with the forces in Scotland, and had therefore sent a regiment of Foot and a regiment of Horse to help Morgan, who therefore cashiered officers who refused to subscribe to the engagement, and commissions were given to such types as Fauconberg, Rossiter, and Admiral Montague. Morgan's position was further strengthened by the fact that on March 27th the notables of Scotland drew up a loyal address to the King. (Phillips 720; Capt. F. Kelly to Monk, Ap. 12, Leith, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/, 173 ; Address to the King from the nobility and gentry of Scotland, Mar. 27/Ap. 6, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 620.)

Lockhart also accepted the engagement, and wrote to Monk, pledging the loyalty of his garrison to the next Parliament. (Lockhart to Monk, Dunkirk, Ap. 17/27, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/, 176.)

Reports from Ireland were just as re-assuring. Coote and Broghill were preparing the way there. The Irish Convention appointed Lord Shannon, Sir John Clotworthy and Major Aston as their commissioners to represent Ireland's desires to the English Council of State. (Heath 440 ; Carte, Ormonde II 204-5 ; C. S. P. Ireland 1647-60 719 ; Noble, Mems. House Cromwell I 382-3 ; Broghill to Thurloe, Ap. 24, Dublin, Thurloe S. P. VII 908.)

There were some ominous signs about the Fleet. The anxious Montague realised that he had to deal with a strong phalanx of Baptist captains, who had no desire to see the return of the family which they regarded as accursed. Nevertheless the submission of a Republican paladin such as Lawson did much to prevent an outbreak.

On the night of April 9th however, Monk's growing complacency received a rude shock. Lambert, -the last hope of the Good Old Cause,- escaped from the Tower, and despite proclamations, and Monk's offer of £100 reward to the soldier apprehending him, no news of his whereabouts was heard for some days, though his messages informed Republicans of his rendez vous in Northamptonshire. (Monk to officers commanding Regiments, Ap. 11, St. James's, Clarke Papers, IV 267.) Yet even in this crisis, Republicans were divided. Hutchinson would have nothing to do with such a renegade. On receiving the news at Salisbury on the 15th, Ludlow made preparations to rally Commonwealth men from Dorset, Somerset, and Wiltshire, but sent a message to Lambert saying that he would make no public move until Lambert had shown some prospects of success, and also defined the cause for which he was fighting. (Hutchinson's Memoirs, 361 ; Ludlow II 257-9.) Nevertheless many cashiered veterans took the road to join him, but before they could arrive, all was over. Monk wisely gave command of the troops sent against Lambert to the old Cromwellian Ingoldsby, not considering the rising sufficiently serious to warrant his going in person, though he sent for Grenville, who had returned from Brussels, and told him that if Ingoldsby were defeated, he, (Monk) would openly take the field in the King's name. (Price 147-50.) Colonel Howard was sent with a picked force to Warwick-

-shire to prevent any rising there, and also to protect Coventry, which Lambert undoubtedly would have garrisoned, had not Monk placed three companies of Streater's regiment there. Thus Monk's wisdom in disposing the troops in the way he did on coming to London, and especially in the stationing of Streater at Newark, was clearly manifested. (Vide App. II.) An unsuccessful attempt was made by the major of Streater's regiment (who had been cashiered) to win over one of its companies marching to reinforce the garrison at Coventry. (Phillips 720.) Ingoldsby and his men joined Streater at Northampton on Easter Eve. He found great enthusiasm for the government, for the trained bands of the town were in arms, and the Earl of Exeter was making offers to raise men to support Streater. On Easter Sunday morning, April 22nd, Ingoldsby and Streater were informed that Lambert was at Daventry. They marched there only to find that Lambert had gone about two miles from the town. They rapidly followed, and came upon him among some fields. A little rivulet separated the two forces. For nearly four hours they faced each other, Ingoldsby noting that Lambert had with him Okey, Axtel, Cobbet, and Creed, but only a very small number of troops. Lambert sent out scouts, but Ingoldsby met them, pretending that he was a private, and was sufficiently successful as to gain a promise of neutrality from some thirty troopers who deserted Lambert. The escaped General then made an attempt to secure a parley, but Ingoldsby rejected it, and when Lambert mentioned the name of Richard Cromwell, the colonel hotly retorted that Lambert was the very man who had pulled down the Protectorate. What followed was tragic farce. As Ingoldsby prepared to charge, Streater ordered his musketeers to advance close to the enemy and fire on Lambert's cavalry. But two more troops deserted from the rebels, one of them commanded by the son of Sir Arthur Hesilrige, who just before the two sides engaged began to have his father's doubts as to Lambert's real designs. These desertions caused consternation and uproar among the rebels, during which Ingoldsby arrested Lambert, despite his piteous cry, "Pray, my lord, let me escape; what good will my life and imprisonment do you?" Creed begged in vain that Lambert might be allowed to escape and the remainder would submit. Lambert turned to escape when Ingoldsby refused his request, but surrendered when the colonel

threatened to pistol him. Among those who made their escape, however, were Axtel and Okey. Most of the soldiers who had supported Lambert were disbanded as soon as possible. (Whitelocke, Memorials, 699 ; Ludlow II 259 ; Echard 760 ; Phillips 720-1 ; Skinner, "Monk" 286-9 ; Gumble 281-6 ; Clar. H. G. R. VII 427-31 ; Major Theo. Hart to Monk, Ap. 30, Coventry, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS., /1899/, 181.)

Lambert's escape had repercussions elsewhere. Though the government's measures probably averted a general rising, trouble arose in Yorkshire. Merry, an officer of Smithson's regiment, who had been cashiered, won over 40 soldiers in active service, and planned to seize York, but his attempt failed. (Col. H. Bethell to Monk, Ap. 17, York, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS., /1899/, 175 ; Same to Same, Ap. 20, Ibid. 176-7 ; Colonel C. Fairfax to the Same, Hull, Ap. 27, Ibid. 180 ; E. Gower to Sir R. Leveson, Ap. 21, Ibid. Rep. V, App., Part I, Sutherland MSS., /1876/, 199.) Two other cashiered officers, Everard and Lockier, who had been released from custody on parole, marched at the head of some mutineers through Nottingham. Captain Sherman led a troop of Sanders' regiment and a troop of Hacker's regiment against them, but they went over to the rebels, and Sherman had to beat a hasty retreat. He secured the aid of the town authorities however, and the mutineers were put down. (Phillips 720.) Hesilrige was suspected of complicity in Lambert's attempt, but was able to convince Monk of his innocence, and as proof of his submission surrendered all his military commands. (Phillips 723.)

On April 24th Lambert was placed once more in the Tower, along with Cobbet and Creed. The London mob forced the escort to march to the Tower by way of Tyburn, so that Lambert might at least pass by the gallows. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 199.) On the same day, Monk was holding a review of the City Militia in Hyde Park, in the presence of an immense crowd. (F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, May 7 N. S., C. S. P. Venet. XXXII, No. 138, p. 141.) Six trained band regiments paraded; the Red under Colonel Bate-
-man, the White under Colonel Wale, the Green under Colonel John Robin-
-son, the Blue under Colonel William Vincent, the Yellow under Colonel William Bromfield, and the Orange under Colonel Thomas Bludworth, -
12,000 strong. The Lord Mayor and several nobles stood with Monk to

watch the stout aldermen leading their henchmen proudly by. (Phillips 721.)

Lambert's escape gave Monk too great a shock not to have immediate results. The engagement of April 9th was tendered to all privates. (Monk to Col. Knight, Ap. 17, St. James's, H. MSS. C. Rep. XIII, App., Part VI, Fitzherbert MSS, /1893/, 3-4.) Monk's own regiments proved submissive, but the troops which had excluded the Rump showed that though their cause was lost - perhaps through their own violence - yet they would not join their brethren in restoring the family they had fought to keep out of the land. More than one third - in some cases half - the soldiers left the ranks rather than sign the declaration. The effectiveness of the re-modelling in Ireland was shown by the fact that out of the entire forces in the island, only five privates refused to sign the declaration. (Sir C. Coote to Monk, Ap. 25, Dublin, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/, 179.)

The Republicans tried to make the troops restive by suggesting that there were plans to deprive the soldiers of their arrears, (Proclamation by the Council of State, Ap. 13, C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 414.) and poured out pamphlets in a last effort to subvert the Army. In March, Marchamont Nedham had published "News from Brussels", in which he pretended to be a violent Royalist, to whom "a thought of mercy is more hateful than Hell, and made a violent attack on the Presbyterians, accusing them of responsibility for the execution of Charles I. (M. Nedham, "News from Brussels in a Letter from a neer attendant on His Majestie's person, to a Person of Honour here, which casually became thus publique." /1660./) This was answered by John Evelyn in "The Late news or message from Brussels unmasked". The diarist had already shown his unswerving Royalism by attacking the Army of England on the fall of Richard Cromwell in "An Apology to the Royal Party." (Evelyn's Diary, Feb. 17 - Ap. 5 1660 ; W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 80.) "Plain English" remonstrated with Monk for his desertion of the Good Old Cause, and warned him that though "Exit Tyrannus" might be erased at the Exchange, the words were engraved as with a diamond on the hearts of many thousands. (W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 90 ; Masson, "Milton" V 664-5.) A greater danger, which Republicans actively

fomented, was the rumours about the King's character and religion. Many Presbyterians had doubts on these points. It is certain that the Presbyterian leaders had a real fear that English Protestantism was in grave danger. ("A Seasonable Exhortation of sundry Ministers in London to the People of their respective Congregations"/24 pp., 1660./ pp. 2-7.) One Colonel Tuke had roused the Puritan conscience by admitting that Charles had succumbed to "the allurements of Venus" and adding that "it was not to be wondered at." (Lloyd Thomas, "Baxter" 144.) Dutch Protestants had suspected that Charles had turned Papist as early as 1658, and the King had denied the charge in a letter to the minister of an English congregation at Rotterdam. (Nicholas Papers, IV 70-2.) Nedham had hinted that though Charles had been brought up a Prelatist, his professions abroad had been kept secret for reasons of State, and spoke of occasions on which Charles had shown sympathy with Popery. (M. Nedham, "Interest will not Lye."/1659./) On the King's visit to the Pyrenees, Republicans had pointed out that he was accompanied by the Roman Catholic Bristol. To this Royalists retorted that Bristol had gone because he could talk Spanish, and had been dismissed in disgrace on openly declaring himself a Roman Catholic. (Secretary Nicholas to Sir R. Browne, Nov. 26/Dec. 6 1659, C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 271-2 ; Same to Mr. Mills, Dec. 3/13 1659, Ibid. 276.) But at the same time Mordaunt wrote anxiously for an authoritative denial, adding that if the stories were true the Royalist cause was ruined. Ormonde himself had good grounds for believing that Charles was attracted to the Roman Church. (Carte, "Ormonde" II 254-5 ; Mordaunt to Ormonde, Nov. 10/20 1659, London, Carte, Ormonde Papers, II 264.) Charles himself however wrote to a minister in Edinburgh that "he was the same in France as he had been in Scotland" which statement, though true, made some credulous Scots believe that the King was still a Covenanter ! (Kirkton 59.) The worthy Nicholas sent letter after letter to England, avowing that Charles was a loyal son of the Church of England, (V. Ranke III 281; vide supra, ref. C. S. P. Dom.) and when Dr. Barwick arrived in Breda as an emissary of the Bishops he was promptly appointed a Royal chaplain. (Barwick, "Barwick" 270-3.) One Royalist pamphleteer wrote a defence of his master which appears almost a burlesque ; "he abhors vice ; his private devotions

prove him void of hypocrisy; he would have others holy as well as himself; in short he is the perfect pattern of piety, but more of patience!" ("The Three Royal Cedars" cit. Marsden, "History of the Later Puritans" 411-2.) Yet doubts still lingered. Sir Matthew Hale asked Dr. Morley searching questions in an interview, but the divine, whatever his private opinions, worked hard to clear the King's name from the imputations which had been made. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 226.) One reason for the persistent rumours was that Charles, on Hyde's advice, had refused to attend a Huguenot service at Charenton. So Lauderdale, who was a leading spirit working against the rumours, felt that the best course would be to persuade Huguenot divines to write to Baxter and others, assuring them of the King's Protestantism. He employed as his agents Sir Robert Moray, (Moray to Lauderdale, Paris, June 7, Lauderdale Papers, /Camden Society/, 28-30.) and the Countess of Balcarres, widow of a Scots Covenanting earl. (Reliq. Baxt. I Part I 121.) Already the privileges of the Edict of Nantes were being whittled away, and the leading French divines hoped that if they helped towards Charles II's Restoration, he would intercede in their behalf with Louis XIV. Of the five ministers at Charenton, Moray persuaded the three most notable to write, and their example was followed by the ministers at Caen and Rouen. (Robertson, "Life of Moray" 101-4; Orme, Life of Baxter, I 159-60; R. Gaches to R. Baxter, Mar. 23, W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 91-3; M. Drelincourt to M. Stroupe, Ap. 2, Ibid. 93-4; M. Daille to M. le Roy, Ap. 7, Ibid. 94-5; Princess de Turenne to Mme. de Castlenau, /in London/ Ap. 6 N.S., Ibid. 98-9.) Lauderdale himself, who was a friend and admirer of Baxter, used all his influence to prevail upon him to come out definitely on the Royal side. Baxter was deceived about the King's character, but realised that a Restoration would probably have disastrous results in the long run for himself and his friends. Yet he was sufficiently disinterested to work for the Royal cause because he believed that otherwise it would triumph only after bloodshed. (Reliq. Baxt. I Part II 215; Lloyd Thomas, "Baxter" 142-3; Powicke, "Baxter" 190-1.)

Attempts were also made to cause dissensions among Monk's advisers. Clarges received - and ignored - a letter stating that Morrice had told

Royalists that Clarges had no credit with Monk, and that wise Royalists would make applications to himself. (Skinner, "Monk" 293 ; Phillips 721.)

Another danger arose which might have been expected. Many Cavaliers in the flood-tide of their enthusiasm began to use violent language. (Luttrell to Ormonde, Mar. 23 London, Carte, Ormonde Papers, II 318 ; Pepys' Diary Ap. 18.) There were not wanting those who reviled the work not only of the Rump but that of the early days of the Long Parliament. (Thurloe to Downing, Ap. 6, Whitehall, Thurloe S. P. VII 887.) The Episcopalian clergy were especially violent. On Sunday March 25th, Matthew Griffiths, D. D. preached a strongly worded sermon in favour of monarchy in the Mercers' Chapel, and published it with a dedication to Monk, thus giving an opening to Republican writers to point out the probable fate of all except Royalists in the event of a Restoration. The General replied by sending him to Newgate. (W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 96-7 ; Masson, "Milton" V 667-9 675-6 ; "Brief Notes upon a late sermon titled 'The Fear of God and the King' by Matthew Griffiths, D. D.", Milton's Prose Works, II 354-62 ; Thurloe to Downing, Ap. 6, Whitehall, Thurloe S. P. VII 887.) Nevertheless such talk inevitably began to chasten the growing Royalism of Monk's officers. Both Charles II and Hyde therefore expressed displeasure at such violence, and responsible Royalist leaders published moderate declarations, the most notable of which was "A Declaration of the Nobility and Gentry that adhered to the late King in and about the City of London," signed by 19 peers, 1 bishop, 5 baronets, 24 knights, 4 Doctors of Divinity, and 17 others. (Barwick, "Barwick" Apps. 518-21 526 ; Phillips 722-3 ; W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 120-1 ; Clar. H. G. R. VII 471-3 ; "A Word in due Season to the ranting Royalists and rigid Presbyterians", /1660/, 1-8.) Attempts were also made to bring about a rapprochement between Episcopalians and Presbyterians, the great majority of whom were now definitely Royalists. (Reliq. Baxt. I Part II 218; Notes of discourse at Hackney by Dr. Spurstow, Ap. 22, C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 420.) Sharpe used all his influence to promote friendly meetings between clergy of the two persuasions, though he had to keep sending soothing letters to his Resolutioner brethren in Scotland. (Reliq. Baxt. I Part II 215 ; Sharpe to Douglas Ap. 5, Wodrow, I, Intro., xvii ; Same to

Same, Ap. 12, Ibid., xviii ; Same to Same, Ap. 7 Ibid., xvii-xviii.) But the Presbyterians maintained an attitude of inflexible hostility to Hyde, whom they rightly regarded as the paladin of the Church of England. Indeed it was largely due to him that the Anglican Church had continued at all since 1648, for he had written encouraging letters to those clergy who remained in England, and had also persuaded Charles to fill bishoprics whenever they fell vacant. (Neal Hist. Puritans IV 228-30 ; Barwick, "Barwick," 199-205 217 - 19 236-8 246-7, App., pp. 402-6 410-19 422 423-428 435-49 449-50 461-5.) Dr. George Morley, who played a leading part in the conversations, (Bordeaux to Mazarin, May 3 N. S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 412 ; Morley to Hyde, Ap. 13, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 654 ; Barwick, "Barwick" App. XXVIII 513-4, App. XXX 518, App. XXXI, 525.) found that the Presbyterians regarded Hyde as the stumbling block to a happy Restoration. They found strange allies. Henrietta Maria loathed Presbyterianism, but apparently she loathed Hyde more. (Bordeaux to Mazarin, June 7 N. S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 433.) From Paris, she urged Charles to sacrifice Hyde, and was supported by her lover, Jermyn, Mazarin's agent de Souvré, and Lord Auboyne, an old Cavalier. (Letter from Mr. Kingston, Ap. 8 N. S., Paris, Thurloe S. P. VII 891-3 ; R. C. to the King, Ap. 20, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 672 ; R. Phillips to Hyde, Ap. 20, Ibid. 670-1.) But the Chancellor had steady friends like the venerable Southampton and Hertford, trusted agents like Mordaunt, and of course, the clergy. Charles II decided to stand by his minister, and Hyde strove to overcome Monk's dislike, (which was probably due in large measure to the General's wife, who for some reason was bitter against the Chancellor,) in prudent letters to Morrice. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 178-83 ; Clar. Continuation 6-7 ; Hyde to Morrice, May 27 N. S., Hague, Thurloe S. P. VII 913 ; H. MSS. C. Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS, 230.)

Meanwhile Grenville returned from Breda bearing a precious bundle of letters. He also had instructions to inform Monk that if any of the letters were unsuitable, the General need not deliver them; that Charles left the conduct of affairs entirely in the General's hands; and that the King, hearing that Monk would be gratified if Morrice were appointed Secretary of State, was pleased to give the agent the vacancy caused by

Bristol's conversion to Roman Catholicism. (Clar.H.G.R.VII 453-4.) Grenville actually arrived in England before Lambert was defeated, and a week before the meeting of Parliament, (Vide supra, p.179.) and delivered the letter to Monk, but they agreed to leave over the delivery of the letters to the persons to whom they were addressed until the meeting of the Convention. (Clar.H.G.R.VII 470.)

The Convention Parliament, as it was later called, met on April 25th. There were over 500 members in the House of Commons, (Vide Parliamentary Committee on Personnel, Interim Report, /1932/, App.vi, p.114. Vide Appendix I.) which an older school of historians has inaccurately described as Presbyterian. It is true that there was a strong Presbyterian party, and that the Royalists in many ways allowed the Presbyterians the place of prominence. Indeed there are grounds for believing that the Presbyterian leaders had advised this course on the Royalists all along as the best method to secure the Restoration. It is true also that many believed that the Presbyterians were sufficiently strong to carry any proposals they wished, though other equally competent observers denied this. (Burnet, Hist.O.T.I 145 ; Carte, Ormonde, II 198-9 ; Pepys' Diary Ap.26 27 29.) Presbyterian influence was responsible for the summons to ministers like Baxter to preach before Parliament and City, but the entire failure of the Presbyterians to get their way on any major issue, especially that of religion, does not suggest Presbyterian predominance. It was a policy of delay - which could only wreck Presbyterian hopes, which triumphed. (Reliq.Baxt.I Part I 120, Part II 217-8 ; L.F.Brown, "The Religious Factors in the Convention Parliament", E.H.R.XXII, /1907/, 51-63 ; E.Gower to Sir R. Leveson, Aug.4, H.MSS.C., Rep.V, App., Part I, Sutherland MSS, /1876/, 204.)

The elections had gone hard for the Republicans. A few crept in for small boroughs, but the counties were solid against them. Lambert, Harrison, Weaver, and Miles Corbet were among the fallen. Scott stood against Major General Browne's son at Wycombe, where there was a double return. He fled to Brussels, relying on the friendship of the former Spanish ambassador, but was arrested later to stand his trial as a regicide - with the inevitable result. (Vide Apps.I, IV.)

(Heath 422 ; C.J. May 9.) An attempt had been made to get Lenthall elected for Oxford University. The candidature of Monk himself had first been mooted, but the General wrote that he was to be elected for his own county of Devon, and recommended the ex-Speaker as candidate. Every nerve was strained to secure his return ; Lenthall's son, and his nephew, Captain Edmund Warcuppe, whom Monk had sent as bearer of his letter to Convocation on April 4th, actively canvassed. But the strong Royalism of the University was proof against even Monk. Thomas Clayton and John Mills were elected, and Lenthall defeated. (Clark, Life and Times of A. & Wood, I 311-13.) Even Thurloe failed at Bridgenorth in Shropshire. He received a recommendation from Monk, but was advised by his friends not to use it, as it would help neither the General nor himself, for even Monk would not carry unless he stood without qualification in favour of King Charles II. (General Monk to the Bailiffs of Bridgenorth, Ap. 7, Whitehall, Thurloe S. P. VII 885 ; Tho. Gilbert to Thurloe, Ap. 11, Shiffen-hall, Ibid. 895-6.) Ludlow stood for Hindon. All the electors agreed on How, and the real contest was between Ludlow and Sir Thomas Thynne. Ludlow was declared elected by the bailiff, but Thynne's friends got another indenture sent up, telling the electors that Ludlow had already fled, and that those who voted for him would incur the Royal displeasure. They thought that if there were a disputed election, Parliament would declare against the old regicide. The committee of privileges however, ordered Ludlow to take his seat until the issue was decided. (Ludlow II 256-7.) Some of the more violent Royalists would have disagreed with the committee but Annesley and Hale induced the House to take no such action, so for the time being, Ludlow retained his seat. (Ibid. 262-4.) Another old Commonwealth man who sat in the Commons for a while was Luke Robinson, now loud in his praises of the King. (Whitelocke, Memorials, 700 ; Pepys' Diary, May 2.) Two regicides, Ingoldsby and Hutchinson, and two who had sat at the King's trial, Francis Lassels and Robert Wallop, were returned. (Hutchinson's Memoirs 362 365.) Several ex-Cromwellians gained seats. Some, like Monk, Montague, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Broghill, and Clarges, had already showed their loyalty to the King. Others were Colonels Charles Wolseley and Richard Norton, and last but not least,

Andrew Marvell. Monk's soldiers were represented by Colonels Ralph Knight and Clobery, and Morrice. A strong phalanx of ex-Secluded Members was returned. Despite the intervention of the military, Massey triumphed at Gloucester. (Thurloe to Downing, Ap. 6, Whitehall, Thurloe S. P. VII 886-887 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, Ap. 22 N. S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 404-5.) But in some constituencies, like Cambridgeshire, Essex, and Worcestershire, unrepentant Cavaliers stood and carried the day, a son of the great John Hampden being defeated in Buckinghamshire. (Whitelocke, Memorials, 699 ; Pepys' Diary, Ap. 20 ; G. Paulden to Hyde, Ap. 13, London, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 657 ; R. Phillips to the same, Ap. 20, Ibid. 670 ; Halsall to the same, Ap. 6, Ibid. 640 ; Josselin's Diary, Ap. 17.) (Vide Appendix I.)

In the House of Lords, ten peers took their seats, but two days later there were thirty six. This was due to the arrival of the "young Lords", i. e. those too young to have fought in the wars. (L. J. Ap. 25 27 ; Henry Coventry to Ormonde, London, Ap. 27, Carte, Ormonde Papers, II 328.) On May 1st, forty were present, and two contrasts took their seats for the first time : Buckingham, personifying Royalism, and Salisbury, who had sat with the Rump. "Mr. Cecil's" colleague, Pembroke, had sat in the Lords since April 26th. (L. J. Ap. 26 May 1.) On June 1st, when Hyde, created Earl of Clarendon, presided for the first time, there were eighty present, of whom less than thirty were ex-Parliamentarians. (L. J. June 1.) Two unsuccessful attempts were made to prevent a Royalist majority. On May 4th the House voted that no writ should be sent to Lords who had attended the Oxford "Parliament" of 1644, and on the 22nd, a bill was read a second time in the Commons to annul titles conferred since 1642, but neither proposition was able to make much headway against the furious Royalism of the nation. (L. J. May 4 ; C. J. May 22 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 229.)

The first business in both Houses was the election of a Speaker. The peers chose Manchester, the old Parliamentary general. The election in the Commons shows clearly that the Presbyterians did not feel that they had a secure majority. Some of the older members proposed Sir Harbottle Grimston as Speaker, when only about forty members were present, the others not having returned from service at St. Margaret's, where a sermon delicately hinting at monarchy had been preached by that very moderate Pres-

-byterian, Dr. Reynolds, from the text, Malachi IV, verses 2 and 3. (L.J. Ap. 25 ; C.J. Ap. 25 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 700 ; W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 122-3.) Grimston was duly elected, and Jessop appointed clerk, this also being done when only a minority of members were present. But the Royalists wisely allowed the Presbyterians this initial victory, especially as it was known that the nomination of Grimston was favoured by Monk. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 205-6.)

The grateful Parliament hastened to remember to whom it owed its being. On April 25th the Lords voted thanks to Monk, and nominated him as Captain General, the nomination being twice read on May 2nd. The Commons voted their thanks on April 26th, and the Peers followed this on May 3rd with a vote for the erection of a statue of the General. Another interesting vote was that of the Commons to the regicide Ingoldsby, thanking him for his services against Lambert. (L.J. Ap. 25, May 2 3 ; C.J. Ap. 26 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 206-8.)

On April 27th Parliament decided that it would consider the best means of settling the realm on May 1st. Apparently two Royalist members, Colonel King and Mr. Finch, attempted to raise the question of a Royal Restoration, but by general consent the Commons agreed to defer the consideration of the whole question until the following Tuesday. Probably they felt that the safest policy in the face of the Rump's ordinances governing the election, was to wait for some lead from Monk. (L.J. Ap. 27 ; C.J. Ap. 27 ; H. Coventry to Ormonde, Ap. 27, Carte, Ormonde Papers, II 328 ; Mordaunt to Ormonde, Ap. 27, Ibid. 329-30 ; Hallam, Const. Hist. I 705, footnote 2 ; Clar. H.G.R. VII 478.) This gave the cue to Grenville, who came to the place where the Council of State was sitting that same day. He asked Colonel Birch, who was going into the meeting, to take a message to the General. Birch brought him to Monk to whom he delivered a sealed package. The General affected surprise, telling Grenville to wait outside, and ordering the guards to watch him closely. The Council felt itself in a quandary. Birch swore he knew nothing of the envoy or of the message which he had brought. At last they agreed to interview Grenville, who told them that the packet held letters from the King. The Council then decided that it had no right to open the

letters until the matter had been referred to Parliament. A proposal that Grenville should be imprisoned was negatived, Monk urging that they could take the envoy's parole to appear before Parliament. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 209-10 ; Skinner, "Monk" 296-7 ; Price 155-6.)

On May 1st Grenville delivered the letters. Meeting Commissioner Tyrell in the Lobby, he asked him to inform the Speaker that the King's messenger was without. Then while the Commons debated, he followed Monk's advice by first delivering the letter to the Peers and then hastening back to the Commons. (L. J. May 1 ; C. J. May 1 ; Skinner, "Monk" 299-301 ; Gumble, 289.) There were five letters in all, dated the 4/14th of April, at Breda; one to the Lords and one to the Commons ; one to the City of London, one to the Navy, and one to General Monk, to be delivered to the Council of State and to the Army. There was also enclosed the famous Declaration of Breda. (Vide Appendix III.) Though dated as from Breda, the letters were actually written - or at least prepared - before the King left Brussels. (Vide supra, pp. 174-5. Clar. H. G. R. VII 451.) So far as the letter to the Peers was concerned, both Grenville and Mordaunt had told Charles that they greatly doubted whether Monk would allow the House of Lords to meet, but the King decided to write a letter so that it might be delivered if that assembly did gather. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 450.)

In the Declaration of Breda, Charles first expresses the hope that the long distractions of the past have made men desire to bind the bleeding wounds of the nation ; if this is so, his hopes of a Restoration without bloodshed impels him to issue this Declaration. He first offers a general pardon, (except for those who may be excepted later by Parliament), to all who return to their allegiance within forty days. No one will be prejudiced in life, liberty, property, or reputation ; the King desires an end to discord, a perfect union with the rights of all settled by a free Parliament. Secondly, "We do declare a liberty for tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament as upon mature deliberation shall be presented to us for the full granting that indulgence." Thirdly, he promises that the settlement of the land

question and the payment of arrears to all Monk's officers and men shall be referred to Parliament, and that he will be ready to receive the troops into his own service on as good pay and conditions as those which they were at the time enjoying. (L.J. May 1 ; C.J. May 1.)

Thus Parliament received the King's message. Commissioners were appointed in both Houses to draw up replies, and the loyal Commons voted a gift of £50,000 to the King. Despite the alarming state of the Treasury gifts were made soon after, £10,000 to the Duke of York, and £5000 to the Duke of Gloucester. The commissioners appointed by the lower House were ordered to confer with the City authorities with a view to raising money, and the City came to the rescue by lending £100,000 towards the payment of the Army. It also made a present to the King which was swelled by gifts from the great Companies. (L.J. May 1 ; C.J. May 1 3, 10 June 6 8; C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 428 429-30 ; O.P.H. XXII 281 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 214-6.)

Both Houses passed resolutions in favour of the ancient Constitution and the Commons appointed another committee to examine all acts and ordinances passed during the era of Republican government, and report on those which it considered inconsistent with monarchy. A fortnight later the Lords went further by appointing a committee to examine all ordinances passed since the Upper House was voted useless, and to prepare a Bill to repeal those which it thought improper. Fearing lest their resolutions might cause an outbreak among the Republicans, Parliament issued a declaration for keeping the peace, continuing justices of the peace and other officers, and urging them to suppress all tumults, with military aid if necessary. (L.J. May 1 14 ; C.J. May 1 5 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 433.) Grenville was not forgotten; on May 3rd he was called to the Bar of the House of Commons, and informed that they had voted him a present of £500, a new experience for one who had spent many years in gaol or hiding in the cause of the Stuarts. (C.J. May 3 ; Clar. H.G.R. VII 486.) Having obtained Parliament's consent, "the Monk" whose hood was now off", (Price 156.) read the King's letter to his officers, and Lydcott voiced the satisfaction of the meeting, which agreed to Knight's suggestion that a written reply be made to the General. So "The Humble

Address of the Officers of Your Excellencie's Army in the name of themselves, and their Brethren" was drawn up, and Monk got leave from Parliament to present this letter to the King. (Phillips 727-8 ; Gumble 378 ; C.J. May 2 ; Monk's Letters, 86-7 87-9 ; Monk to Colonel Knight, May 3, St. James's, H. MSS. C., Rep. VII, App., Part VI, p. 4.) Parliament also received a request from the City, through Alderman Robinson, to reply to the King's letter. (Order at Common Council returning thanks, etc., May 1, C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 430.) This was willingly granted on May 4th, and the House also approved of the commissioners who were to bear the City's reply. (C. J. May 2 4 ; O. P. H. XXII 269-71.) The joy bells of the City were re-echoed by the thunder of the guns from the Tower. (F. Giavarina to the Doge & Senate, May 14 N. S., C. S. P. Venet. XXXII, No. 139, p. 143.) At Gravesend, Secretary Pepys read the royal letter to the Navy, and there were loud acclamations, though the anxious Montague noticed the ominous silence of a goodly number of his officers. Guns were fired, and two pipes of canary were ordered for the men. The admiral did not scruple to answer the Royal letter before he had received permission from Parliament to do so. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 213 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 701 ; Montague's Journal, cit. W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 132 135 ; L. J. May 7 ; Pepys's Diary May 3 4 .)

On May 2nd and 3rd, both Houses accepted the drafts of the replies. (L. J. May 2 3 ; C. J. May 2 3 ; O. P. H. XXII 261-6.) Commissioners were then appointed to bear these replies to the King. There were six peers and twelve members of the House of Commons. The representative peers were the Earls of Oxford, Warwick, and Middlesex, Viscount Hereford, and Lords Berkeley and Brooke. The Commons were chosen by ballot on May 5th, Ludlow leaving the House during the voting, despite the remonstrances of the Sergeant at Arms. The names of those elected were reported to the House on the 7th, and were : Sir George Booth, Lords Fairfax, Falkland, Bruce, Herbert, Mandeville, and Castleton, Sir John Holland, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Sir Horatio Townshend, Sir Henry Cholmley, and Denzil Holles. Parliament then drew up their instructions. (L. J. May 3 10 ; C. J. May 5 7 10 ; Ludlow II 265-6 ; O. P. H. XXII 278.)

On May 1st, Parliament had ordered the Royal arms to be set up. On the

6th the King was openly prayed for in many of the London churches, and Parliament ordered this example to be copied throughout the country. (C.J. May 17 ; L.J. May 9 ; C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 434 ; W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 135 ; Josselin's Diary May 13.) On the 8th Charles was proclaimed in London, in the presence of both Houses and the Common Council, Monk's coach following those of the two Speakers. The Proclamation, the form of which had been approved by both Houses, was made with all ceremony. The procession passed from Whitehall to Temple Bar, the traditional ceremony being observed at the entrance to the City from Westminster. The King was proclaimed at four different points in London. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 222-4 ; L.J. May 8 ; C.J. May 8 ; Order in Parliament, May 8, C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 433-4 ; O.P.H. XXII 276 ; Skinner, "Monk" 306.) Other places followed suit. Loyal Oxford heard the proclamation on the 10th. It had already set up the Royal arms, and on April 1st the service in Magdalen College Chapel had been read from the Prayer Book for the first time since 1647. (Clark, A. a Wood's Life & Times, I 313 314.) During the previous October Richard Cromwell had offered to resign the Chancellorship of the University, whenever it was apparent that it would not be to their prosperity. (Noble, Mems. House Crom. I 338.) On May 8th he sent a letter definitely resigning the office. This was read in Convocation on the 16th, and the Royalist Marquis of Hertford was restored. (R. Cromwell to the Vice Chancellor and Convocation of Oxford, May 8th, Hursley, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS., /1899/, 182; Wood, Ath. Ox., /Fasti./ 222.) About the same time the University of Cambridge replaced St. John by the Presbyterian Earl of Manchester. (L.J. May 28 ; W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 141.) Among the towns proclaiming the King on the 10th were Northampton, Winchester, Gloucester, and Sherborne. The proceedings at Hull were marred by one soldier refusing to fire in the salute. On the 12th the proclamation was read at Durham, and one parish register shows how some clergy were hastening to adjust themselves to new conditions - "on which day, I, Stephen Hogg, began to use again the Book of Common Prayer." (W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 141 ; Col. C. Fairfax to Monk, May 11, Hull, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS., /1899/, 182 ; Hutton, Hist. Eng. Church, Charles I - Anne, 181.) The proc-

-lamation was read at Dublin Castle on the 14th. Scotland had received news of Parliament's reception of the King's Declaration on May 7th, and stern Robert Douglas introduced the subject into a sermon. The proclamation at Edinburgh took place also on the 14th, and was accompanied by great jubilation, the cannon at the Castle crashing forth salute after salute. Members of the town council not only drank the King's health, but in Scots fashion broke their glasses after the toast. (Carte, Ormonde, II 204 ; Heath 454 ; Nicoll's Diary 283-4.) All over the country Royalist enthusiasm showed itself. May 10th was a Thanksgiving Day, and John Buck, (Lord Lincoln's chaplain,) preached before the Peers, John Price, (Monk's chaplain,) before the Commons, and Baxter before the Lord Mayor and Corporation at St. Paul's. (L.J. May 10 ; C.J. May 10 ; W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 142-3.) (Vide supra, p. 187.) At Oxford a maypole was erected at All Hallows parish to annoy the Puritans, and when the Vice Chancellor, Conant, and his beadles, arrived, they were driven off. (Clark, A. a Wood's Life & Times, I 314.) The defeated Republicans had to face not only insults but actual ill treatment. Ribald rhymes against the Commonwealth were sung in every street. The London Baptist Churches were destroyed by the mob. Major General Harrison was brought forcibly to London. The great Protector's widow hid what valuables she had, and fled to Wales. The ex-Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland, and the wife of another official committed suicide in their misery at the course of events. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 208-9 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, May 17 N.S., Ibid. 424 ; Crosby, Hist. Baptists, II 19 28-30 ; Noble, Mems. House Crom. I 128-9 ; Hutchinson's Memoirs, 366 ; Nicoll's Diary 291 ; Dr. Betts to Ormonde, May 4, Carte, Ormonde Papers, II 326-7 ; H. Coventry to Ormonde, Ap. 27, London, Ibid. 329 ; Petition of Anabaptists, H. MSS. C., Rep. VII, App., Part I, House of Lords MSS, Calendar, /1895/, 80.)

On May 5th, Clarges left London, his only instructions from Monk being to assure Charles of the General's fidelity. His journey southwards was a triumphal progress and at Deal green boughs were strewn before him. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 218 ; Pepys' Diary May 5.) On Tuesday, the 8th, he landed at Bergen-op-zoom, and proceeded towards Breda. Before he reached

the town he was met by an escort under Lord Gerrard, to conduct him to the King. Charles gave him a warm welcome, and was handed the letter which Monk had dictated in the presence of the officers on the 5th, and also a personal note, asking the King to give full confidence to Clarges as the General's agent. Charles and both his brothers sent gracious replies to Monk, and the King showed his gratitude by knighting Clarges, after which he was presented to the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and also Hyde and Ormonde. Nevertheless, though Charles showed great kindness to Monk's agent, he did not really give him his confidence, having been urged not to do so by Grenville and Mordaunt. Soon after the arrival of Parliament's commissioners, Clarges was sent back to England with a dispatch, informing Monk of the King's intended embarkation. (Phillips 713; Guizot, R. Crom. II 218 ; Mordaunt to Ormonde, May 7, Carte, Ormonde Papers, II 335-6 ; Barwick, "Barwick" Apps. XXXI XXXII XXXIII, pp. 528-31 532 533.)

Grenville left London on the 10th, bearing Parliament's promise of a speedy reply, together with £4,500 in gold, and £25,000 on bills payable on sight at Amsterdam. He was accompanied by three influential Scotsmen, Lauderdale, Lindsay, and Sinclair. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 219 ; Nicoll's Diary, 285.) The Speaker sailed for Holland on the 11th, and he was joined by the other commissioners, accompanied by Bowles as chaplain, three days later. The main fleet under Montague had set sail on Saturday, the 12th, and anchored off Scheveling two days later. The fact that the admiral had left only two or three small ships to bring over the Commissioners caused some heart-burning among those dignitaries, and to overcome their displeasure Montague persuaded Charles to sign an ante-dated order to him to sail. (Montague's Journal, cit. W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron, 146 148 ; Skinner, "Monk" 308 ; Pepys' Diary, May 9 10 11 12 14.) On the 16th the Commissioners were received by Charles at the Hague, whither the King had proceeded from Breda by way of Rotterdam. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 496-7.) The Earl of Oxford spoke for the Peers, but all acknowledged that the best speech came from the veteran Denzil Holles, who told Charles that from the Restoration they could hope for "nothing but repose, but sweetness, and a lawful liberty." (Sir William Lower's Journal, cit. W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 149.) The Commissioners brought

with them the presents voted by the Commons to the King and his two brothers. Their arrival in Holland had been preceded by that of the representatives of the City bearing their present of £10,000. (Clar. H.G.R.VII 498-500.) Of course these official presents were by no means the only source of the King's revenue. The Irish Convention had responded to the Declaration of Breda, "accounting themselves not less concerned than others;" by a declaration in favour of Monarchy, on May 14th. (E. Borlase, "The Reduction of Ireland to the Crown of England, 258-62.) They also voted £20,000 to the King, £4,000 to York, and £2,000 to Gloucester, and on May 25th, before adjourning until November, appointed Broghill, Coote, and others, to represent their wishes to the King. (They also petitioned the English Parliament to approve, and seek the King's approval of, an Independent Irish Parliament. (Carte, Ormonde, II 204 ; Bordeaux to Mazarin, June 3 N.S., Guizot, R. Crom. II 432 ; L.J. May 11 ; C.J. May 11 12.) Scots brought not only petitions but presents of money, "to the vastation of their pure land." (Nicoll's Diary 295.) Old Cavaliers seldom brought gifts; instead they asked for rewards for their past loyalty and services. (Petition of Sir Abraham Shipton, Ap. 17/27, C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 417 ; Petition of Capt. Walter Innes, N.D., Ibid. 424 ; Petition of Sir George Melville, N.D., Ibid. 424 ; Petition of Thomas Mucklow, N.D., Ibid. 424 ; Petition of Capt. Charles Phillips, N.D., Ibid. 424 ; Petition of Thomas, Lord Howard of Charleton, May 18/28, Ibid. 441.) Ancient enemies too, sought the King's favour. Lenthall sent a friend with £3,000, and a plea that the ex-Speaker might be continued as Master of the Rolls, but the request was refused. (Ludlow II 271.) A significant exception to those seeking honours was Lord Fairfax. He asked for nothing, and the sovereign who could knight a wretch like Morland, left the veteran unrewarded. (Noble, Lives of the Regicides, I 231.) It is somewhat refreshing to learn of a letter received by the King on May 21st, from some Quakers, threatening God's judgements on him if he did not grant their requests, especially religious toleration. (W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 155.)

The Hague was naturally crowded by English visitors. (For names of some notable travellers from England to Holland, vide Pepys' Diary,

Ap 27 May 3 4 7 8 10 11.) Samuel Pepys came ashore with other officers of the Fleet, and enjoyed himself to the full, for not only was he given audiences by members of the Royal family, and by such notabilities as Hyde, but was able to spend some time in sight-seeing. To his credit, he was sufficient of an Englishman to despise such types as Morland, and Downing, the latter boldly insisting on the recognition of his new knighthood. (Pepys' Diary, May 14 15 17 18 22.) The States of the United Provinces were lavish in their hospitality. As early as May 8th, the States General had resolved to defray the King's expenses while he was in their territories, and while at Breda, Charles had received influential deputations from the States General, and also from the States of Holland, whose whole wish seemed to be to gratify the King's ever wish. The royal progress from Breda to the Hague had been in the nature of a triumphal progress, the various towns vying with each other in paying honour to their guest. While at the Hague, the most sumptuous entertainment was offered, and Charles admitted that one great banquet at which he was present, far surpassed anything he had experienced in other lands. (Memoirs of Sir Stephen Fox, 35-66.) There was one untoward incident however. On Sunday, May 20th, Charles desired to hear one Hardy, a minister who had accompanied the Parliamentary Commissioners, preach in the Court Chapel. This building also served as a place of worship for the French Protestants at the Hague. When the French had completed their devotions, the guards were ordered to seize the avenues leading to the Chapel, and especially a door leading to a section which had been partitioned off for the use of the Princess of Orange. But the French in the Chapel, and some Dutch behind the partition refused to give way, despite the pleadings of the Reader and pastor. So Charles was forced to go to a private chapel of the Princess, and after the service exercised his royal privilege of touching for the King's Evil. (Sir William Lower's Journal, cit. W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 154-5 ; Heath 449.) The junketings were not confined to the land. On May 22nd, York, Gloucester, and the Dutch admiral dined on the 'Naseby', and on the same evening Prince Maurice of Nassau was rowed over to inspect the ship. (Montague's Journal, Cit. W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 157.)

Among the envoys at the Hague were the leading Presbyterian ministers - and James Sharpe. On May 9th, the Commons gave leave to Reynolds, Calamy, Case, Manton, and Hale, to represent the desires of the London ministers to the King. (C.J. May 9.) Their sovereign gave them a public audience, in which they expressed their loyalty and their satisfaction at the King's Protestantism. They assured him that they were not hostile to a moderate Episcopacy, but desired tolerance in indifferent matters. Charles replied graciously; he was not in favour of hard measures ; the settlement would be left to Parliament, which well knew that Toleration was best for establishing a quiet country. Several private interviews followed, at one of which some ministers protested against the use of the Prayer Book in the Royal Chapel. Charles warmly retorted that he desired only to enjoy the liberty which he was willing to give to others. He refused a further tactless request that Royal chaplains might discontinue wearing of surplices. But on one occasion, while waiting for an interview, Case was privileged to listen to the King's private devotions, which seem to have been carried on that day for the worthy minister's benefit, since Charles prayed that he might be strengthened in his Protestantism, and never seek to oppress subjects with tender consciences. Finally the deputation left, hoping that their importunities might have better results after the King had returned to England. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 501-3 ; Reliq. Baxt. I Part II 218 ; Sharpe to Douglas, May 26, London, Wodrow, I Intro., xxv ; Harris, "Charles II " II 16-18.)

Nothing could have been more despicable than the part played by James Sharpe. While in London, he had enjoyed considerable influence with Monk, (Sharpe to Douglas, Mar. 10, Wodrow, I, Intro., x-xi.) but had not used this influence to further the interests of the Resolutioners whom he was supposed to represent. The leading Resolutioners were unbending in their demand for a Covenanted King. (Douglas to Sharpe, Feb. 28, Wodrow I Intro., viii ; Same to Same, Mar. 15, Ibid. xi-xii ; Same to Same, Ap. 3, Ibid., xvi ; Same to Same, Ap. 26, Ibid., xix-xx ; Same to Same, Ap. 28, Ibid., xx ; "The Judgement of some Sober Minded men in Scotland concerning the settlement of the Government in the Three Kingdoms," / "Though there may be

some in England for Episcopacy, and some for other forms, yet Presbyterianism ought to be pitched upon.....Episcopacy and other forms are men's designs, but Presbyterian government is a Divine ordinance." / Ibid. App. III, lii-lv.) Sharpe was quick to realise that Episcopacy was going to be restored in England, and that there was no hope for the Solemn League and Covenant. (Sharpe to Douglas, Mar. 6, Wodrow, I Intro., x ; Same to Same, Mar. 10, Ibid., x-xi ; Same to Same, Mar. 27, Ibid., xv-xvi ; Same to Same, N.D., Ibid., xix ; Same to John Smith, Mar. 4, Ibid., ix-x.) But he never made any real effort for Scots Presbyterianism. Indeed, his letters to Douglas, Dickson, and others, express sorrow for the hostility to Presbyterianism which marked so many in England, and never suggest that Sharpe himself has moved away in standpoint from his more rigid brethren. (Sharpe to Douglas, Mar. 6, Wodrow, I, Intro., x ; Same to Same, Mar. 15, Ibid., xii.) On March 31st, Douglas wrote urging the necessity of a public meeting in Scotland, to choose commissioners to represent the Kingdom. This would have provided some sort of substitute for that "watch dog of Scottish democracy", the General Assembly of the Church, which had been suppressed by Cromwell. (Douglas to Sharpe, Mar. 31, Wodrow, I Intro., xiv + xv.) Sharpe saw that this would embarrass both Monk and the King, and therefore consistently argued against such a course, and was strongly supported by the Earls of Lauderdale, Crawford and Sinclair. (Sharpe to Douglas, Ap. 5, Wodrow, I Intro., xvii ; Same to Same, Ap. 7, Ibid., xvii-xviii ; Same to Same, Ap. 13, Ibid., xviii ; Lauderdale Papers 6-9.) Realising that he had a kindred spirit in duplicity, Monk pressed Sharpe to go to Breda, (James Sharpe to James Wood, Gravesend, May 4, Lauderdale Papers, 24-5.) especially as Douglas had suggested this course in his letter of April 26th, so that Charles might have information concerning the "honest party" in Scotland. (Douglas to Sharpe, Ap. 26, Wodrow, I Intro., xix-xx.) Sharpe informed Douglas, and three days later reassured the Resolutioners by a categorical assertion, "I shall not be accessory to anything prejudicial to the Presbyterian government; but to appear for it in any other way than is within my sphere is inconvenient, and may do harm, and not good." (Sharpe to Douglas, May 1, Wodrow, I, Intro., xx-xxi ; Same to Same, May 4, Ibid., xxi.) So Douglas agreed to Sharpe's

request, and forwarded a paper of instructions. The London Presbyterian ministers also commissioned Sharpe to act for them until their representatives arrived. (Sharpe to Douglas, May 4, Wodrow, I Intro., xxi ; Douglas to Sharpe, May 8, Ibid., xxi-xxii ; Robert Douglas, etc., to the King, May 8, Ibid., App. IV, lvi ; Instructions for Mr. James Sharpe in reference to the King, Ibid., App. V, lvii-lviii.) Armed thus, he set sail for Holland in a frigate, and arrived at Breda on May 8th. He was introduced to Charles at once by Ormonde, and next morning enjoyed a long interview in the Royal bedroom, and in the evening a second interview in one of the gardens. (Sharpe to Douglas, May 11, Breda, Wodrow, I, Intro., xxv ; Same to James Wood, May 29, London, Lauderdale Papers, 26.) Charles realised that Sharpe would be a worthy tool, for in addition to the Resolutioners' instructions, he bore a letter from the Earl of Glencairn, recommending him as "an Episcopalian in principle, and the fittest person whom the King could trust to give him correct information respecting both Church and State in Scotland," while Lauderdale had written a few days earlier, to assure Charles that Sharpe's affections "are wholly yours." (Lauderdale Papers, 23-4.) So Sharpe stayed with Charles, and though the future Primate of Scotland continued to write to his old friends in Edinburgh for some time, assuring them that whatever happened in England, "yet what the Lord hath wrought in Scotland will be perfected and not altered by his Majesty", there is no doubt that the seeds of the downfall of Scottish Presbyterianism were sown in London, nourished in Holland, and brought to full fruition after the King's return, by the very man deputed to guard that persuasion's interests. (Stephen, Life of Sharpe, 35 ff. ; Wodrow I Intro., xxiv ; Sharpe to James Wood, May 29, London, Lauderdale Papers, 27. It is fair to point out that Stephen has attempted to justify Sharpe, and that Salmon, /I 432-3, / cannot agree that there are grounds for casting reflections on Sharpe's character. But Sharpe's own correspondence with Douglas and others condemns him, and merits the hostile view of his character taken by the writer.)

Montague having informed the King that he was ready to sail, on the 22nd of May Charles took farewell of the Estates General and the Estates of Holland, thanking them for their generous treatment of him, and assuring

them of his affection. The Baron of Ghent, spokesman for the States General, improved the occasion by promising that ambassadors would be sent speedily to England to conclude an alliance. (Memoirs of Sir Stephen Fox, 66-81.) On the 23rd, an imposing procession, which included de Witt himself, accompanied Charles from the Hague. The shore was crowded with people, to whom Charles made a short speech of thanks. A salute of forty guns from the shore was answered by the cannon from the Fleet. (Montague's Journal, cit. W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 157.) Having given farewell to de Witt, Charles embarked in one of the small boats commanded by Blake's old comrade, Vice Admiral Stayner, and was taken out to the Fleet, accompanied by his sister the Queen of Bohemia, the Princess of Orange, and her young son, William. (Montague to the House of Lords, L. J. May 25 ; Memoirs of Sir Stephen Fox, 85-92.) The party arrived safely aboard the 'Naseby', which was richly decorated, and flying three silk flags, one the English standard, one emblazoned with an anchor and cable in honour of York, and the third a red banner to which were attached sixteen silk streamers. (Barlow's Journal, I 42-3.) After dinner the King and his brother altered the names of various ships. The 'Naseby' became the 'Royal Charles', the 'Richard', the 'James', the 'Speaker', the 'Mary', the 'Lambert', the 'Henrietta', and the 'Winsley', the 'Happy Return.' (Pepys' Diary, May 23 ; Barlow's Journal I 19.) Then Charles went on to the poop to take a last look at the enthusiastic crowds on the shore, after which he gave farewell to his relatives who returned to land, while the guns crashed forth another salute. (Montague's Journal, cit. W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 158.) York was rowed to the 'London', and Gloucester to the 'Swiftsure'. The Fleet weighed anchor, and between 4 and 5 p.m., the coast of Holland disappeared from sight. Charles regaled an appreciative audience with anecdotes about his escape after the Battle of Worcester. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 249-51 ; Memoirs of Sir Stephen Fox, 92-8 ; Pepys' Diary May 23.) The voyage was not without its humorous incidents, for the unfortunate Pepys was harassed by the irate Lord Berkeley, who found himself without a bed on the crowded vessel. Finally the Secretary made him the unwilling bedfellow of the Earl of Middlesex. (Pepys' Diary, May 24.) (There is a conflict of evidence as to which was the exact day of departure. Clar. H. G. R. VII 504, and Echard 764, give the date of

embarkation as the 24th. Warwick, Memoirs 472, and Pepys' Diary May 23 give the date as the 23rd. The writer has chosen to follow Pepys as his account was written at the time, Clarendon's account being written some years after the event.)

Meanwhile in England, preparations had been going on apace. On May 5th Parliament voted that the government should be carried on in the King's name. Everywhere the Commonwealth arms were replaced by those of the Royal House, and special orders were issued that all naval flags should be as before 1648. (L.J. May 7 9 ; C.J. May 5 8 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 701; Order of the Admiralty Commissioners, May 7, C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 ⁴³¹ 432.) The Commons also sought to quieten uneasy minds by issuing a declaration that bills for securing Protestantism, tender consciences, Army arrears, and oblivion, and for confirming the land settlement, were under consideration. (C.J. May 8 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 433.) On the 8th the Commons were invited by the Lords to appoint eight of their number to serve on a committee to consider preparations for the King's reception, the Peers appointing their representatives on the following day. (L.J. May 8 9 ; C.J. May 9.) Orders were issued commanding all soldiers and lodgers except those attending on the Council of State to leave Whitehall, and Monk was ordered to see that this was carried out. (C.J. May 10 11 ; L.J. May 12.) On the 10th, the committee reported to the Commons that they had drawn up three lists of necessities for the King's reception. These were (1) Household goods, (2) Coaches, horses, liveries, etc., (3) Flags, etc. for the Fleet. The House approved, and ordered the Council of State to put the charges on the public revenue. (C.J. May 10 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 431 ; Whitelocke, Memorials 701 ; Pepys' Diary, May 7.) The first estimates prepared by the committee amounted to £14,501 - 19 - 0, and a further estimate for furniture amounting to £1721-6-0 was presented to the Commons on the 23rd. (L.J. May 16 ; C.J. May 23.) Orders were made for the restoration of all furniture, jewels, and pictures, which had belonged to the Crown, and their transportation abroad was strictly forbidden. (L.J. May 10 12 14 ; H. MSS. C., Rep. VII, App., Part I, House of Lords Calendar, /1895/ 88-92.) Some of the holders, like Lord Lisle, returned these goods voluntarily. The Earls of Northumberland and Peterborough

assured the House of Lords that they believed that they possessed some pictures and statues which had belonged to Charles I, but were waiting only to present them to Charles II. (L.J. May 18.) A Westminster citizen who had paid £30 for a State canopy was ordered to return it. (L.J. May 26.) The Earl of Portland reported that he had learnt the whereabouts of the equestrian statue of Charles I, and orders were issued to prevent its coming to harm. (L.J. May 16.) In some cases, restoration of Crown goods was accompanied by improper violence, and the Commons had to order the return of goods forcibly taken from Fleetwood and Mistress Lambert. (C.J. May 21.) Measures were also taken to prevent any further misuse of Royal buildings and devastation of forests and parks, and £30,000 was voted towards repairs of the Royal palaces. (L.J. May 3 10 June 2.) A resolution of the Common Council on May 7th was not without its humour. In returning a park given to them by Oliver they assured the King that they had held it only as a stewardship for him. (Whitelocke, Memorials 701.) The two Houses held Conferences with each other to consider the manner of the King's reception. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 221-2 ; C.J. May 14.) Sir Henry Mildmay, Cornelius Holland, and Nicholas Love were summoned before the Parliamentary committee to give an account of what had happened to the Crown and State Robes, but the enquiry was unsuccessful, and a new Crown and set of Robes had to be ordered. (L.J. May 15 16 ; C.J. May 15.) A special act was passed to prevent questions and disputes about the Parliament, owing to the many natural questions as to how far any legislation it might pass was legal or constitutional. (C.J. May 4 5 ; L.J. May 9 June 1 ; O.P.H. XXII 271 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 224.) On the 16th the Commons listened to Annesley's report on the state of the Exchequer, for the period February 25th to May 15th. Despite the Council's activity there still remained deficits in all the accounts read out to the House, though the heaviest burden was the cost of arrears due to the Army and Navy. Before the House adjourned, the councillors emphasised that there were 40 warships, not of the summer guard, and whose men were due to payment of their wages ; so long as these ships were in commission, yet wages were being unpaid, the debt on that score alone would rise by £11,085 a month. (C.J. May 16.) So two

days later the House finally passed an assessment of £70,000 a month for three months. They had already authorised the collection of arrears from the Rump's assessments, although they regarded that authority as illegal. Incidentally the House forbade Oliverian titles in naming commissioners for the assessments. A further attempt to grapple with the arrears problem was made by the introduction of a Poll Bill to raise £400,000. (C.J. May 7 12 17 18 19 June 21 July 14.)

On May 22nd, Monk set out with a gallant company from London on his way to the coast. (L.J. May 22.) At Rochester he was met by Clarges, who had landed at Aldborough on the Monday and sent expresses to Parliament. He now presented the General with the King's reply to his letter of the 5th, expressing joy at the attitude of the Army, and emphasising his intention of keeping his promises. (Phillips 732.)

On the 25th the Fleet bearing the King sighted Dover, where an immense crowd had gathered on the shore. Squadrons of Cavaliers under Richmond, Northampton, Cleveland, and other nobles, were drawn up in array. In the foreground stood "England's deliverer," accompanied by the faithful Clarges, Gumble, and one or two officers. A barge put out from the 'Royal Charles,' and bore the King, his two brothers, and Admiral Montague to the shore. The great crowd watched curiously the meeting between Charles and Monk, but all were delighted when the General knelt, only to be raised and kissed by his sovereign. As they walked under the canopy towards the town, they were waited upon by the worthy Mayor and Corporation of Dover, whose chaplain, Mr. Reading, presented the King with a large Bible, decorated with gold clasps, and Charles remarked that it was the book he loved best in the world. Montague, having seen his sovereign safely into the hands of his colleague, returned to the Fleet, which, after firing another salute of guns, sailed that night into the Downs. (Clar. H.G.R. VII 504, /states that day of landing was the 26th/ ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 251-2 ; Heath 450 ; Gumble 381 ff., /also states date of landing as 26th,/ ; Montague MSS, cit. W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 159 ; Pepys' Diary May 25.)

As there was insufficient accommodation in Dover, the Royal party set out by coach for Canterbury, Monk travelling in the coach with the Royal brothers, while Buckingham adorned the boat. About two miles from Canter-

-bury, the King took horse, his brothers riding on his right hand, Monk and Buckingham on his left, and the array of nobles and gentry following behind. At Canterbury the procession was met by the Corporation, and after the Recorder had delivered his speech of welcome, the Mayor presented Charles with a golden tankard. The King then proceeded to the Archbishopal Palace, where he was to stay. (W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 160.)

At Canterbury a three days' halt was called, and various honours were conferred. Monk, Southampton, and Hertford were invested with the Garter, the General also being appointed Master of the Horse. Morrice was knighted, and confirmed as Secretary of State. Knighthoods were also given to Massey, Alderman Robinson, Rossiter, and Philip Howard. A herald was sent off to Montague, bearing the insignia of the Garter. The Admiral was awakened at 1 a.m. on the Sunday, but the actual investiture did not take place until eight o'clock, in the presence of the chief officers. (Phillips 733 ; Gumble 387 ; Montague' Journal, cit. W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 162 ; Pepys' Diary May 27. Phillips states that the Garter was conferred on Mordaunt and Winchelsea at the same time as Monk. But the writer has accepted the combined testimony of Clar. H. G. R. VII 504 ; Continuation, 13 ; Warwick's Memoirs 473 ; W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 162 ; E. Walker, "Circumstantial Account" 17 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 256. For Monk's Garter, vide C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 447.)

During his sojourn at Canterbury Charles expressed weariness of the importunity of Cavaliers begging for favours and rewards for their loyalty and sufferings. (Clar. Continuation 10.) But his attention was diverted by a paper sent to him by Monk, recommending seventy names for membership of the Privy Council. The King anxiously conferred with Hyde. Was Charles to be a mere puppet in the hands of a military dictator after all ? Their alarm proved premature however. Hyde went to seek information from Morrice, and told him that though Charles had great trust in Monk's judgement, he felt that he ought to wait until he knew more of the leading politicians, especially as an acceptance of the list might cause murmurs about the General's undue influence. While Charles and Hyde gazed with consternation at the list of stern Presbyterians, Morrice went to see Monk, and returned with the comforting assurance that

the General had no expectation that the King would choose all his nominees ; many had asked for Monk's good offices, and he hoped that the King would appoint some of them. Charles breathed again ! (Guizot, R. Crom. II 252-5 ; Clar. Continuation 10-13.)

Before leaving the town, the King attended Divine service according to the Anglican form in the Cathedral. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 504.) He also wrote to Parliament that they might expect him at Whitehall on Tuesday, the 29th, at six o'clock. On the 28th Charles arrived at Rochester, where yet another Corporation awaited him. This time the gift was a basin and ewer of silver gilt. Having paid a visit to Chatham to see the "Royal Sovereign", Charles returned to the house of Colonel Gibbons, and passed the night there. (House of Lords to the King, May 25, C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 445 ; The King to the House of Lords, May 26, Ibid. 446 ; Same to the House of Commons, Ibid. 446-7 ; Phillips 733 ; Heath 451 ; Gumble 387.)

At daybreak, Charles began the Royal progress to Whitehall. The Kent militia lined the way, and maidens strewed his path with flowers and sweet smelling herbs. ("England's Joy," Harl. Misc. III 358.) At Dartford, Colonel Knight was waiting with a loyal address from Monk's cavalry. (Heath 451.) On Blackheath, the Army was drawn up in five divisions for review. The attitude of the troops was submissive rather than jubilant, and the presence of the volunteers did not add to the contentment of the regiments. Monk had shown his attitude at Canterbury, when a Royalist, pointing to the gorgeously clad squadrons, had remarked that the General had none like that at Coldstream. Monk retorted, "Grasshoppers and butterflies never come abroad in frosty weather, and at the best season there are never many in Scotland." (General Monk to Col. Knight, May 23, H. MSS. C., Rep. XIII, App., Part VI, Fitzherbert MSS, /1893), 4 ; Same to Same, May 26, Ibid., 4 ; Phillips 733 ; Gumble, 193-4 ; Clar. Continuation 19.)

The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City awaited the King in St. George's Fields. Allen gave up his sword, and received it back again, after which a great banquet was held. Then the procession slowly passed through the capital in the following order :

Major General Browne and 300 men in cloth of silver doublets.

1,200 men in velvet coats, with attendants in purple.

Sir John Robinson with a troop of men in buff coats with cloth of silver sleeves, and green scarves.

150 men in blue liveries laced with silver lace ; 6 trumpets ; 7 footmen in silver and green.

220 men with 30 footmen in grey and silver ; 4 trumpets.

150 men in grey liveries ; 6 trumpets.

70 men ; five trumpets.

Three groups of mounted men, the first 300, the second 300, the third 100.

80 Sheriff's men in red cloaks with silver lace, bearing pikes.

600 members of the Companies of London, on horseback, in black velvet with chains ; attendants.

Kettle drum ; 5 trumpets.

3 streamers.

A large group in red liveries with silver lace.

12 ministers.

Kettledrum ; 4 trumpets.

The Life Guard, under Lord Gerrard.

3 trumpeters, in rich coats and satin doublets.

The City Marshal, with 8 footmen in green trimmed with crimson and white.

The City Waits.

The City Officers, in order.

2 Sheriffs.

Aldermen in scarlet gowns, and footmen in red laced with silver and cloth of gold and silver.

Heralds and Maces.

The Lord Mayor of London, carrying the Sword bare.

The Duke of Buckingham. General Monk.

The Duke of York. THE KING. The Duke of Gloucester.

The King's servants.

A troop of horse with white colours.

Monk's Life Guard, under Sir Philip Howard, the first rank consisting of nobles worth £100,000 per annum.

Colonel Knight and 5 cavalry regiments.

Two troops of noblemen and gentlemen. ("A Proper Memorial for the 29th of May, the glorious day which blessed these nations with the return of King Charles II, their rightful monarch"/1715. X ; "Sir E. Walker, "A Circumstantial Account" 19-21.)

The streets were adorned with tapestries, and the fountains ran wine. One side of the route of the procession was lined by the trained bands, and the other by the Companies in their liveries. The companies of regular troops at Westminster were reinforced by a squadron of Cavalier ex-officers, under Sir John Stawell. (Memoirs of Sir George Courthop, /Camden Society Miscellany, Vol. XI/, 147; Phillips 734.) As Charles watched the enthusiastic crowds, he remarked smilingly that "he doubted it had been his own fault that he had been absent so long, for he saw nobody that did not protest he had ever wished for his return." (Clar. H. G. R. VII 505 ; Continuation 4.) Indeed, one old Royalist recorded that those who had shouted, "Crucifiges," loudest in the past, were now the most incessant in their "Hosannas." (Memoirs of Sir Stephen Fox, 99.) At one point the London ministers awaited their sovereign, and the venerable Arthur Jackson presented him with a Bible, which Charles solemnly assured him "should be the rule of his actions." (Reliq. Baxt. I Part II 218.) Honest John Evelyn stood among the throng in the Strand, and "blessed God" as he saw the King ride by. (Evelyn's Diary, May 29.)

At seven o'clock, Charles reached Whitehall, where he was received by Parliament. The Lords came first to him, and their Speaker, the Earl of Manchester, made a speech of welcome. He expressed the loyal joy of the Peers at that moment, for they had felt the King's absence in a personal and particular sense. He concluded by urging Charles to defend the Protestant religion, and assert the laws and liberties of his subjects. The King begged to be excused from making a proper reply owing to the noise and disorder of the journey, but assured them that he hoped to restore freedom and happiness by the advice of Parliament ; he would study the people's welfare, assert their laws and liberties, and would be the Defender of the Faith. Then came the Commons, who were waiting at the Banqueting House, and the turn of Sir Harbottle Grimston. The King again made a brief reply, similar in character to that given to the Lords. ("The

Earl of Manchester's Speech to His Majestie in the name of the Peers , at his arrival at Whitehall at Whitehall the 29th of May 1660. With His Majestie's Reply Thereto,"/1660/ ; Journal of the Earl of Leicester, May 29, Sydney Papers, /Blencowe/, 158 ; C. J. May 29 30 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1660-1661, 1.)

The King was too tired to go to the Abbey, where four bishops led the singing of the Te Deum, ("England's Joy," Harl. Misc. III 359.) (Sir E. Walker, "A Circumstantial Account" 21.) and as the Royal Chapel was not ready, a short service was held in the Presence Chamber, before he retired. Rumour says that Mistress Palmer was already hovering round the Palace. (Phillips 734 ; State Poems, cit. Kirkton, 61, footnote ; G. S. Steinman, "Memoir of Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland" 22-3.) Meanwhile the City gave itself up to revelry. Wine poured from the conduits, and the day ended with bonfires, including one costly blaze in Westminster in which an effigy of Oliver and the Arms of the Commonwealth were destroyed. (Nicoll's Diary 289-90.)

Rejoicings were not confined to the capital. At Peterborough the Reverend William Hinchman was probably murmuring the words which he was going to write down in his parish register - "Soli Deo Gloria." (W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 166.) At Oxford the celebrations continued throughout the night, and some Presbyterians "tack'd" and joined in the general joy. (A. & Wood, Ath. Oxon. I xli ; Clark, Life & Times of A & Wood, I 317.) The good people of Richmond held revelry for three whole days. On the 29th a magnificent pageant was given in the presence of the Sheriff and the Bishop of Hereford, (who had evidently chosen to live there quietly during the dark days for his communion,) Then followed a church service, dinner, games - and drinking. On all three days a performance of "Robin Hood" was given, and thousands flocked into the town from the adjacent country to join in the revels. (Fletcher, "Yorkshiremen of the Restoration" 39-41.) The Vice Admiral, Rear Admiral, and captain of the "Royal Charles", all ex-Republicans, celebrated the Restoration by clambering on board late at night, fuddled with drink. (Pepys' Diary, June 1.) Superstitious Scots marked Heaven's approval, for the guns at Edinburgh Castle were answered by peals of thunder and flashes of lightning from

the Heavens. (Nicoll's Diary 290.)

Indeed, all Britain seemed to be in the grip of a frenzy. The King's return to many seemed the herald of a new era of real liberty, a freedom from heavy assessments, from the burden of a mighty standing Army, and from the bonds of a grave austerity. (Hallam, Const. Hist. II 1-2.) Restoration Day has been compared with Mafeking Night, or Armistice Day, 1918. (Mackenzie, "Lauderdale," 195 ; Sir C. Petrie, "The Jacobite Movement" 9.) Ribald rhymes and ballads against the Commonwealth were heard on every hand. (Hutchinson's Memoirs 366.) The reaction from Puritanism was seen in the widespread drunkenness and slackening of moral fibre in both England and Scotland. Debauchery and loyalty went hand in hand. (Burnet, Hist. O. T. I 157 ; Kirkton 65-6 114.)

Poets and wits vied with each other in expressing their joy. (Vide D. N. B. "John Collop"; "Ellis Clement.") Professors, tutors and students of Oxford University combined in publishing a collection of poems in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, and English, in honour of the Restoration. ("Britannia Rediviva"/1660/.) The Presbyterian Wild gave a paeon which promised that England would take heed in future how she quarrelled with her King. (R. Wild, "Iter Boreale" 20.) Waller, who had written a "Panegyric to my Lord Protector" and a stately epitaph on Oliver's death, now showed his repentance in his poem published on May 30th, "To the King on His Majesty's Happy Return." (Masson, "Milton" VI 12 ; Waller, "Poems" 121-30 149 155-9.) Cowley, who had long been loyal, but in despair had submitted to the Protector's government, published "Ode upon the Blessed Restoration and Return of his sacred Majesty Charles the Second." (Masson, "Milton" VI 13 ; A. Cowley, "Ode upon the Blessed Restoration of his Sacred Majesty Charles the Second," / 19 pp. / /1660/.) Sir William Davenant had never accepted sincerely the Protectoral government, though he had sought its permission to further the cause of English opera. He welcomed his master in a "Poem upon His Majesty's most happy Return to his Dominions." (Masson, "Milton" VI 14-15.) Young John, second Earl of Rochester, the son of Henry Wilmot, welcomed his father's friend in a panegyric, and with unconscious irony in the light of future events, addressed him as "Virtue's shrine." (V. de S. Pinto, "Rochester" 12.) Dryden, who had not only accepted, but

extolled the Protectorate, ("Heroic Stanzas consecrated to the Memory of his Highness Oliver, late Protector of this Commonwealth, written upon the celebration of his funeral," Dryden's Works, IX 8-14.) now wrote "Astrea Redux, a Poem on the Happy Restoration and Return of His Sacred Majesty Charles the Second," (Dryden's Works, IX 30-40.) and in speaking of the Restoration taking place in May actually perpetrated the lines "A month that owns an interest in your name.

You and the flowers are its peculiar claim." (Ibid. p. 39.)

Fuller, looking forward to the bishopric of which he was to be deprived by death, wrote "A Panegyric to His Majesty on His Happy Return." (Masson, "Milton" VI 294-5.) John Tatham, who had written the City Pageants for eight years, including that for Ireton's mayoralty, now produced "London's Glory" to entertain the King, and "The Royal Oak" in honour of the Restoration. (Tatham, Dramatic Works, Intro., p. x, pp. 298-304.) Andrew Marvell, too honest to write panegyrics when his own satisfaction, -to say the least- was most restrained, gave no welcoming poem in 1660, but in later years was to give to the world his immortal lines on Charles II;

Of a tall stature and of sable hue,
 Much like the son of Kish, that lofty Jew,
 Twelve years complete he suffered in exile,
 And kept his father's asses all the while.
 At length, by wonderful impulse of Fate,
 The people call him home to rule the State,
 And, what is more, they send him money too,
 And clothe him all, from head to foot, anew ;
 Nor did he such small favours then disdain,
 Who in his thirtieth year began his reign.
 In a slashed doublet then he came ashore,
 And dubbed poor Palmer's wife his royal whore.

(H.M. Margoliouth, "Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell" I 201./The editor, in criticising this poem, doubts whether it should really be ascribed to Marvell, /p. 325./)

The part played by General Monk in the Restoration raises interesting questions. Did he intend the Restoration all along ? The Royalist War-

-wick is positive that the General intended nothing more than "a general quiet of the land." (Warwick's Memoirs 446.) Probably Monk's mind began to move in a Royalist direction on the fall of the Protectorate, but the failure of the Booth rising made him pause. The months of anarchy and the general hatred of the Rump caused him to resume a Royalist trend, (though Von Ranke believes that he was still a Republican during his famous march,) and this resulted in the restoration of the Secluded Members. Ever an opportunist, even then Monk continued the pretence of his adherence to Republicanism until the course of events showed clearly that a Restoration was imminent. (Clar. H. G. R. VII 384 ; C. H. Firth, "Anarchy and Restoration" C. M. H. IV 559 ; Gumble 97 ; 121-3 ; V. Ranke III 277.) The simplicity of Mistress Thornton ascribed the complicated motions of Monk's mind to Divine intervention, but Welwood describes his conduct as that of a politician rather than a Christian. (Autobiography of Alice Thornton, /Surtees Soc./, 128 ; Welwood's Memoirs 122-3.) Hallam, while admitting that Monk was no "high-minded patriot," argues that he interpreted the popular will, and while in a position of influence, tried to make the Restoration as little injurious to public and private interests as possible ; if the General was not an estimable person, he deserves our gratitude on the grounds of his prudence and success. (Hallam, Const. Hist. I. 691 707-8.) Many of his old friends, and not a few moderns, would agree that a paper put on his monument soon after its erection was not without point in declaring :

This truth he verifies,
That whoever will rise,
Must be content to have "Knave,"
Writ on his grave."

(Toland, "The Art of Restoring," 39.)

For it cannot be denied that the General was guilty of gross hypocrisy and dissimulation. Even Gumble, after trying to argue that Monk was neither a hypocrite nor a deceiver, falls back on the defence, "Deceivers should be deceived." (Gumble 124-31.) The General first misled the Republicans by his declarations in favour of Commonwealth govern-

-ment, (e.g. Monk to Owen, Edinburgh, Nov 29 1659, Clarke Papers, IV 153; *Mysteria Revelata*, H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/, 208.) and he then so directed policy through his agents in the Convention Parliament that even his Presbyterian friends were left at the mercy of their enemies with no better protection than the word of a Stuart. (Vide Neal, *Hist. Puritans*, IV, Preface, vi.) There are only two possible alternatives - either he was a weak man carried along by the flood, (Neal, *Hist. Puritans*, IV 250.) or his conduct merits at least as much of our reprobation as of our praise.

Though the Convention ordered May 29th to be kept perpetually as a day of thanksgiving, of course there was a darker side to this joyous Restoration. (L. J. May 31 ; C. J. May 30.) In the months preceding Charles II's return, many competent English observers doubted whether a successful Restoration could be effected without bloodshed, especially if the King's homecoming was made unconditional. (Luttrell to Ormonde, Mar. 16, London, Carte, Ormonde Papers, II 313 ; Massey to Hyde, Mar 16, London, Thurloe S. P. VII 854 856 ; A letter of Intelligence, Ap. 2 N. S., Ibid. 864 ; Sir W. Killgrew to Charles II, Ap. 8, Horsley, Ibid. 888-90.) One curious and unfortunately anonymous adviser on the other hand urged Charles to stand by every jot of his prerogative, and oppose any Presbyterian demand for conditions, but at the same time made an enlightened appeal for a general toleration to include even Roman Catholics. ("Heads of Advice to Charles II," Mar 28, Thurloe S. P. VII 872-3.) With such messages coming almost daily to him, it is not surprising that Charles was anxious above all for speedy arrangements to be made lest the Restoration be delayed by negotiations. (Charles II to Morrice, May 20 N. S., Breda, Thurloe S. P. VII 912 - 913 ; Same to Monk, May 20 N. S., Breda, Barwick, "Barwick," App. XXXI, 528-31.) Before the Parliamentary Commissioners ever set out, the Presbyterians made a determined effort to make the King's return a Restoration on conditions, and St. John pleaded for the same cause in the Council of State. (Heath 440 ; Clar. H. G. R. VII 481 ; Slingsby to Hyde, Mar. 23, Cal. Clar. S. P. Bod. IV 614 ; Thurloe to Downing, Ap. 6, Whitehall, Thurloe S. P. VII, 886-7.) Sir Walter Erle proposed that Parliament should make, and the King only confirm appointments of ministers of State. Many Presbyterians,

in their hatred for Hyde, desired that the appointment of Chancellor at least, should rest with Parliament. (Vide supra, p 186 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 226.) Northumberland was one who ranged himself on the side of those demanding conditions, and Mordaunt himself, realising the strength and passion behind the demand, urged Charles to accept the first terms offered lest negotiations be dragged on sufficiently long for the Republicans to take advantage of a possible reaction. There were not wanting voices on the other side however, pleading for the King's ancient prerogative, for some Royalists doubted whether " a Diadem so qualified and circumscribed " as the Presbyterian model was worth the Royal acceptance. (Earl of Northumberland to the Earl of Leicester, Ap. 13, Harris, "Charles II " I 336 ; T. C., "Vox et Votum Populi Anglicani," /1660/ ; William, Marquis of Newcastle to Secretary Nicholas, Feb. 28/Mar 9, Antwerp, C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 378 ; "A Lively Pourtraict of our New-Cavaliers," /1661/, p. 13.) And the Royalist agent reckoned without the all powerful General. (Carte, Ormonde II 199.) When Sir Matthew Hale proposed in the Convention that the Isle of Wight propositions be examined by a committee, with a view to determining which were expedient to present to the King, he was warmly supported by Prynne, but Monk spoke decisively against the motion, and induced Hale to withdraw it. Bernard Grenville was sent at once to the King with the good news. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 227-8 ; Burnet, Hist. O. T. I 151-2 ; Burnet, Life of Hale, 39 48 ; Lansdowne's Works, II 161. It is fair to point out that Hallam has made a trenchant defence of Monk's opposition to Hale's motion, and with some truth has argued that Charles II came back "bounded by every ancient and modern statute, including those of the Long Parliament, which had been enacted for the subjects' security." He has further suggested that the real responsibility for any later mischief rests with the Cavalier Parliament and the constituencies which elected it. Vide Hallam, Const. Hist. I 700-4.) Thus the only conditions were those stated in the Declaration of Breda, which left the most difficult questions to be decided by Parliament. Bills carrying out these promises were therefore considered by the Convention, the intention being to present them in their final form when the King reached London. (C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 433 ; C. J. May 8.)

Perhaps the greatest problem was that of religion. Dean Hutton may be right in saying that no movement in English history was more popular than that which brought back the Church with the King, (W.H.Hutton, Hist. English Church, Charles I - Anne, 176.) but it is certainly true that the Church was restored in its pre-Long Parliament form only through the dexterity of Charles, Hyde, and the Episcopalian leaders. On May 10th the Prayer Book was used in the devotions of the House of Lords, and three days later, while the ministers of the various Protestant Churches at Breda were preaching sermons extolling Charles II, a service was held in Westminster Abbey which should have had its own significance for their Presbyterian brethren in England ; Dr. Gauden administered the Sacrament to the Peers - and they received it "meekly kneeling upon their knees." (Whitelocke, Memorials 701 ; W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 147.)

The religious situation was chaotic. When the Long Parliament expelled Episcopals from their livings, a Presbyterian organisation had been intended, but was never strongly established except in London and Lancashire. The National Church of the period of the Commonwealth and Protectorate was composed of a loose confederation, and though the majority of ministers was Presbyterian, some Independents and Baptists were included. That such a scheme failed in practice is well illustrated by the unseemly squabbles between the government and such parishes as that of St. Bartholomew, Exchange, concerning the choice of suitable ministers. (Shaw, Hist. Church, II 132-4 268-9.) Until the Royalist plot of 1655, Cromwell exerted his influence to protect Episcopals from persecution. Most of those who suffered imprisonment, did so rather for their political activities, and not a few Anglican conventicles flourished without molestation. Though the Roman Catholics were still under the burden of the penal laws, in practice they enjoyed an unusual amount of liberty, while Oliver lived. The Presbyterians were apprehensive in 1660, for though the Declaration of Breda promised toleration, it said nothing about the Establishment, and it was known that the King's closest advisers were zealous Anglicans. (Hallam, Const. Hist. II 13-15.) The most for which they could hope was a widening of the basis of the Episcopal Church so as to include Presbyterians, who would be prepared to accept "moderate

Episcopacy," provided that there was tolerance in "things indifferent." (E.F. Bagshaw, "The Great Question concerning things indifferent in Religious worship,"/1660/ ; Calamy, Ash, and Manton to Dickson, Douglas, etc.,^I Wodrow, Intro., App. X, lxii -lxiii.) Baxter not only rejected the appellation 'Presbyterian,' but deceived himself that agreement on matters of Church government could be reached on the grounds that Ussher and himself had agreed on the problem in half an hour, and despite the fact that all his projects for a great union of Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Independents had failed. (Reliq. Baxt., I Part II 162-71 172-8 188 191 208-11 217 373 ; Shaw, Hist. Church. II 165-74.)

The Convention quickly got to work. One Bill provided for liberty of conscience for all except Roman Catholics. (C. J. June 27 July 6.) Several attempts were made to deal with the vexed question of Church benefices. One bill was introduced on May 8th and committed on the 16th but was then apparently smothered. Another proposal was to restore Episcopalian clergy where they had been ejected, though they were not to enjoy the immediate profits; those who had replaced Episcopalians but had no living claimant against them, and those who had been presented to legal vacancies, were to have their right to their livings confirmed. This Bill was also held up by Cavalier opposition until the dissolution of the Convention, and by that time the Church had already been cleared of Baptist and Republican Independent ministers. (C. J. June 18 July 27 30 Aug 22 23 Sept. 4 ; L. J. Sept 13.) There still remained the problem of uniting Presbyterians and Episcopalians in one Church. The Presbyterians were not so rigid as their Scots brethren and assured the Anglican leaders that they were prepared to accept a compromise based on "moderate Episcopacy" and a revision of the Prayer Book. Parliament finally agreed, on Clarendon's advice, to refer the general settlement of religion to a representative conference of divines. Thus the Presbyterians, despite such ominous actions as that of the Lords in insisting on the use of the Prayer Book for their devotions and in giving orders enabling the Royalist party to eject Puritan heads and Fellows from Colleges, and despite the warnings of many of the Independents and Baptists, rushed on to their doom, for conferences ended only in Black Bartholomew's Day 1662. (Hallam,

Const.Hist.II 15-17 ; C.J.July 20 21 ; L.J.May 31 June 4 ; Price,150 - 151 ; Crosby,Hist.Baptists,I 357.)

It would be an error to think of Scotland as a united nation,for Episcopalian, Roman Catholics,Resolutioners,and Protesters,(the last at least one third of the clergy,) were all striving against each other, and a generation was growing up unfamiliar with,and in many cases indifferent towards the Covenant.There was little strong feeling for Presbyterianism north of the Tay.Resolutioners and Protesters were united in a passionate demand for "conditions," for their only hope was that Charles was a Covenanted King.But the Kirk was no longer vocal,the great Presbyterian leader Argyll was with reason chiefly interested in his own preservation,and those who were trusted most,James Sharpe and Lauderdale,had gone over to the enemy.Scotland was left to depend on the word of a Stuart,and he "forgot to reward the nation that had shed its blood for his dynasty at Worcester." There followed a period of persecution which has been compared with justice to that of "Bomba" of Naples.(Mackenzie,"Lauderdale," 196-8 ; Willcock,"A Scots Earl in Covenanting Times" Preface,ix-x,pp.89-93.)

A further problem which faced the Convention was that of the land.Those who had bought or received lands from the Republican or Protectoral governments were naturally nervous about their prospects of holding their possessions.Any wholesale return of land to former owners by act of Parliament seemed too great a demand to be made with safety by the King's friends,some of whom definitely advised"quieta non movere",or at least generous compensation.(C.Matton to Hyde,Jan 19,London,Cal.Clar.S. P.Bod.IV 523 ; The King to Mordaunt,Jan 21/31,Ibid.527 ; Hyde to Hatton, Feb.10/20,Brussels,Ibid.553 ; Mordaunt to Nicholas/?/ Feb.,Ibid.561.) Yet to legalise the existing situation was to perpetuate one of the greatest obstacles to a resumption of the ancient social organisation of the realm. The question of Church lands only accentuated the problem,for the Church as a landowner was not regarded with such favour as private landowners. Indeed the clergy do not seem to have expected a full restoration.Many members of the Convention were actively interested,and were not likely to agree to restoration of lands unless conditions were attached.(Hall-

-am, Const. Hist II 7. Many of the ex-Secluded Members, who were fairly numerous in the Convention, were holders of lands presented by the Protectoral governments. Vide "The Mystery of the Good Old Cause briefly unfolded, in a Catalogue of such Members of the late Long Parliament that held offices both civil and military contrary to the Self Denying Ordinance. Together with the sums of money and lands which they divided among themselves during their sittings, at least such as were disposed of publicly." /1660./) A bill was introduced to confirm sales of property by the Long Parliament. The Royalists were able to secure the exception of Crown lands from the measure, but the dispute over Church lands continued until the September adjournment. After the dissolution of the Convention the various parties were left to fight the matter out in the Law Courts. In the long run, all lands which had been confiscated were restored without compensation to their purchasers, or to those who had received them as gifts, but those Royalists who had been forced to sell their lands in order to meet taxation, (including the special levies upon them as "mal-ignants") had no redress. They were left to curse the Indemnity Act, and bewail, (somewhat unjustly) the ingratitude of the King.

His father's foes he doth reward,
 Preserving those who cut off 's head,
 Old Cavaliers, the Crown's best guard,
 He lets them starve for want of bread.
 Never was any King endu'd
 With so much grace and gratitude.

(Hallam, Const. Hist II 7-9 ; Guizot, R. Crom. II 231 ; C. J. May 4 June 23 July 11 ; D. N. B., "William Cavendish"; Rochester, cit. Harris, "Charles II" II 20-1.)

The land question was bound up with that of the King's revenue. The Convention boldly grappled with this problem. A bill was passed abolishing feudal dues and the Court of Wards, and in return an annual revenue for the King was fixed. As the latter was to be largely drawn from customs and excise, the squires of the Convention may be justly criticized for replacing a tax on a special class by a levy on the entire nat-

-ion. Moreover, the amount realised fell far below expectations, and was one reason for the chronic shortage of money of the Crown in the reign of Charles II. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 231 ; C.J. May 3 25, July 28 31, Aug 4 6, Sept 4, Nov 8 21 23 27, Dec 1 11 12 13 15.)

On one point the Convention failed entirely to insist upon some form of security. Ignoring the lessons the Great Rebellion should have taught them, the members never raised their voices on one subject which had so roused the Long Parliament. Either because they wished to humour Monk, or because they knew that the Army was to be disbanded speedily, they silently surrendered to the King the control over the Militia. (Hallam, Const. Hist. I 707.) On the question of the Army, however, Royalists and Presbyterians were agreed. Both parties sought to end the menace of the great standing Army. As early as May 1st, the Commons appointed a committee to confer with the City with a view to raising money for payment of Army arrears, and on September 6th Denzil Holles carried up to the Lords a bill for the speedy disbandment of the forces. Some of the King's advisers urged that some force was needed in the unsettled state of the realm, and their argument received emphasis by Venner's rising. Thus Monk's regiment of "Coldstreamers" , one regiment of Horse, and one regiment formed from the Dunkirk garrison, were retained. In 1662 the standing Army numbered only 5,000 men. (Hallam, Const. Hist. II 11-12 ; C.J. May 1 Sept 6.)

Then there was the question of Indemnity. The Earl of Northumberland pleaded for a great act of forgiveness which should include even the regicides, and Lord Fairfax urged that he was morally as guilty as the men who had signed the warrant, as he had been the general of the Army and had done nothing to save his King. (Ludlow II 267-8.) Monk was known to favour as wide an amnesty as possible, and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper inclined to the same view. (Christie, "Shaftesbury" I 238-9 ; Hutchinson's Memoirs 360.) Manchester was also on the side of leniency.

(D.N.B. "Edward Montague, 2nd Earl of Manchester.") Some regicides were members of the Convention, and Ingoldsby had made a definite contribution towards the Restoration. But the majority of the House realised that the King would give no forgiveness to those responsible for his father's

death. Though the Declaration of Breda left exceptions to be decided by Parliament, Charles II's letter had expressed the hope that if there were a crying sin, he looked to Parliament to vindicate and redeem the nation. (Vide the King's letter to the House of Commons, Appendix III.) As early as March some who had been nominated as King's Judges, including Aldermen Fowke and Atkins, secured signed statements from Henry Scobell, clerk to the Long Parliament, that they had never attended the Trial. (W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 100.) The City too, issued a solemn declaration, clearing itself of all participation in regicide and the governments which followed it. (Heath 440 ; Dr. Betts to Ormonde, May 4, Carte, Ormonde Papers II 325 ; Declaration and Vindication of the Lord Mayor, etc., C.S.P. Dom. 1659-60 423.) Some who though not regicides had taken a leading part in the Commonwealth and Protectorate also sought to ensure their safety. Johnston of Warriston made an ineffectual appeal to Sharpe to approach Monk on his behalf. (Noble, Mems. House Cromwell I 415.) Nedham and Milton went into hiding, (Masson, "Milton" V 702-3, VI 162-3.) while Lockhart wrote a letter of submission to Monk on behalf of himself and his garrison, and went into private life. (Noble, Mems. H House Cromwell I 254-5.) Some who had been honoured with Oliverian titles took steps to replace them with others of the Stuart variety. (S. Percivall to Sir J. Percivall, May 29, H. MSS. C., Rep. XVI, Egmont MSS, Vol. I, Part II, /1905/, 611-2.) The unfortunate Hesilrige went to Monk and asked him to secure indemnity for his life and estate. The General promised on condition that Hesilrige gave up all his military commands and retired to his estates. Hesilrige did so, and though later he was imprisoned in the Tower until his death, his lands passed safely to his heir. (W. Kennet, Reg. & Chron. 136 ; Hesilrige to Monk, Ap. 30, Clarke Papers, IV 267-8 ; The Duke of Albemarle, /Monk/ to Sir E. Turner, July 4, 166-, Ibid. App. D, 302-3 ; Sir A. Hesilrige's Petition for Pardon, May 1660, C.S.P. Dom. 1660-60 8 ; Noble, Mems. House Cromwell, I 405-6.) Lenthall too went to seek the all powerful General's protection, which stood him in good stead later, (Certificate that W. Lenthall, etc., Clarke Papers, IV App. A, 272.) and Hewson wrote to Monk begging him to believe that he was living quietly, and was not guilty of fomenting any disturbances.

(H. MSS. C., Rep. XV, App., Leybourne Popham MSS, /1899/, 181.) A similar letter came from Hugh Peters. (H. Peters to Monk, Ap. 24, Ibid., 179.) Francis Lassels thought it wiser to make his appeal direct to the King. (Petition of Francis Lassels, Ap. 8/18, Breda, C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 408-9.) Among those who besought pardon following the Declaration of Breda were Bulstrode Whitelocke, John Lambert, Robert Lilburne, and Nicholas Love. (C. S. P. Dom. 1659-60 445 ; C. S. P. Dom. 1660-61 8-9.) After the meeting of the Convention, St. John induced Thurloe to write to the Speaker assuring him that he, (Thurloe,) had never heard St. John approve in any way of regicide. (Thurloe to Sir H. Grimston, N. D., 1660, Thurloe S. P. VII 914-5.) The unhappy Algernon Sidney, finding that Charles had no place for such a Republican as himself, chose voluntary exile, and was destined not to return to England for some years, though when he did come he was to earn a martyr's crown in the cause of liberty. (A. Sidney to the Earl of Leicester, Copenhagen, May 28, Sydney Papers, /Blencowe/, 181-7 ; Same to Same, July 28, Ibid., 189-94 ; Harris, "Charles II" II 36 ; Robert Southwell to Sir J. Percivale, Dec. 23 1660, H. MSS. C., Rep. XVI, App., Egmont MSS, Vol. I, Part II, /1905/, 616.)

Royalist zealots preceded Parliamentary action. Lord Cottington's heir seized Founthill House, and refused admission to Bradshaw's son. Coote seized Ludlow's Irish estates, and greedy Cavaliers hastened to make arrangements for their disposal. (Ludlow II 256 267 ; Michael Boyle to Sir J. Percivale, May 29, H. MSS. C., Rep. XVI, App., Egmont MSS, Vol. I Part II, /1905/, 611.)

On May 14th Parliament ordered the arrest of all regicides, together with John Cook, (already in custody in Ireland,) Andrew Broughton, John Phelps, and Edward Dendy, who had assisted in the Trial of Charles I, the two executioners, and one Matthew, who had boasted that he had helped in the execution, and Cornet Joyce, of the Holmby House episode. Three days later the confiscation of the estates of the regicides was ordered. (C. J. May 14 17.) Commands were also given for the seizure of all Bradshaw's goods, for a thorough examination of all books and papers in the possession of John Phelps, and for the seizure of all books and papers formerly the property of Archbishop Laud, but now in the hands of Hugh Peters.

But so many enthusiasts joined voluntarily in the pillage of the regicides' goods that Parliament had to declare that such seizures were to be made only by proper officers acting on Parliamentary orders or other legal warrant. (C.J. May 16 21 29.) On May 9th the House had opened its debates on the Indemnity Bill, and it received its second reading next day. (C.J. May 9 10.) Then arose the all important question of exceptions. Some urged that all the regicides should be included in the amnesty. Of this group John Lenthall was one. He argued that those who had first drawn the sword were equally guilty with those who had caused the King's death. These courageous, and not altogether unfair, comments roused the Presbyterians, who, with their Royalist allies, were already inflamed through reading the official record of the King's Trial. An explanation was demanded, and Lenthall was solemnly rebuked by the Speaker. (C.J. May 12 ; Whitelocke, Memorials, 701 ; Hutchinson's Memoirs 367.) There were two regicides present. Ingoldsby cut a sorry figure, as he tearfully pleaded his story of Oliver's forcing his hand to sign the warrant, but Hutchinson won the respect of the House by a calm and dignified speech. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 234-6 ; Hutchinson's Memoirs 367-9. It is improbable that Hutchinson's speech was as outspoken as his Memoirs would suggest.) The supporters of complete amnesty having been defeated, various proposals were made as to the number of exceptions for life and estate, but Monk finally induced the House to settle on seven. (C.J. May 14.) On the 15th, Parliament declared four of the greatest regicides - Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton, and Pride, - guilty of High Treason. At the same time the Indemnity Bill was committed. But the Commons now found an unexpected difficulty. When, on the 18th, their votes were sent for ratification, the Peers, while including Thomlinson in the amnesty on the grounds that Charles I had recommended him to mercy in the event of a Royalist triumph, because the colonel had shown kindness to him during his captivity, objected that the Lower House was encroaching on the judicial privileges of the Lords. (C.J. May 15 ; L.J. May 18.) Futile conferences were held on the 19th and 22nd, and the Commons were compelled to suspend the consideration of exceptions for the time being. (L. J. May 19 22 ; C.J. May 19 22.) Thurloe, Desborough, Mildmay, and Harrison were

among the Puritan leaders already under arrest, and lesser persons were placed in custody for speaking against the King, or for helping regicides to flee from the country. (C.J. May 11 15 19 21 ; Ludlow II 271.) Debates on the Indemnity Bill were renewed in June, but there were long delays owing to the disputes over the persons to be excepted. Charles finally sent a message through Morrice to the Commons asking for expedition, (C.J. June 18.) and made a personal appeal to the Lords. (L.J. July 27.) It received the Royal assent on August 29th. (L.J. Aug. 29. Vide Appendix IV.)

The chief reason for the failure of the Convention to perpetuate so much of the work of the Long Parliament was the tactics of the Royalists. Realising that their day would come after Charles had secured the throne, they strove to delay political and religious reforms to which they were averse, and were sufficiently strong to be completely successful. To his private satisfaction, Charles had to give his consent to only two really important measures, the replacement of feudal dues by a fixed revenue, and the re-enactment of the fundamental laws. (Guizot, R. Crom. II 239-40.)

Many reasons have been given for the fall of Puritan rule.

Sir Charles Petrie would have us believe that it was due to Oliver's foreign policy. (C. Petrie, "The Jacobite Movement," 13.) Professor Andrews has asserted that Oliver's failure as a financier paved the way for the Restoration, but this view has been considered recently by M. P. Ashley, whose brilliant study vindicates the Protector, points out that the £2,000,000 debt was not due to extravagance, that England's financial position compared favourably with that of her Continental neighbours, and that Oliver's basic difficulty was that for political reasons he was unable to create a funded debt. During the Protectorate customs duties expanded, wages rose, and there was relatively no increase in unemployment. What did pave the way for the Restoration was the depression of 1659-1660, which was due to the political anarchy of that year rather than to Oliver's defects as a financier. (M. P. Ashley, "Financial and Commercial Policy of the Cromwellian Protectorate," 107-10 174-8.) Hallam argues that the unpopularity of Cromwell's ministers played a great part in the downfall of Puritan rule. (Hallam, Const. Hist. I 679, footnote. But vide

supra, p. 1.) Dean Hutton accuses Oliver of lack of sympathy and foresight, and adds, "It was he certainly who more than any one man was responsible for its (i. e. Puritanism's,) fall." Such a sweeping statement needs some amplification, which Dean Hutton does not give. It was Oliver's mighty personality alone which kept Puritanism dominant so long, (Vide H. Cromwell to Thurloe, June 30 1658, Thurloe S. P. VII 217 ; Thurloe to H. Cromwell, Aug 30 1658, Ibid., 363.) and it is a tribute to the great Protector that Puritanism struggled on for a whole year when the man of iron had been replaced by the men of straw. It was Puritan divisions more than any other cause which brought about the triumph of their enemies. (Morley, Oliver Cromwell, 480-1 ; Picton, Oliver Cromwell, 502.)

Thus England returned once more to her traditional form of government. In 1660 it might have appeared that the future of Protestantism and constitutional government were safe in the hands of a man like Hyde, but the future was to show that Charles II had imbibed absolutist and Roman Catholic sympathies during his exile. But the Great Rebellion had not been fought in vain. The unity of the nation on May 29th was superficial. In future England was to be divided religiously and politically. The Presbyterians were destined to join Baptists and Independents in passing through one of the most disgraceful periods of persecution in our History, but the Puritan party, in 1660 almost beaten to its knees, had still a valuable contribution to make to the country, and an influence which was to last to our own day. Protestantism, liberty, and stern morality are still ideals precious to many Englishmen. And the sons of the Cavaliers, while continuing to loathe heresy, schism, and rebellion, were ready in 1688 to join with the sons of the Roundheads, in vindicating the cause of Protestantism and Parliamentary government. (Vide Guizot, R. Crom. II 262-4.)

APPENDIX I.

DETAILS OF THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT AND OF THE CON-
-VENTION.

(The writer can only claim that the lists he has compiled are as accurate as possible with the authorities he has had at his disposal. He supposes that for an absolutely accurate list, scholars must await the publication of the final report of the Committee appointed by the House of Commons to report on the Personnel and Politics of Members, 1264-1832. In the Committee's Interim Report published in 1932 the values of various authorities is discussed and estimated on pp. 25-6. The total numbers of known returns to the Long Parliament and Convention, and a note on the membership of the Rump in 1659 are given on pp. 94-7. In Appendix vi, p. 114, the Committee reports that in both the Long Parliament and Convention the probable numbers chosen at the General Election were 90 county members, representing 51 counties; 413 borough members, representing 213 boroughs; 4 University members representing 2 Universities; making a grand total of 507 on each occasion.)

Authorities especially consulted.

Commons' Journals, vol. vii.

Old Parliamentary History, vols. ix, xii, xii, xviii, xxi, xxii.

Members of Parliament Returns, Part I, 485-98; 512-18; Index Volume xliv (Appendix), li (Corrigenda).

Carlyle, "Oliver Cromwell", vol. ii, 243-63.

Masson, "Milton", vol. v, 453-4.

Collins, Peerage, 4 vols.

Noble, "Regicides"; "Mems. House Cromwell".

Annesley, "England's Confusion" (1659.)

Prynne, "Conscientious Serious, Theological and Legal Queries..." etc.;
"A Full Declaration of the true State of the Secluded Members'
Case..." (1660).

"The Names of the Knights... etc., until July 1648" (1648)
The Lord Fleetwood's answer to Col. Morley, etc., Nov. 8th, 1659.

Dictionary of National Biography.

Key to Abbreviations used in Lists.

- A. "Recruiters", ie. not elected at General Election for Long Parliament.
- B. Royalist members of Long Parliament.
- C. Regicide members of Long Parliament.
- d. Member who died before Pride's Purge.
- K. Member who subscribed to Solemn League and Covenant, or who fought for Parliament, but whose name does not appear in any list of Secluded members or Rumpers.
- M. Doubtful-but not Royalist.
- S. Secluded Member.
- S2. Secluded member alive in 1659.
- R. Rumper.
- R2. Rumper alive in 1659. (N.B. Not merely those who took their seats during 1659.)
- X. Vide further explanatory notes at end of Lists.
- F. Double Return for Convention Parliament. (The member concerned may have sat for a while, e.g. Edmund Ludlow, but the case was finally decided against him.)

(The eleven members "impeached" by the Army in 1648 are included among the secluded members.)

SEAT.	LONG PARLIAMENT.	CONVENTION.
BEDS.	Thomas, Lord Wentworth. (called to H. of Lords 1640). Sir Oliver Luke.S. Sir Roger Burgoyne, Bart.S2.	Robert, Lord Bruce. Samuel Brown, Sergt.- at-law.
Bedford.	Sir Beauchamp St. John.S2. Sir Samuel Luke.S2. Richard Edwards.AR.	Sir Samuel Luke. Humphrey Winch.
BERKS.	Henry Marten.CR2. John Fettiplace.B. Sir Francis Pile.A. (d.1648). Philip, Earl of Pembroke.ARX. Henry Neville.AR2.	Sir Robert Pye. Richard Powell.
Abingdon.	Sir George Stonehouse.B. William Ball.A. (d.1648.) Henry Martin.AB.	Sir George Stonehouse. John Lenthall.F.
Reading.	Sir Francis Knowles, sen. Kd. Sir Francis Knowles, jun. (d.1645.) Tanfield Vachel.AM. Daniel Blagrave.ACR2.	Thomas Rich. Daniel Blagrave.

Wallingford.	Edmund Bunch. (election) Anthony Barker. (voided) Edmund Dunch. R2. Thomas Howard. AB. Robert Packer. AS2.	Hungerford Dunch (but preferred Cricklade). Thomas Saunders.
Windsor.	Sir Thomas Roe. (election) Thomas Waller. (voided) Cornelius Holland. AR2. William Taylor. AB. Richard Bramham. A. Richard Winwood. AS.	Alexander Baker. Roger Palmer. Richard Winwood. F.
BUCKS.	John Hampden. Kd. Arthur Goodwin. Md. Edmund West AR2. George Fleetwood. ACR2.	Thomas Tyrell, Sergt. - at - law. William Tyrringham.
Amersham.	Sir William Drake. S2. William Cheyne. d. Francis Drake. AS2.	Charles Cheyne. Thomas Proby.
Aylesbury.	Sir Ralph Verney. B. Sir John Pakington. B. Thomas Scott. ACR2. Simon Mayne. ACR2.	Richard Ingoldsby. Thomas Lee.
Buckingham.	Sir Peter Temple, Bart. S. Sir Alexander Denton. B. John Dormer. AR2 or AS2.	Sir Richard Temple, Bt. John Dormer.
Chipping- Wycombe.	Thomas Lane. S. Sir Edmund Verney. Bd. Richard Brown. AS2.	Edmund Petty. Richard Brown. Thomas Scott. F.
Marlow.	Gabriel Hippæley. (election) John Borlace. (voided) Bulstrode Whitlocke. AR2. Peregrine Hoby. AS2.	Peregrine Hoby. William Borlace.
Wendover.	John Hampden. (but preferred Bucks.) Sir Robert Croke. B. Thomas Fountaine. AKd. Richard Ingoldsby. ACR2. Thomas Harrison. ACR2.	Richard Hampden. John Baldwin.
CAMBS.	Sir Dudley North. R2X. Thomas Chichely. B. Francis Russell. AS2.	Thomas Wendy. Isaac Thornton.
Cambridge.	Oliver Cromwell. CRX. John Lowry. R2.	Sir Dudley North. Sir Thomas Willis.
Cambridge University.	Henry Lucas S2. Thomas Eden. Kd. Nathaniel Bacon. AS2.	General George Monk. (but preferred Devon). Thomas Crouch, A.M.
CESHIRE.	Sir William Brereton, Bt. R2. Peter Venables. B. George Booth. AS2.	Sir George Booth, Bt. Thomas Manwaring.
Chester.	Sir Thomas Smith. B. Francis Gamul. B. William Edwards. AS. John Radcliffe. AS2.	John Radcliffe. William Ince.

Cornwall.	Sir Alexander Carew.Bd. Sir Bevil Grenville.Bd. Hugh Boscawen.AS2. Nicholas Trefusis.AM.	Sir John Carew. Hugh Boscawen.
Bodmin.	John Arundell.B. Anthony Nicholls.S. Thomas Waller.AS.	Henry Roberts. John Scilly. Sir Peter Killegrew.F.
Bossiney.	Sir Christopher Yelverton.K. (d.1654). Sir John Clotworthy,Bt.(but preferred Malden.) Sir Ralph Siddenham.AB. Lionel Copley.AS2.	Francis Gerrard. Charles Pym.
Callington.	George Vane(or Fane)B. Sir Arthur Ingram.d. Thomas Dacres.AS2. Edward, Lord Clinton.AS. Carew Raleigh.AR2.	Robert Rolle. Edward Herle.(but pre- ferred Fowey).
Camelford.	Piers Edgecombe.B. William Glanville.B. William Say.ACR2.	William Cotton. Thomas Vivian. Sir Peter Killegrew.F. Henry Nichol.F. Samuel Trelawney.F.
Fowey.	Jonathan Rashleigh.B. Sir Richard Buller.d. Nicholas Gold.AR2. Gregory Clement.ACRX.	Edward Herle. John Barton.
Grampound.	William Coryton.("not admitted to sit!") James Campbell.S2. Sir John Trevor.AR2.	Hugh Boscawen.(but pre- ferred Cornwall.) Thomas Herle.
Helston.	Francis Godolphin.B. Sidney Godolphin.Bd. John Penrose.AMX. John Thomas.AS.	Francis Godolphin. Sir Peter Killegrew. Thomas Robinson.F. Anthony Rous.F. Alexander Penhillock.F. Sir John Northcott.F.
Launceston. (or Dunchevit).	William Coryton.(not duly elected.) Ambrose Manaton.B. Thomas Gawen.AS2. John Harris.AS.	Thomas Gawen. Col.John Clobery. Edward Elliott.F.
Liskeard.	John Harris.B. Joseph Jane.B. George Kekewich.AS2. Thomas Povey.AS2.	John Connock. John Robinson. Thomas Johnson.F.
E.Looe.	Francis Buller.S2. Thomas Lower.B. John Moyle.AR2.	Henry Seymour. Jonathan Trelawney. George Strelley.F. Nathaniel Moyle.F.
W.Looe.	Henry Killegrew.B. Thomas Arundell.Bd. John Arundell.AS2. Thomas Arundell.AMX.	John Buller. John Kendall.

Lostwithiel.	John Trevanion.Bd. Richard Arundell.B. Sir John Maynard.AS. Francis Holles.BS2.	John Clayton. Walter Moyle. Henry Ford.F.
Mitchell.	John Arundell.(but pref- -erred Bodmin.) Robert Holborn.AB. William Chadwell.AB. Charles,Viscount Ancram.AS2.	Thomas Carew. Heneage Finch.(but pre- -ferred Canterbury.) Humphrey Burace.F.
Newport.	John Maynard.(but pref- -erred Totnes.) Richard Edgecombe.B. William Prynne.AS2. Sir Philip Percival.AMd. Nicholas Leech.AMd.	Sir Francis Drake,Bt. William Morrice.(but pre- -ferred Plymouth.)
Penryn.	Sir John Bampffield,Bt.MX. Sir Nicholas Slanning.Bd.	Samuel Enys. James Venn.
St.Germains.	Benjamin Valentine.R. John Moyle,jun.Kd. William Scawen.AM.	John Elliot. Richard Knightley.
St.Ives.	Philip, Lord Lisle.(but pre- -ferred Yarmouth, I.O.W.) Francis Godolphin.B. Edmund Waller.AB. John Fielder.AR2. Henry Rainsford.AM.	John St.Aubin. Edward Nosworthy. James Pread.F. Peter Cely.F.
St.Mawes.	Richard Erisy.S2. George Parry.B. William Priestley.AS2.	William Tredingham. Arthur Spry. John Clobery.F.
Saltash.	George Buller.Kd. Edward Hyde.B. Thomas Thynne.AS2. Henry Willes.AS2.	Francis Buller,jun. Anthony Buller.
Tregony.	Sir Richard Vivian.B. John Polewheel.B. Sir Thomas Trevor.AS2. John Carew.ACR2.	Edward Boscawen.(but pre- -ferred Truro.) Sir John Temple. William Tredingham.F. Thomas Clarges.FX.
Truro.	John Rolle.KX. Francis Rouse.S.	Walter Vincent. Edward Boscawen. Henry Roberts.F.
CUMBERLAND.	Sir George Dalston.B. Sir Patrick Curwen.B. William Armyn.AR. Richard Tolson.AS2.	Col.Charles Howard. Sir Wilfrid Lawson.
Carlisle.	Sir William Dalston,Bt.B. Richard Barwis.Kd. Thomas Cholmley.AMX. Edward, Lord Howard of Esc- -rick.ARX.	William Brisco. Jeremy Tolhurst.
Cockermouth.	Sir John Hipplesley.KX. Sir John Fenwick.(but pre- -ferred Northumberland.) Sir Thomas Sandford.(not duly elected).Francis Allen. AR.	Richard Tolson. Wilfrid Lawson.

DERBS.	Sir John Curzon, Bt. S2. Sir John Coke. KX.	Henry, Viscount Mansfield/ John Ferrers.
Derby.	William Allestre. B. Nathaniel Hallows. R2. Thomas Gell. AS.	John Dalton. Roger Allestre.
DEVON.	Thomas Wise. d. Edward Seymour. B. Sir Samuel Rolle. AMd. Sir Nicholas Martin. AS2. William Morrice. AS2.	General George Monk. Sir John Northcott, Bt.
Ashburton.	Sir Edmund Fowel. S2. Sir John Northcott, Bt. S2.	Sir William Courtney. John Fowel.
Barnstaple.	George Peard. Kd. Richard Ferrers. B. Philip Skippon. AR2. John Dodderidge. AS.	John Rolle. Nicholas Dennis.
Beer-Alston.	Sir Thomas Cheeke. (but pre- ferred Harwich.) William Strode. Kd. Sir Hugh Pollard. AB. Charles Pym. AS2. Sir Francis Drake, Bt. AS2.	George Howard. (but pre- ferred Tavistock.) John Maynard. Sir Francis Drake, Bt. F.
Dartmouth. (with Clifton & Hardness.)	Samuel Brown. S2. Arthur Upton. d. Roger Matthews. AB. Thomas Boone. AR2.	John Hale. John Frederick.
Exeter.	Simon Snow. S. Robert Walker. B. Samuel Clark. AR.	John Maynard, Sergt. -at- Law. Thomas Bampffield. Richard Ford. F.
Honiton.	Walter Young. MX. Sir William Poole. B. Charles Vaughan. AS.	Sir John Young. Samuel Serle.
Okehampton.	Laurence Whitaker. KX. Edward Thomas. S2.	Edward Wise. Josias Calmady. Robert Reynolds. F.
Plymouth.	Sir John Young. S2. Robert Trelawney. B. John Whaddon. AS.	Samuel Trelawney. William Morrice. Edmund Fowel. F.
Plympton.	Michael Oldsworth. (but pre- ferred Salisbury.) Sir Nicholas Slanning. (but preferred Penryn.) Hugh Potter. AB. Sir Thomas Hele. AB. Sir Richard Strode. AM. Christopher Martin. AR2.	William Strode. Christopher Martin.
Tavistock.	William, Lord Russell. (Earl of Bedford, 1641). John Pym. Kd. John Russell. AB. Edmund Fowel. AS2. Elizeus Crynes. AS2.	William Russell. George Howard. Elizeus Crynes. F.

Tiverton.	Peter St.Hill.B. George Hartnoll.B. John Elford.AMX. Robert Shapcot.AS2.	Thomas Bampffield.(but preferred Exeter.) Robert Shapcot.
Totnes.	Oliver St.John.R2. John Maynard.S2.	Thomas Chase. Thomas Clifford.
DORSET.	George, Lord Digby.(created peer in father's lifetime 1641.) Richard Rogers.Bd. John Brown.AK. Sir Thomas Trenchard.AM.	John Fitzjames. Robert Coker.
Bridport.	Giles Straggways.BX. Roger Hill.R2. Thomas Celye.AS2.	John Drake. Henry Henly.
Corfe Castle.	Sir Francis Windebank. (fled 1640.) John Borlace.AB. Giles Green.S. Francis Chettle.AMX.	Ralph Banks. John Tregonwell.
Dorchester.	Denzil Holles.S2. Dennis Bond.R.	Denzil Holles. John Whiteway.
Lyme Regis.	Edmund Prideaux.R2. (d.1659.) Richard Rose.KX. Edmund Hudson.AM.	Walter Young. Thomas Moor.(but preferred Heytesbury.)
Melcombe-Regis.	Sir Gerrard Napier.B. Richard King.B. William Sydenham, jun.AR2. John Bond.AMX.	Henry Weltham. Peter Middleton. Samuel Bond.F.
Poole.	John Pyne.R2. William Constantine.B. George Skutt.AS2.	Sir Walter Erle. George Cooper.
Shaftesbury.	Samuel Turner.B. William Whitaker.d. Col.Starre.AMd. John Fry.ARX. John Bingham.AR2.	Thomas Grove. James Baker.
Wareham.	John Trenchard.R2. Thomas Erle.S.	George Pitt. Robert Colleford.
Weymouth.	Sir Walter Erle.S2. Sir John Strangways.B. Matthew Allen.AS.	General Edward Montague. (but preferred Dover.) Sir William Penn.
ESSEX.	Robert Rich.(created peer in father's lifetime, 1640.) Sir William Masham, Bart.R. Sir Martin Lumley.AS.	John Bramston. Edward Turner.
Colchester.	Harbottle Grimston.S2. Sir Thomas Barrington.Kd. John Sayer.AMX.	Sir Harbottle Grimston, Bt. John Shaw.
Harwich.	Sir Thomas Cheeke.KX. Sir Harbottle Grimston, Bt. Kd. Capel Luckyn.AS2.	Capel Luckyn. Henry Wright.

Maldon.	Sir Henry Mildmay.R2. Sir John Clotworthy.S2.	Tristram Conyers. Sir Henry Mildmay.(but declared void.) Edward Harris.F.(but re- elected.)
GLOUCESTER.	Nathaniel Stephens.S2. John Dutton.B. Sir John Seymour.AS2.	Sir Matthew Hale. Edward Stephens.
Bristol.	Humphrey Hooke. Richard Long. (Both above declared incapable as monopolists.) John Glanville.AB. John Taylor.ABd. Richard Aldworth.AMX. Luke Hodges.AS.	John Stephens. John Knight,sen.
Cirencester.	Sir Theobald Gorges.B. John George.B. Sir Thomas Fairfax.AR2. Nathaniel Rich.AR2.	Thomas Master. Henry Powell.
Gloucester.	Thomas Pury.R2. Henry Brett.B. John Lenthall.AR2.	Edward Massey. James Stephens.
Tewkesbury.	Sir Robert Cook.dX. Sir Edward Alford.X. John Craven.X.(created peer 1642.) Edward Stephens.Ad. John Stephens.AS2.	Henry Capel. Richard Dawdeswell.
HAMPSHIRE.	Sir Henry Wallop.d. Richard Whithead.S2. Richard Norton.AS2.	Richard Norton. John Bulkeley.
Andover.	Sir Henry Rainsford.d. Robert Wallop.R2. Henry Vernon.("not duly elected.") Sir William Waller.AS2.	John Trott. John Collins.
Christchurch.	Henry Tulse.d. Matthew Davis.B. John Kemp.AMX. Richard Edwards.AMX.	John Hildesley. Henry Tulse.
Lymington.	John Button.S2. Henry Campion.KX.	John Button. Henry Bromfield.
Newport. (I.O.W.)	Lucius Cary,Viscount Falkland.B. Sir Henry Worsley,Bt.S2. William Stephens.AMX.	Robert Dillington. William Oglander.
Newtown. (I.O.W.)	Sir John Meux.B. Nicholas Weston.B. Sir John Barrington,Bt.AS2. John Bulkeley.AS2.	Sir John Barrington,Bt. Sir Henry Worsley,Bt.
Petersfield.	Sir William Lewis.S2. Sir William Uvedale.B.	Thomas Cole. Arthur Bold.

Portsmouth.	Henry Percy. (but preferred Northumberland.) George Goring. B. Edward Dowse. AKdX. Edward Boote. AMX. John Booth. AS. Richard Cromwell. AR2.	Richard Norton. (but preferred Hampshire.) Henry Whithead.
Southampton.	George Gallop. KX. Edward Exton. KX.	William Stanley. Robert Richbell.
Stockbridge.	William Heveningham. R2. William Jephson. SX.	Francis Rivet. Sir John Evelyn.
Whitchurch.	Sir Thomas Jervoise. KX. Richard Jervoise. d. Thomas Hussey. AMX.	Robert Wallop. (expelled July 11 1660.) Giles Hungerford.
Winchester.	John Lisle. R2. Sir William Ogle. B. Nicholas Love. AR2.	Thomas Cole. (but preferred Petersfield.) John Hooke.
Yarmouth. (I. O. W.)	Philip, Lord Lisle. R2. Sir John Leigh. S2.	Sir George Leigh. Richard Lucy.
HEREFORD.	Sir Robert Harley. S. Fitzwilliams Coningsby. (expelled as monopolist.) Humphrey Coningsby. AB. Edward Harley. S2.	Edward Harley. William Hinson. X.
Hereford.	Richard Weaver. d. Richard Seabourne. B. James Scudamore. AB. Edmund Weaver. AR2. Bennet Hoskins. AS2.	Roger Bosworth. Herbert Westrailing.
Leominster.	Walter Kirle. B. Sampson Eure. B. John Birch. AS2.	John Birch. Edward Pitt.
Weobley.	Arthur Jones, Viscount Ranelagh. B. William Tomkins. d. Thomas Tomkins. AB. Robert Andrews. AR2. William Crowther. AS2.	James Pitts. Richard Weston. (declared void.)
HERTS.	Sir William Lytton. S2. Arthur Capel. (created peer 1641.) Sir Thomas Dacres. AS2.	Rowland Lytton. Henry Caesar.
Hertford.	Charles, Viscount Cranbourne. KX. Sir Thomas Fanshawe. B. William Leman. AR2.	James Cooper. Arthur Spark.
St. Albans.	Edward Wingate. S2. Sir John Jennings. d. Richard Jennings. AS2.	Richard Jennings. William Foxwist. Col. Alban Cox. F.
HUNTS.	Sir Sidney Montague. B. Valentine Wauton. (or Walton.) CR2. Edward Montague. AR2.	Robert, Lord Mandeville. Henry Cromwell.

Huntingdon.	George, Lord Montague.S2. Edward Montague.B. (succeeded as Lord Montague of Boughton 1644.) Abraham Burrell.AKX. Thomas Temple.AS2.	John Bernard. Nicholas Pedley.
KENT.	Sir Edward Dering, Bart.B. Sir John Colepepper.B. (created peer 1644.) Augustine Skinner.AR2. John Boys.AS2.	Sir John Tufton. Sir Edward Dering, Bt.
Canterbury.	Sir Edward Masters.d. John Nutt.R2.	Sir Anthony Archer. Heneage Finch.
Queenborough.	Sir Edward Hales, Bt.B. William Harrison.B. Sir Michael Livesey.ACR2. Augustine Garland.ACR2.	James Herbert. Sir William Wheeler.
Maidstone.	Sir Humphrey Tufton.S2. Sir Francis Barnham.Kd. Thomas Twisden.X.	Thomas Twisden. Robert Barnham.
Rochester.	Richard Lee.S2. Sir Thomas Walsingham.R2.	John Marsham. Peter Petit.
LANCS.	Sir Ralph Ashton, Bart.KX. Roger Kirkby.B. Sir Richard Houghton, Bart.AS2.	Sir Robert Bendloes. Roger Bradshaigh.
Clitheroe.	Ralph Ashton.S2. Richard Shuttleworth.MX.	Sir Ralph Ashton, Bt. William Hulton.
Lancaster.	Sir John Harrison.B. Sir Thomas Fanshawe.B. Sir Robert Bendloes.AS2. Thomas Fell.AR.	Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Bt. William West.
Liverpool.	John Moore.CR. Sir Richard Wynne, Bt.d. Thomas Birch.AR2.	William Stanley. Gilbert Ireland.
Newton.	William Ashurst.KX. Peter Legh.d. Sir Roger Palmer.AB. Peter Brooke.AS2.	Richard Legh. William Banks, jr.
Preston.	Richard Shuttleworth.S2. Thomas Standish.d. William Langton.AMX.	Richard Standish. Alexander Rigby. (declared void.)
Wigan.	Alexander Rigby.R. Orlando Bridgeman.B. John Holcroft.AS.	William Gardiner. Hugh Forth. (declared void.)
LEICESTER.	Henry de Grey, Lord Ruthen. (succeeded as Earl of Kent 1643.) Sir Arthur Hesilrige, Bt.R2. Henry Smyth.ACR2.	Thomas Merry. Jathew Babinton.
Leicester.	Thomas, Lord Grey of Groby.CR. Thomas Cook.B. Peter Temple.ACR2.	John Grey. Thomas Armstrong.

LINCS.	Sir John Wray, Bt. S. Sir Edward Ayscough. S.	Edward Rossiter. Sir George Saunderson, Bt.
Boston.	Sir Anthony Irby. S2. William Ellis. R2.	Sir Anthony Irby. Thomas Hatcher.
Grantham.	Thomas Hussey. Henry Pelham. S2. Sir William Armyn, Bt. AKX.	Thomas Skipworth. John Newton. William Ellis. F.
Grimsby.	Sir Christopher Wray. Kd. Gervase Holles. B. William Wray. AS2. Edward Rossiter. AS2.	William Wray. Edward King.
Lincoln.	Thomas Grantham. KX. John Broxholme. d. Thomas Lister. AR2.	John Monson. Thomas Meeres.
Stamford.	Thomas Hatcher. S2. Geoffrey Palmer. B. John Weaver. AR2.	John Hatcher. Francis Wingfield. John Weaver. F.
MIDDLESEX.	Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Bt. S2. Sir John Franklyn. Kd. Sir Edward Spencer. A.	Sir William Waller. Lancelot Leke.
London.	Mathew Cradock. d. Sir Thomas Soame. S2. Isaac Pennington. R2. Samuel Vassal. S2. John Venn. ACR.	William Wilde. Richard Brown. John Robinson. William Vincent.
Westminster.	John Glynne. S2. William Bell. S2.	Sir Gilbert Gerrard. Thomas Clarges.
MONMOUTH.	Sir Charles Williams. d. William Herbert. Bd. John Herbert. AS2. Henry Herbert. AS2.	Henry Herbert. William Morgan.
Monmouth.	Thomas Trevor. B. William Watkins. B. Thomas Pury, jun. AR2.	Sir Trevor Williams, Bt.
NORFOLK.	Sir John Potts, Bt. Kd. Sir Edward Mountford. d. Sir John Hobart. AKd. Sir John Palgrave, Bt. AS2.	Sir Horatio Townshend, Bt. Thomas Richardson.
Castle Rising.	Sir John Holland, Bt. S2. Sir Christopher Hatton. (but preferred Higham Ferrers.) Sir Robert Hatton. AB. John Spelman. AS2.	Sir John Holland, Bt. John Spelman.
Lynn Regis.	Thomas Toll. X. John Percival. d. Edmund Hudson. AB. William, Earl of Salisbury. AR2X.	Sir Ralph Hare, Bt. Edward Walpole.
Norwich.	Richard Harman. Kd. Richard Catalyn. B. Erasmus Earle. AR2. Thomas Atkins. AR2.	William Barnham. Thomas Rant.

Thetford.	Sir Thomas Woodhouse, Bt. KX. Framlingham Gawdy. S.	Sir Philip Woodhouse. Robert Paston.
Yarmouth.	Miles Corbet. CR2. Edward Owner. KX.	Sir John Potts, Bt. Sir William D'Oyley. Sir John Palgrave, Bt. F. Miles Corbet. F.
NORTHANTS.	Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bt. R2. Sir John Dryden, Bt. KX.	Sir Henry Yelverton, Bt. John Crewe.
Brackley.	John Crewe. S2. Sir Martin Lister. S2.	Thomas Crewe. William Lisle.
Higham Ferrers.	Sir Christopher Hatton. B. (created peer 1643.) Edward Harvey. M.	Sir Thomas Dacres. Edward Harvey.
Northampton.	Zouche Tate. KX. Richard Knightley. S2.	Sir John Norwich. Richard Rainsford.
Peterborough.	William Fitzwilliams. S. (succeeded as Viscount Fitzwilliams in Irish peerage, 1643.) Sir Robert Napier, Bt. S2.	Charles, Lord de le Spen- -cer. Humphrey Orme. Francis St. John. F.
NORTHUMBER- LAND.	Henry Percy. B. (created peer 1643.) Sir William Widdrington. Bd. (created peer 1643.) Sir John Fenwick. AX. William Fenwick. AMX.	Sir William Fenwick, Bt. Ralph Delaval.
Berwick.	Sir Edward Osborne. (resigned.) Sir Thomas Widdrington. R2. Robert Scawen. AS2.	Sir Thomas Widdrington. (but preferred York.) John Rushworth.
Morpeth.	John Fenwick. B. Sir William Camaby. B. John Fiennes. AS2X. George Fenwick. AR.	Thomas Widdrington. Col. Ralph Knight.
Newcastle-on- Tyne.	Sir John Melton. d. John Blakiston. CR. Sir Henry Anderson. AB. Henry Warmouth. (election declared void 1647.) Robert Ellison. AS2.	Robert Ellison. William Calverley.
NOTTS.	Sir Thomas Hutchinson. d. Robert Sutton. B. (created peer 1645.) John Hutchinson. ACR2. Gervase Pigot. AR2.	William Pierrepoint. Gilbert, Lord Houghton.
Nottingham.	William Stanhope. B. Gilbert Millington. CR2. Francis Pierrepoint. AX.	Arthur Stanhope. John Hutchinson. (expelled 9 June 1660.)
E. Retford.	Sir Gervase Clifton. B. Charles, Viscount Mansfield. B. Sir William Lister. AS2. Francis Thornhaugh. AMX. Edward Neville. AR.	William Hickman. Wentworth Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare.

OXFORD- SHIRE.	Thomas, Viscount Wenman.S2. James Fiennes.S2.	Thomas, Viscount Wenman. James Fiennes.
Banbury.	Nathaniel Fiennes.S2	Sir Anthony Cope, Bt.
Oxford.	Charles, Lord Howard. B. (created Lord Howard of Charlton, in father's lifetime, 1640.) John Whistler. B. John Smith. AB. John D'Oyley. AS2. John Nixon. AS2.	Henry Cary, Viscount Falkland. John Haxley.
Oxford University.	Sir Thomas Roe. B. John Selden. KX.	Thomas Clayton. John Mills.
Woodstock.	William Herbert. (but pre- ferred Monmouthshire.) William Lenthall. R2. Sir Robert Pye. AS2.	Sir Thomas Spencer, Bt. Edward Atkins.
RUTLAND.	Baptist Noel. B. Sir Guy Palmes. B. Sir James Harrington. AR2. Thomas Wayte. ACR2.	Philip Sherard. Samuel Brown.
SHROPSHIRE.	Sir Richard Newport. B. (created peer 1642.) Sir Richard Lee, Bt. B. Sir John Corbet. AS2. Humphrey Edwards. ACR.	Sir William Whitmore, Bt. Henry Vernon.
Bishops Castle.	Sir Robert Howard. B. Richard Moor. Kd. Isaiah Thomas. AS2. John Corbet. AR2.	William Oakley. Edmund Waringe.
Bridgenorth.	Sir Thomas Whitmore. B. Sir Edward Acton. B. Robert Clive. AS2. Robert Charlton. AMX.	Walter Acton. John Bennett.
Ludlow.	Charles Baldwin. B. Ralph Goodwin. B. Thomas Mackworth. AMX. Thomas Moor. AMX.	Timothy Lyttleton. Job Charlton.
Shrewsbury.	Francis Newport. B. William Spurstow. Bd. Thomas Hunt. AS2. William Masham. AMX.	Samuel Jones. Thomas Jones.
Wenlock.	William Pierrepoint. S2. Thomas Lyttleton. B. Sir Humphrey Briggs. S2.	Sir Francis Lawley, Bt. Thomas Whitmore.
SOMERSET.	Sir John Paulet. B. Sir John Stawell. B. George Horner. AS2. (election James Harrington. (declared void but Horner re-elected.) John Harrington. AX.	George Horner. Hugh Smith.
Bath.	William Bassett. B. Alexander Popham. R2. James Ash. AR2.	Alexander Popham. William Prynne.

Bridgewater.	Sir Peter Wroth.Kd. Edmund Wyndham.(expelled as monopolist.) Thomas Smith.AB. Sir Thomas Wroth.AR2. Robert Blake.AR.	Sir Thomas Wroth. Francis Rolle.
Ilchester.	Sir Henry Berkeley.(election Robert Hunt.B.(voided but Hunt re-elected.) Edward Phillips.AB. William Strode.AS2. Thomas Hodges.AR.	Robert Hunt. Henry Dunster.
Minehead.	Sir Francis Popham.KdX. Alexander Luttrell.d. Edward Popham.AR. Walter Strickland.AR2.	Francis Luttrell. Charles Pym.
Milborne.	George, Lord Digby.(pre- ferred Dorset.) Edward Kirton.B. John Digby.AB. Thomas Grove.AS2. William Carew(or Carent.) AS.	William Milborne. Michael Mallet.
Taunton.	George Searle.R. Sir William Portman,Bt.Bd. John Palmer.AR2.	William Wyndham. Thomas Gorges.
Wells.	Sir Ralph Hopton.B.(created peer 1642). Sir Edward Rodney.B. Lislebone Long.AR.(d.Mar.1659) Clement Walker.AS.	Thomas White. Henry Bull.
STAFFS.	Sir William Bowyer.d. Sir Edward Lyttleton,Bt.B. Sir Harvey Bagot.AB. Sir Richard Skeffington.Ad. John Bowyer.AS2. Thomas Crompton.AM.	Edward Bagot. William Snead.
Litchfield.	Sir Walter Devereux.d. Michael Noble.KX. Sir Richard Cave.AB. Michael Biddulph.AS.	Michael Biddulph. Thomas Manners.
Newcastle- under- Lyme.	Sir John Merrick.S. Sir Richard Leveson.B. Samuel Terrick.AS2.	John Bowyer. Samuel Terrick.
Stafford.	Ralph Snead, jun.B. Richard Weston.B. John Swynfen.AS2. Edward Leigh.AS.	Sir Charles Wolseley,Bt. John Swynfen.
SUFFOLK.	Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston. K.(d.1653.) Sir Philip Parker.AS2.	Sir Henry Felton,Bt. Henry North.
Aldeburgh.	William Rainsborough.d. Alexander Bence.AS2. Squire Bence.AS2.	Robert Brook. Thomas Bacon.

Bury St. Edmunds.	Sir Thomas Jermyn.B. Thomas Jermyn.B. Sir William Spring,Bt.AS. Sir Thomas Barnardiston.AS2.	Sir Henry Crofts. Sir John Duncombe. Thomas Chaplin.F. Thomas Clarke.F.
Dunwich.	Sir Anthony Bedingfield.KX. Henry Coke.B. Robert Brewster.AR2.	John Rous. Henry Bedingfield.
Eye.	Sir Roger North.S. Sir Frederick Cornwallis.B. Morris Barrow.AS2.	Charles Cornwallis. George Reeve.
Ipswich.	John Gourdon.R2. William Cage.Kd. Francis Bacon.AS2.	Nathaniel Bacon. Francis Bacon.
Orford.	Sir William Playters,Bt.S2. Sir Charles le Gros.MX.	Walter Devereux. Allan Broderick.
Sudbury.	Sir Symonds d'Ewes,Bt.S. Sir Robert Crane,Bt.d. Brampton Gourdon.AM.	John Gourdon. Joseph Brand. Robert Cordel.F.
SURREY.	Sir Richard Onslow.S2. Sir Ambrose Brown,Bt.S2.	Francis Aungier, Lord Langford. Daniel Harvey.
Bletchingley.	Sir John Evelyn.S2. Edward Byshe, jun.S2.	Sir John Evelyn. John Goodwyn.
Gatton.	Sir Samuel Owfield.d. Thomas Sandys.S.(double - Sanders.(return.Sanders not allowed to sit.) William Owfield.AS.	Thomas Turgis. William Owfield. Roger James. Robert Wood. (all declared void.)
Guildford.	Sir Robert Parkhurst.KdX. George Abbot.d.(attempted to resign 1641 but not allowed.) Nicholas Stoughton.AMd.	Sir Richard Onslow. Arthur Onslow.
Haslemere.	Sir John Jaques,Bt. Sir Poynings More,Bt.d. John Goodwyn.AR2.	John Westbrook. Richard West.
Reigate.	William, Viscount Monson.R2. Sir Thomas Bludworth.B. George Evelyn.AS2.	John Hele. Edward Thurland.
Southwark.	Edward Bagshaw.B. John White.Kd. George Thompson.AR2. George Snelling.AS.	John Langham. Thomas Bludworth.
SUSSEX.	Sir Thomas Pelham,Bt.S. Anthony Stapley.CR.	Sir John Pelham. Henry Goring.
Arundel.	Henry Garton.d. Sir Edward Alford.B. John Downes.ACR2. Herbert Hay.AS.	Roger, Lord Broghill. Henry, Viscount Falk- -land.(preferred Oxford City.)

Bramber.	Sir Thomas Bowyer, Bt. B. Sir Edward Bishop. (not duly elected.) Arthur Onslow. AS2. James Temple. ACR2.	John Byne. Edward Eversfield.
Chichester.	Christopher Lewkenor. B. Sir William Morley. B. Sir John Temple. AS2. Henry Peck. AS2.	Henry Peckham. John Farrington. William Cawley. F.
E. Grinstead.	Richard, Lord Buckhurst. B. Robert Goodwyn. R2. Robert Pickering. (election declared void.) John Baker. AR2.	Marmaduke Gresham. George Courthop.
Horsham.	Thomas Middleton. S2. Hall Ravenscroft. S2.	Thomas Middleton. Hall Ravenscroft.
Lewes.	Herbert Morley. R2. James Rivers. d. Henry Shelley. AMX.	John Staple. Nisel Rivers.
Midhurst.	William Cawley. CR2. - Chaworth. (not duly elected.) Thomas May. AB. Sir Gregory Norton, Bt. ACR.	William Willoughby. John Steward.
Shoreham.	John Alford. S2. William Marlot. d. Herbert Springet. AS2.	Herbert Springet. Edward Blake.
Steypning.	Richard, Lord Buckhurst. (pre- ferred E. Grinstead.) Thomas Leeds. B. Sir Thomas Fernfold. ABd. Edward Apsley. AR. Herbert Borde. AMX.	Henry Goring. (preferr- ed Sussex.) John Fagg.
WARWICK.	James, Lord Compton. B. (elec- tion voided but Compton re-elected.) Richard Shuckburgh. B. Sir John Burgoyne, Bt. AS2. Thomas Boughton. AS2.	George Brown. Thomas Archer.
Coventry.	John Barker. M. Sinson Norton. d. William Jesson. AKX.	John Beake. Richard Hopkins. (declared void.)
Tamworth.	William Strode. (preferred Beer Alston.) Ferdinando Stanhope. B. Sir Peter Wentworth. AR2. George Abbot. AMX.	Richard Newdigate. Thomas Fox.
Warwick.	Sir Thomas Lucy. d. William Purefoy. CR2. Godfrey Bosville. AR.	Clement Throckmorton. John Rous.
WESTMORE- -LAND.	Sir Philip Musgrave, Bt. B. Sir Henry Bellingham, Bt. B. James Bellingham. AMX. Henry Lawrence. AS2.	Sir John Lowther, Bt. Sir Thomas Wharton.

Appleby.	Richard Boyle, Viscount Dun- -garvon. B. Sir John Brooke, B. (created peer 1644.) Richard Salway. AR2. Henry Ireton. ARC.	Sir Henry Cholmley. Christopher Clapham.
WILTSHIRE.	Sir James Thynne. B. Sir Henry Ludlow. Kd. James Herbert. AS2. Edmund Ludlow. ACR2.	Sir Anthony A. Cooper. John Earnley.
Calne.	Hugh Rogers. KX. George Low. B. Rowland Wilson. AS.	Edward Bainton. William Ducket.
Chippenham.	Sir Edward Bainton. KX. Sir Edward Hungerford. KX. William Eyre. AR2.	Edward Hungerford. Edward Poole.
Cricklade.	Robert Jenner. S. Thomas Hodges. S2.	Hungerford Dunch. Nevil Maskeline.
Devizes.	Edward Bainton. S2. Robert Nichols. R2.	William Lewis. Robert Aldworth. John Norden. F.
Downton.	William Herbert. (but pre- -ferred Monmouth.) Sir Edward Griffth. B. Sir Anthony A. Cooper. AR2X. Richard Gorges. A. Alexander Thistlethwaite. AS2.	Giles Eyre, jun. John Elliot. Thomas Fitzjames. F. William Coles. F.
Great Bedwin.	Sir Walter Smith. B. Sir Richard Harding. B. Henry Hungerford. AS2. Edmund Harvey. AR2.	Robert Spencer. Thomas Gape. Sir Walter St. John, Bt. F. Sir Ralph Verney. F.
Heytesbury.	Thomas Moor. S2. Edward Ashe. R.	Thomas Moor. John Joliffe.
Hindon.	Robert Reynolds. R2. Sir Miles Fleetwood. Kd. Thomas Bennet. Ad. Edmund Ludlow. AX or George How. A.	Sir Thomas Thynne. George Grobham How. Edmund Ludlow. F.
Ludgershall.	William Ashburnham. B. Sir John Evelyn. AS2. Walter Long. AS2.	William Prynne. (but pre- -ferred Bath.) William Thomas. Sir John Evelyn. F.
Malmesbury.	Sir Neville Poole. S2. Anthony Hungerford. B. Sir John Danvers. ARC.	Robert Danvers. Sir Francis Henry Lee.
Marlborough.	Sir Francis Seymour. (cre- -ated peer 1640.) John Franklyn. d. Philip Smith. AR2. Charles Fleetwood. AR2.	Henry Hungerford. Jeffrey Daniel.
Old Sarum.	Edward Herbert. (called as Attorney General to assist in House of Lords.	Seymour Bowman. John Norden. Algernon Cecil. F.

Old Sarum. (ctd.)	Robert Cecil.R. Sir William Saville.AB. Roger Kirkham.Ad. Sir Richard Lucy,Bt.AR2.	
Salisbury.	Michael Oldsworth.R2. Robert Hyde.B. John Dove.AR2.	Edward Tooker. Henry Eyre.
Westbury.	William Wheeler.S2. John Ash.R.	Richard Lewes. William Bruncker.
Wilton.	Sir Henry Vane,(the elder.) R. Sir Benjamin Rudyard.S.	John Swanton. (declared) William Hughes.(void.)
Wooton - Bassett.	Edward Poole.S2. William Pleydall.B. Edward Massey.AS2.	John Pleydall. Henry, Lord Herbert.(but preferred Monmouth.)
WORCESTER- SHIRE.	John Wylde.R2. Humphrey Salway.R.	Henry Bromley. John Talbot.
Bewdley.	Sir Henry Herbert.B. Daniel Dobins.AM or William Hopkins.A. Nicholas Lechmere.AR2.	Thomas Foley.
Droitwich.	Endymion Porter.B. Samuel Sandys.B. Edward Wylde.AR. Thomas Rainsborough.AKd. George Wylde.AR.	Samuel Sandys. Thomas Coventry.
Evesham.	Richard Cresswell.X. William Sandys.(expelled as monopolist,1640.) John Coventry.AB. Samuel Gardiner.AS2.	Sir Thomas Rous,Bt. John Egiocke.
Worcester.	John Cowcher.B. John Nash.S2.	Thomas Street. Thomas Hall.
YORKSHIRE.	Ferdinand, Lord Fairfax.Kd. Henry Bellasis.B.	Thomas, Lord Fairfax. John Dawnay.
Aldborough.	Richard Aldburgh.B. Sir Robert Strickland.B. Thomas Scott.AMd. Brian Stapylton.AMX. James Chaloner.AR2.	Solomon Swale. Francis Goodricke.
Beverley.	Sir John Hotham,Bt.B. Michael Wharton.B. John Nelthorp.AS2. James Nelthorp.AR2.	Sir John Hotham,Bt. Colonel Hugh Bethell.(pre- ferred Heydon.)
Boroughbridge.	Sir Thomas Mauleverer,Bt.RC. Sir Philip Stapylton.d. Henry Stapylton.AS2.	Conyers D'Arcy. Henry Stapylton.
Heydon.	Sir William Strickland.R2. John Alured.RC.	Col.Hugh Bethell. John Clobery.(preferred Launceston.)

Hull.	Sir John Lister.d. Sir Henry Vane the Young- -er.R2. Peregrine Pelham.ARC.	John Ramsden. Andrew Marvell.
Knaresbor- -ough.	Sir Henry Slingsby,Bt.B. Henry Benson.(expelled for selling protections to per- -sons not his menial servants.) William Deerlove.A.(declared void.) Sir William Constable,Bt.ARC. Thomas Stockdale.AS2.	William Stockdale. Henry Bethell.
Malton.	Thomas Heblethwaite.B. Sir Henry Cholmley.S2X. Richard Darley.AR2.	Philip Howard. Thomas Heblethwaite.
Northaller- -ton.	John Wastell.X. Henry Darley.R2.	Francis Lassels.(expelled June 9.) Thomas Lassels.
Pontefract.	Sir George Wentworth of Wooley,Bart.B. Sir George Wentworth of Woodhouse,Bart.B. William White.AR2. Henry Arthington.AS2.	Sir George Savile,Bt. William Lowther. John Hewley.F. Lionel Copley.F.
Richmond.	Sir William Pennyman,Bt.B. Sir Thomas Danby.B. Thomas Chaloner.ACR2. Francis Thorpe.AMX.	James D'Arcy. Sir Christopher Wyvill,Bt.
Ripon.	Sir John Mallory.B. William Mallory.B. Miles Moody.AMd. Sir Charles Egerton.AS2. Sir John Bouchier.ACR2.	Henry Arthington. Edmund Jennings. John Lambert.F.
Scarborough.	Sir Hugh Cholmley.B. John Hotham.B. Luke Robinson.AR2. Sir Matthew Boynton,Bt.Ad. John Anlaby.AR2.	William Thompson. Luke Robinson.(discharged June 21.)
Thirsk.	John Bellasis.B.(created peer 1644.) Sir Thomas Ingram.B. Francis Lassels.AR2. William Ayscough.AS2.	Barrington Bouchier. William Stanley.(preferred Liverpool.) Thomas Harrison.F.
York.	Sir William Allanson.K. Thomas Hoyle.KX.	Sir Thomas Widdrington. Metcalf Robinson.

T H E C I N Q U E P O R T S .

Dover.	Sir Peter Hayman.d. Sir Edward Boys.Kd. Benjamin Weston.AR2. John Dixwell.ACR2.	General Edward Montague. Arnold Braimes.
Hastings.	John Ashburnham.B. Sir Thomas Eversfield.B. John Pelham.AS2. Roger Gratwick.AMX.	Denny Ashburnham. Nicholas Delves.

Hythe.	Sir Henry Haymah, Bt. KX. John Harvey. Kd. Thomas Westrow. AX.	Philip, Viscount Strang- -ford. Phineas Andrews.
Romney.	Philip Warwick. (but pref- -erred Radnor.) Sir Norton Knatchbull, Bt. B. (loyalist but took no active part.) Thomas Webb. A. (expelled as monopolist 1641.) Richard Brown. AS2.	Sir Norton Knatchbull, Bt. John Knatchbull.
Rye.	Sir John Jacob. (expelled as monopolist, 1640.) John White. B. William Hay. AR2. John Fagg. AR2.	Herbert Morley. William Hay.
Sandwich.	Sir Edward Parteriche, Bt. S2. Sir Thomas Peyton, Bart. B. Hon. Charles Rich. AS2.	Henry Oxenden. James Thurbane.
Seaford.	Sir Thomas Parker. S2. Francis Gerrard. S2.	Sir Thomas Dike. George Parker.
Winchelsea.	Sir Nicholas Crispe. (ex- -pelled as monopolist, 1640.) Sir John Finch. d. William Smith. AB. Henry Oxenden. AS2. Samuel Gott. AS2.	William Howard. Samuel Gott.
W A L E S .		
ANGLESEY.	John Bodville. B. Richard Wood. A.	Viscount Buckley.
Beaumaris.	John Griffth. Bd. William Jones. AS2.	Griffth Bodurda.
BRECON.	William Morgan. Bd. Col. Philip Jones. AR2.	Sir William Lewis, Bart.
Brecon.	Herbert Price. B. Lewis Lewis. AS2.	Sir Henry Williams, Bart.
CARDIGAN.	Walter Lloyd. B. Sir Richard Price, Bt. AMX.	Sir Richard Price, Bart.
Cardigan.	John Vaughan. B. Thomas Wogan. ACR2.	?
CARMARTHEN.	Sir Henry Vaughan. B. John Lloyd. AS2.	John Lloyd.
Carmarthen.	Francis Lloyd. B. William Davids. AS.	Arthur Annesley.
CARNARVON.	John Griffth, jun. B. Sir Richard Wynn. AS2.	John Glynne.
Carnarvon.	William Thomas. B. William Foxwist. AS2.	William Glynne.

DENBIGH.	Sir Thomas Middleton.S2.	Sir Thomas Middleton.
Denbigh.	Simon Theloall, jun.S.	Sir John Carter.
FLINT.	John Mostyn.B. John Trevor.AS2.	Kenrick Eyton.
Flint.	John Salisbury, jun.B. Thomas Middleton.AS2.	Roger Whitley.
GLAMORGAN.	Philip, Lord Herbert.R2X.	Sir Edward Mansell.
Cardiff.	William Herbert.B. Algernon Sidney.AR2.	Bussey Mansel.
MERIONETH.	William Price.B. Roger Pope.Ad. John Jones.ACR2.	Edmund Merrick.
MONTGOMERY.	Sir John Price, Bart.B. Edward Vaughan.AS2.	John Pursell.
Montgomery.	Richard Herbert.B. George Devereux.AMX.	Thomas Middleton.
PEMBROKE.	John Wogan, sen.d. Arthur Owen.AS2.	Arthur Owen.
Haverfordwest.	Sir John Stepney, Bt.B. Sir Robert Needham.AS2.	William Phillips.
Pembroke.	Sir Hugh Owen.S2.	Sir Hugh Owen, Bt. (dec- -lared void.)
RADNOR.	Charles Price.B. Arthur Annesley.AS2.	George Gwynne.
Radnor.	Philip Warwick.B. Robert Harley.AS2.	Robert Harley.

ADDENDA. (Vide 'X' in Key, p.227.)

I. The following members of the Long Parliament are given as still sitting as late as July 1648 in "The Names of the Knights..etc...as they continued ...until, July 1648" but the writer has been unable to discover further trace.

George Abbot. (Tamworth.)
 Richard Aldworth. (Bristol.)
 Sir William Armyn. (Grantham.)
 Thomas Arundell. (W. Looe.)
 Sir Ralph Ashton. (Lancashire.)
 William Ashurst. (Newton.)
 Sir John Bampffield. (Penryn.)
 Sir Edward Baynton. (Chippenham.)
 Sir Anthony Bedingfield. (Dunwich.)
 James Bellingham. (Westmoreland.)
 Richard Bond. (Melcombe Regis.)
 Edward Boote. (Portsmouth.)
 Herbert Borde. (Steyning.)
 Abraham Burrell. (Huntingdon.)
 Henry Champion. (Lymington.)

Robert Charlton. (Bridgenorth.)
 Sir Thomas Cheeke. (Harwich.)
 Francis Chettle. (Corfe Castle.)
 Thomas Cholmley. (Carlisle.)
 Sir John Coke. (Derbyshire.)
 Richard Cresswell. (Evesham.)
 George Devereux. (Montgomery.)
 Edward Dowse. (Portsmouth.)
 Sir John Dryden. (Northamptonshire.)
 Richard Edwards. (Christchurch.)
 John Elford. (Tiverton.)
 Edward Exton. (Southampton.)
 William Fenwick. (Northumberland.)
 George Gallop. (Southampton.)
 Thomas Grantham. (Lincoln.)
 Roger Gratwick. (Hastings.)
 John Harrington. (Somerset.)
 Sir Henry Hayman. (Hythe.)
 Sir John Hippesley. (Cockermouth.)
 Edward, Lord Howard of Escrick. (Carlisle.)
 Thomas Hoyle. (York.)
 Sir Edward Hungerford. (Chippenham.)
 Thomas Hussey. (Whitchurch.)
 Sir Thomas Jervoise. (Whitchurch.)
 William Jesson. (Coventry.)
 John Kemp. (Christchurch.)
 William Langton. (Preston.)
 Sir Charles le Gros. (Orford.)
 Thomas Mackworth. (Ludlow.)
 William Masham. (Shrewsbury.)
 Thomas Moor. (Ludlow.)
 Michael Noble. (Litchfield.)
 Edward Owner. (Great Yarmouth.)
 Sir Robert Parkhurst. (Guildford.)
 John Penrose. (Helston.)
 Francis Pierrepont. (Nottingham.)
 Sir Richard Price. (Cardigan.)
 Hugh Rogers. (Calne.)
 John Rolle. (Truro.)
 Richard Rose. (Lyme Regis.)
 John Sayer. (Colchester.)
 Henry Shelley. (Lewes.)
 Richard Shuttleworth. (Clitheroe.)
 Brian Stapylton. (Aldborough.)
 William Stephens. (Newport.)
 Zouche Tate. (Northampton.)
 Francis Thornhaugh. (E. Retford.)
 Francis Thorpe. (Richmond.)
 John Wastell. (Northallerton.)
 Thomas Westrow. (Hythe.)
 Laurence Whitaker. (Okehampton.)
 Sir Thomas Woodhouse. (Thetford.)
 Walter Young. (Honiton.)

II. (L.P. - Long Parliament.
 C - Convention.)

Sir Edward Alford. (Tewkesbury, L.P.) At the General Election there was a double return; Cook, Alford, Craven, E. Stephens. A new election was ordered. Cook and Alford were re-elected. Alford's election was declared void. E. Stephens was re-elected.

Sir Henry Cholmley. (Malton, L.P.) O.P.H. gives Sir John Ramsden as his colleague for Northallerton. Ramsden must have been a member as he was disabled as a Royalist in 1644.

Thomas Clarges. (Tregony, C./double return./) This according to O.P.H. The

Official List merely states that he was elected for a Cornwall borough, but the Return is torn.

Gregory Clement. (Fowey, L.P.) Disabled in 1652 but still alive in 1659.

Sir Robert Cook. (Tewkesbury, L.P.) Vide supra, Alford.

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper. (Downton, L.P.) Not allowed to take his seat until January 1660.

Charles, Viscount Cranbourne. (Hertford, L.P.) Was still sitting in July 1648. Collins' Peerage II 492 gives the date of his death as 1659.

John Craven. (Tewkesbury, L.P.) Vide supra, Alford.

Oliver Cromwell. (Cambridge, L.P.) Some authorities give Richard Foxton as his colleague instead of John Lowry.

Sir John Fenwick. (Northumberland, L.P.) Given as a Royalist in most lists, but still sitting in July 1648 according to "The names of the Knights, etc."

John Fiennes. (Morpeth, L.P.) "S2." He was really an Independent but hostile to regicide. He served the Protectoral governments.

Nathaniel Fiennes. (Banbury, L.P.) "S2." His was a similar case to that of his brother John.

Philip, Lord Herbert. (Glamorgan, L.P.) Succeeded as Earl of Pembroke in 1649 but continued to sit in the Rump.

William Hinson. (Herefordshire, C.) O.P.H. gives "alias Powell, preferred Dover", but the writer has been unable to find his name given by any authority as member for Dover.

William Jephson. (Stourbridge, L.P.) D.N.B. mentions a Sir Robert Howard as returned for this constituency for the Convention Parliament.

Edmund Ludlow. (Hindon, L.P.) Lieutenant-General Edmund Ludlow's uncle; d. 1660.

Philip Earl of Pembroke. (Berkshire, L.P.) Elected member in 1649, despite his peerage; d. 1649. (Vide supra, Philip, Lord Herbert.)

Sir Francis Popham. (Minehead, L.P.) In the Official List, Index, p. xliv (Index vol.) in the writ for 1645, with Popham deceased is mentioned a Thomas Ha....ham.

Sir Dudley North. (Cambridgeshire, L.P.) Excluded 1653; took no active part in Commonwealth governments; unsuccessfully contested the county in 1660 as a Royalist; returned for the borough of Cambridge.

William, Earl of Salisbury. (Lynn Regis, L.P.) Elected 1649, and took his seat despite his peerage.

John Selden. (Oxford University L.P.) "K". A Presbyterian, but not identified with either of the Parliamentary parties in 1648-9.

Sir Edward Spencer. (London, L.P.) Elected 1648, but the writer has been unable to find any further record.

Giles Strangways. (Br&dport, L.P.) Sir Lewis Dives wrongly given in many lists as his colleague, but in fact never had a seat in Long Parliament.

Edward Stephens. (Tewkesbury, L.P.) Vide supra, Alford.

Thomas Twisden. (Maidstone, L.P.) Given as a Royalist in some lists, but

still sitting in July 1648 according to "The Names of the Knights, etc."

APPENDIX II.

The Schedule drawn up by Monk, Clarges and Read at Nottingham.

(Phillips 702.)

I. Disposing of the London Regiments.

A. HORSE.

i. OKEY'S REGIMENT.

- 1 troop to Bedford.
- 1 troop to Buckingham.
- 1 troop to Aylesbury.
- 1 troop to Peterborough.
- 2 troops to Northampton.

ii. HESILRIGE'S REGIMENT.

- 1 troop to Reading.
- 2 troops to Oxford.
- 1 troop to Gloucester.
- 1 troop to Worcester.
- 1 troop to Hereford.

iii. SIR A. A. COOPER'S REGIMENT.

- 1 troop to Basingstoke.
- 1 troop to Bath.
- 2 troops to Bristol.
- 2 troops to Salisbury.

iv. RICH'S REGIMENT.

- 1 troop to Ipswich.
- 1 troop to Colchester.
- 2 troops to Norwich.
- 1 troop to Bury.
- 1 troop to Yarmouth.

B. FOOT.

i. AYRE'S REGIMENT.

- 1 company to Sandwich.
- 2 companies to Dover.
- 5 companies to Canterbury.
- 2 companies to Rye.

ii. MARKHAM'S REGIMENT.

3 companies to Ipswich.

5 companies to Colchester.

2 companies to Sudbury.

iii. STREATER'S REGIMENT.

3 companies to Buckingham.

5 companies to Northampton.

2 companies to Newark on Trent.

iv. FLEETWOOD'S REGIMENT.

2 companies to Hereford.

4 companies to Oxford.

4 companies to Worcester.

v. MOSS'S REGIMENT.

5 companies to Cambridge.

5 companies to ELY.

vi. FITCH'S REGIMENT.

5 companies to Chichester.

Remainder to Winchester.

II. Disposal of Monk's Forces in London.

A. HORSE.

i. MONK'S REGIMENT.

Mews and Strand.

ii. KNIGHT'S REGIMENT.

4 troops in King Street and Tuttle Street, Westminster.

2 troops in Holborn.

iii. CLOBERY'S REGIMENT.

2 troops in Southwark.

1 troop in Bishopsgate Street.

3 troops in Smithfield.

B. FOOT.

i. MONK'S REGIMENT.

St. James' and environs.

ii. READ'S REGIMENT.

Somerset House; Strand; Long Acre; Covent Garden;

St. Martin's Lane.

iii. LYDCOTT'S REGIMENT.

Thanet House.

Peterhouse, etc.

iv. HUBBLETHORNE'S REGIMENT.

Holborn.

Smithfield, etc.

III. Two London Regiments to remain.**i. FAGG'S REGIMENT.**

Southwark.

ii. MORLEY AND THE TOWER GARRISON.

APPENDIX III.

The Royal Letters from Breda.

(The writer has been unable to find these letters in any modern work. A summary of the Declaration of Breda, the King's Letters to the Speaker of the House of Commons and to General Monk, and Sir Harbottle Grimston's Reply may be found in C.S.P.Dom.1659-60, pp. 428-9.)

 HIS MAJESTY'S LETTER TO THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

(L.J. May 1; O.P.H. xxii 237-8; Phillips 724; Clar. H.G.R. vii 465-6.)

Right trusty and right well-beloved cousins, and right trusty and well beloved cousins, and trusty and right well-beloved; we greet you well. We cannot have a better reason to promise ourself an end of our common sufferings and calamities, and that our own just power and authority will, with God's blessing, be restored to us, than that you are again acknowledged to have that authority and jurisdiction which hath always belonged to you by your birth, and the fundamental laws of the land: and we have thought it very fit and safe for us to call to you for your help, in the composing the confounding distempers and distractions of the kingdom; in which your sufferings are next to those we have undergone ourself; and therefore you cannot but be the most proper counsellors for removing those mischiefs, and for preventing the like for the future. How great a trust we repose in you, for the procuring and establishing a blessed peace and security for the kingdom, will appear to you by our enclosed declaration; which trust we are most confident you will discharge with that justice and wisdom that becomes you, and must always be expected from you; and that, upon your experience how one violation succeeds another, when the known relations and rules of justice are once transgressed, you will be as jealous for the rights of the crown, and for the honour of your king, as for yourselves: and then you cannot but discharge your trust with good success, and provide for and establish the peace, happiness, and honour of king, lords, and commons, upon that foundation which can only support it; and we shall be all happy in each other, and as the whole kingdom will bless God for you all, so we shall hold ourself obliged

in an especial manner to thank you in particular, according to the affection you shall express towards us. We need the less enlarge to you upon this subject, because we have likewise writ to the house of commons; which we suppose they will communicate to you. And we pray God to bless your joint endeavours for the good of us all. And so we bid you very heartily farewell.

Given at our court at Breda, this ⁴14 the day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

HIS MAJESTY'S LETTER TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(C. J., May 1; O. P. H., xxii 241-4; Phillips 725; Clar., H. G. R., vii 457-61.)

To our trusty and well-beloved, the speaker of the house of commons.

CHARLES R.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: In these great and insupportable afflictions and calamities, under which the poor nation hath been so long exercised, and by which it is so near exhausted, we cannot think of a more natural and proper remedy, than to resort to those for counsel and advice, who have seen and observed the first beginning of our miseries, the progress from bad to worse, and the mistakes and misunderstandings, which have been produced, and contributed to inconveniences which were not intended; and after so many revolutions, and the observation of what hath attended them, are now trusted by our good subjects to repair the breaches which are made, and to provide proper remedies for those evils, and for the lasting peace, happiness, and security of the kingdom.

We do assure you upon our royal word, that none of our predecessors have had a greater esteem of parliaments, than we have in our judgement, as well as from our obligation; we do believe them to be so vital a part of the constitution of the kingdom, and so necessary for the government of it, that we well know neither prince nor people can be in any tolerable degree happy without them; and therefore you may be confident, that we shall always look upon their counsels, as the best we can receive; and shall be as tender of their privileges and as careful to preserve and protect them, as of that which is

most near to ourself, and most necessary for our own preservation. And as this is our opinion of parliaments, that their authority is most necessary for the government of the kingdom; so we are most confident, that you believe, and find, that the preservation of the king's authority is as necessary for the preservation of parliaments; and that it is not the name, but the right constitution of them, which can prepare and apply proper remedies for those evils which are grievous to the people, and which can thereby establish their peace and security. And therefore we have not the least doubt, but that you will be as tender in, and as jealous of, any thing that may infringe our honour, or impair our authority, as of your own liberty and property; which is best preserved by preserving the other.

How far we have trusted you in this great affair, and how much it is in your power to restore the nation to all that it hath lost, and to redeem it from any infamy it hath undergone, and to make the king and people as happy as they ought to be; you will find by our enclosed declaration; a copy of which we have likewise sent to the house of peers: and you will easily believe, that we would not voluntarily, and of ourself, have reposed so great a trust in you, but upon an entire confidence that you will not abuse it, and that you will proceed in such a manner, and with such due consideration of us who have trusted you, that we shall not be ashamed of declining other assistance, (which we have assurance of,) and repairing to you for more natural and proper remedies for the evils we would be freed from; nor sorry, that we have bound up our own interests so entirely with that of our subjects as that we refer it to the same persons to take care of us, who are trusted to provide for them. We look upon you as wise and dispassionate men, and good patriots, who will raise up those banks and fences which have been cast down, and who will most reasonably hope, that the same prosperity will again spring from those roots, from which it hath heretofore and always grown; nor can we apprehend that you will propose anything to us, or expect anything from us, but what we are as ready to give, as you to receive.

If you desire the advancement and propagation of the protestant

religion, we have, by our constant profession, and practice of it, given sufficient testimony to the world, that neither the unkindness of those of the same faith towards us, nor the civilities and obligations from those of a contrary profession, (of both which we have had an abundant evidence,) could in the least degree startle us, or make us swerve from it; and nothing can be proposed to manifest our zeal and affection for it, to which we will not readily consent. And we hope, in due time, ourself to propose somewhat to you for the propagation of it, that will satisfy the world, that we have always made it both our care and our study and have enough observed what is most like to bring disadvantage to it. If you desire security for those who, in these calamitous times, either wilfully or weakly have transgressed those bounds which were prescribed and have invaded each other's rights, we have left to you to provide for their security and indemnity, and in such a way as you shall think just and reasonable; and by a just computation of what men have done and suffered, as near as is possible, to take care that all men be satisfied; which is the surest way to suppress and extirpate all such uncharitableness and animosity, as might hereafter shake and threaten that peace, which for the present might seem established. If there be a crying sin, for which the nation may be involved in the infamy that attends it, we cannot doubt but that you will be as solicitous to redeem it, and vindicate the nation from that guilt and infamy, as we can be.

If you desire that reverence and obedience may be paid to the fundamental laws of the land, and that justice may be equally and impartially administered to all men, it is that which we desire to be sworn to ourself, and that all persons in power and authority should be so too.

In a word, there is nothing that you can propose that may make the nation happy, which we will not contend with you to compass; and upon this confidence and assurance, we have thought fit to send you this declaration, that you may, as much as is possible, at this distance, see our heart; which, when God shall bring us nearer together, (as we hope he will do shortly,) will appear to you very agreeable to what we have

professed; and we hope that we have made that right Christian use of our affliction, and that the observation and experience we have had in other countries, have been such as that we, and, we hope, all our subjects shall be the better for what we have seen and suffered.

We shall add no more but our prayers to Almighty God, that he will so bless your counsels, and direct your endeavours, that his glory and worship may be provided for, and the peace, honour, and happiness of the nation may be established upon those foundations which can best support it. And so we bid you farewell.

Given at our Court at Breda, this 14th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

HIS MAJESTY'S LETTER TO GENERAL MONK, TO BE BY HIM COMMUNICATED TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF STATE, AND TO THE OFFICERS OF THE ARMIES UNDER HIS COMMAND.

(Monk's Letters, pp. 83-6; C. J. May 1; O. P. H. xxii 244-6; Phillips, 726; Clar., H. G. R., vii 454-7.)

CHARLES R.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: It cannot be believed but that we have been, are, and ever must be, as solicitous as we can, by all endeavours to improve the affections of our good subjects at home, and to procure the assistance of our friends and allies abroad, for the recovery of that right, which, by the laws of God and man, is unquestionable; and of which we have been so long dispossessed by such force, and with those circumstances as we do not desire to aggravate by any sharp expressions, but rather wish that the memory of what is past may be buried to the world. That we have more endeavoured to prepare and to improve the affections of our subjects at home for our restoration, than to procure assistance from abroad to invade either of our kingdoms, is as manifest to the world. And we cannot give a better evidence that we are still of the same mind, than in this conjuncture, when common reason must satisfy all men that we cannot be without assistance from abroad, we chose rather to send to you, who have it in your power to prevent that ruin and

desolation which a war would bring upon the nation, and to make the whole kingdom owe the peace, happiness, security, and glory it shall enjoy to your virtue; and to acknowledge that your armies have complied with their obligations, for which they were first raised, for the preservation of the protestant religion, the honour and dignity of the king, the privileges of parliament, the liberty and property of the subject, and the fundamental laws of the land; and that you have vindicated that trust which others most perfidiously abused and betrayed. How much we desire and resolve to contribute to those good ends, will appear to you by our enclosed declaration, which we desire you to cause to be published for the information and satisfaction of all good subjects, who do not desire a farther effusion of precious Christian blood, but to have their peace and security founded upon that which can only support it, an unity of affections amongst ourselves, an equal administration of justice to men, restoring parliaments to a full capacity of providing for all that is amiss, and the laws of the land to their due veneration.

You have been yourselves witnesses of so many revolutions, and have had so much experience how far any power and authority that is only assumed by passion and appetite, and not supported by justice, is from providing for the happiness and peace of the people, or from receiving any obedience from them, (without which no government can provide for them,) that you may very reasonably believe that God hath not been so well pleased with the attempts that have been made, since he hath usually increased the confusion, by giving all the success that hath been desired, and brought that to pass without effect, which the designers have proposed as the best means to settle and compose the nation: and therefore we cannot but hope and believe that you will concur with us in the remedy we have applied, which to human understanding is only proper for the ills we all groan under; and that you will make yourselves the blessed instruments to bring this blessing of peace and reconciliation upon king and people; it being the usual method in which Divine providence delighteth itself, to use and sanctify those very means which ill men design for the satisfaction of private and particular ends and ambition, and other wicked purposes, to wholesome and public

ends, and to establish that good which is most contrary to the design-ers, which is the greatest manifestation of God's peculiar kindness to a nation that can be given in this world. How far we resolve to preserve your interests, and reward your services, we refer to our declaration; and we hope God will inspire you to perform your duty to us and to your native country, whose happiness cannot be separated from each other.

We have intrusted our well-beloved servant Sir John Greenville, one of the gentlemen of our bedchamber, to deliver this unto you, and to give us an account of your reception of it, and to desire you in our name, that it may be published. And so we bid you farewell.

Given at our court at Breda, this 14th of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

HIS MAJESTY'S LETTER TO GENERALS MONK AND MONTAGUE, GENERALS AT SEA,
TO BE COMMUNICATED TO THE FLEET.

(Phillips 729; Clar. H. G. R., vii 466-8.)

CHARLES R.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. It is no small comfort to us, after so long and great troubles and miseries, which the whole nation hath groaned under; and after so great revolutions, which have still increased those miseries, to hear that the fleet and ships, which are the walls of the kingdom, are put under the command of two persons so well disposed to, and concerned in, the peace and happiness of the kingdom, as we believe you to be; and that the officers and seamen under your command are more inclined to return to their duty to us, and put a period to those distempers and distractions which have so impoverish-ed and dishonoured the nation, than to widen the breach, and to raise their fortunes by rapine and violence; which gives us great encouragement and hope that God Almighty will heal the wounds by the same plaiter that made the flesh raw; that he will proceed in the same method in pouring his blessings upon us, which he was pleased to use when he began to afflict us; and that the manifestation of the good affection of the fleet and seamen towards us, and the peace of the nation, may be

the prologue to that peace, which was first interrupted by the mistake and misunderstanding of their predecessors; which would be such a blessing upon us all, that we should not be less delighted with the manner than the matter of it.

In this hope and confidence, we have sent the enclosed declaration to you, by which you may discern how much we are willing to contribute towards the obtaining the general and public peace; in which, as no man can be more, or so much concerned, so no man can be more solicitous for it. And we do earnestly desire you, that you will cause the said declaration to be published to all the officers and seamen of the fleet, to the end that they may plainly discern how much we have put it into their power to provide for the peace and happiness of the nation, who have been always understood by them to be the best and most proper counsellors for those good ends; and you are likewise farther to declare to them that we have the same gracious purpose towards them which we have expressed towards the army at land; and will be as ready to provide for the payment of all arrears due to them, and for rewarding them according to their several merits, as we have expressed to the other; and we will always take so particular a care of them and their condition, as shall manifest our kindness towards them. And so depending upon God's blessing for infusing those good resolutions into your and their hearts, which are best for us all, we bid you farewell.

Given at our court at Breda, this ⁴14th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

HIS MAJESTY'S LETTER TO THE LORD MAYOR, ALDERMEN, and COMMON COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

(O. P. H. xxii 247-8; Phillips 728; Clar., H. G. R., vii 468-70.)

CHARLES R.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. In these great revolutions of late happened in that our kingdom, to the wonder and amazement of all the world, there is none that we have looked upon with more comfort than the so frequent and public manifestations of their affections to us in the city of London; which hath exceedingly raised our spirits

and which no doubt, hath proceeded from the Spirit of God, and his extraordinary mercy to the nation; which hath been encouraged by you and your good example, to assert that government under which it hath, so many hundred years, enjoyed as great felicity as any nation in Europe; and to discountenance the imaginations of those who would subject our subjects to a government they have not yet devised, and, to satisfy the pride and ambition of a few ill men, would introduce the most arbitrary and tyrannical power that was ever yet heard of. How long we have all suffered under those and the like devices, all the world takes notice, to the no small reproach of the English nation, which we hope is now providing for its own security and redemption, and will be no longer bewitched by those inventions.

How desirous we are to contribute to the obtaining the peace and happiness of our subjects without effusion of blood, and how far we are from desiring to recover what belongs to us by a war, if it can be otherwise done, will appear to you by the enclosed declaration, which, together with this our letter, we have intrusted our right trusty and well-beloved cousin the lord viscount Mordaunt, and our trusty and well-beloved servant Sir John Greenvill, knight, one of the gentlemen of our bedchamber, to deliver to you; to the end that you, and all the rest of our good subjects of that our city of London, (to whom we desire it may be published) may know how far we are from the desire of revenge, or that the peace, happiness and security of the kingdom should be raised upon any other foundation than the affections and hearts of our subjects, and their own consents.

We have not the least doubt of your just sense of these our condescensions, or of your zeal to advance and promote the same good end, by disposing all men to meet us with the same affection and tenderness, in restoring the fundamental laws to that reverence that is due to them, and upon the preservation whereof all our happiness depends. And you will have no reason to doubt of enjoying your full share in that happiness, and of the improving it by our particular affection to you. It is very natural for all men to do all the good they can for their native country, and to advance the honour of it; and as we have that

full affection for the kingdom in general, so we would not be thought to be without some extraordinary kindness for our native city in that particular; which we shall manifest on all occasions, not only be renewing their charter, and confirming all those privileges which they have received from our predecessors, but by adding and granting any new favours, which may advance the trade, wealth, and honour of that our native city; for which we shall be so solicitous that we doubt not but that it will, in due time, receive some benefit and advantage in all those respects, even from our own observation and experience abroad. And we are most confident we shall never be disappointed in our expectation of all possible service from your affections: and so we bid you farewell. Given at our court at Breda, the $14^{\frac{4}{}}$ th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

APPENDIX IV.

THE FATE OF THE REGICIDES.

(The Indemnity Bill received its first Reading in the House of Commons on May 9th 1660, and was read a second time on the 12th. The House ordered the arrest of the regicides on the 14th. "Regicide" on this occasion meant those who were present when sentence was pronounced on Charles I or who signed the death warrant. A Royal proclamation summoning the regicides to surrender, "under pain of being excepted from any pardon or indemnity for their respective lives or estates", within 14 days, was agreed to by the Commons on June 2nd, by the Lords on June 4th, and was issued on the 6th. The Indemnity Bill was passed by the Commons on July 11th, and returned by the Lords on August 10th. The Commons debated the Lords' amendments on the 11th and 13th, and this was followed by conferences between the two Houses on the 17th, 21st, 22nd, and 25th. The Bill was returned to the Lords on the 28th, and the Royal assent given on the 30th. The first meeting of the Commissioners for the trials of the regicides took place on October 9th, and the trials themselves began next day. A Bill of Attainder against the Regicides was introduced into the Commons on November 7th, taken to the Lords on December 7th, returned on the 14th, and finally passed on the 29th. Note. It was under the section of the proclamation quoted that most of the regicides who surrendered were excepted, but not capitally, i. e. they were condemned to ^dath at their trial but subsequently reprieved.)

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D. N. B.

I REGICIDES WHO SIGNED THE DEATH WARRANT OF CHARLES I.

1. JOHN ALURED. (DEAD.)
2. JOHN BARKSTEAD. Escaped to the Continent 1660 ; excepted capitally by Commons June 6 1660 ; trapped through Downing in Holland March 1662 ; tried April 16 and executed April 19 1662.
3. DANIEL BLAGRAVE. Though elected for Reading in election for the Convention Parliament, fled to the Continent; excepted capitally by the Commons June 9th 1660 ; settled at Aachen ; died in obscurity.
4. JOHN BLAKISTON. (DEAD.)
5. SIR JOHN BOURCHIER. Surrender in accordance with Proclamation reported to Commons June 18 1660 ; died, (justifying regicide on his death bed,) August 1660 before the final list of exceptions had been completed.
6. JOHN BRADSHAW. (DEAD - but attainted posthumously for High Treason by the Commons on May 15 1660. By the Commons' order of December 4th, with which the Lords concurred on the 7th, his corpse was disinterred and hanged at Tyburn on January 30th 1661.)
7. JOHN CAREW. Surrender in accordance with Proclamation reported to the Commons on June 21st ; excepted capitally by the Commons August 28th ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty;" tried October 12 ; executed at Charing Cross October 15.
8. WILLIAM CAWLEY. Stood as candidate for Chichester in election for the Convention Parliament where there was double return; fled to the Continent ; excepted capitally by the Commons on June 9th 1660 ; lived in Switzerland and later in the Spanish Netherlands ; died 1667.
9. THOMAS CHALONER. Surrendered in accordance with Proclamation ; excepted but not capitally by the Commons on June 9 1660 ; excepted capitally by the Lords July 23 ; escaped ; died at Middleburg 1661.

10. GREGORY CLEMENT. Excepted capitally by the Commons August 28 1660 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned Oct 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty ;" tried October 12 ; executed at Charing Cross October 15.
11. SIR WILLIAM CONSTABLE. (DEAD.)
12. MILES CORBET. Stood as candidate for Yarmouth in election for the Convention Parliament, where there was double return ; fled to the Continent ; excepted capitally by the Commons June 9 1660 ; trapped with Barkstead through Downing in Holland, March 1662 ; tried 16 April ; executed 19 April 1662.
13. OLIVER CROMWELL. (DEAD - but his corpse was treated in the same way as was Bradshaw's.)
14. SIR JOHN DANVERS. (DEAD.)
15. RICHARD DEANE. (DEAD.)
16. JOHN DIXWELL. Escaped to Holland ; excepted capitally by the Commons June 9 1660 ; became burgess of Hanau ; after the seizure of Barkstead and Corbet, fled to Connecticut, America ; died 1689.
17. JOHN DOWNES. Surrendered in accordance with Proclamation ; excepted but not capitally by the Commons June 9 1660 ; ordered to the Tower, August 24 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty," but submitted at his trial on October 16 ; condemned but reprieved ; imprisoned in Newgate ; died c. 1666.
18. HUMPHREY EDWARDS. (DEAD.)
19. ISAAC EWER. (DEAD.)
20. GEORGE FLEETWOOD. Excepted but not capitally by the Commons June 9 ; surrender in accordance with Proclamation reported June 15 ; ordered to the Tower, August 24 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Guilty;" condemned October 16 but reprieved ; imprisoned, but released later and went to America, where he died.
21. AUGUSTINE GARLAND. Excepted but not capitally by the Commons June 9 1660 ; surrender in accordance with Proclamation reported to Commons June 19 ; ordered to the Tower, Aug 24 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10, and pleaded "Not Guilty," but submitted at his trial on October 16 ; imprisoned, but released later and died in obscurity.
22. WILLIAM GOFFE. Fled to Massachusetts ; excepted capitally by the Comm-

-ons June 9 ; died 1679.

23. THOMAS, LORD GREY OF GROBY. (DEAD.)

24. THOMAS HARRISON. Refused to flee at Restoration ; arrested and committed to the Tower May 21 ; excepted capitally by the Commons June 5 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty;" tried October 11, and based his part in regicide on Parliamentary authority ; condemned ; executed at Charing Cross October 13.

25. JOHN HEWSON. Escaped to Holland ; excepted capitally by Commons June 9 1660 ; died at Amsterdam 1662.

26. THOMAS HORTON. (DEAD.)

27. JOHN HUTCHINSON. Expressed repentance and incapacitated for life for State offices, but not fined, in accordance with resolution of Commons June 9 1660 ; arrested later and imprisoned in the Tower and in Sandown Castle ; died 1664.

28. RICHARD INGOLDSBY. Pardoned. (See Text of thesis.) K.B. 1661 ; M.P. for Aylesbury 1660-85 ; died 1685.

29. HENRY IRETON. (DEAD - but his corpse was treated in the same manner as that of Bradshaw.)

30. JOHN JONES. Hid near Finsbury Fields, but arrest reported to the Commons June 2 1660 ; excepted capitally by Commons June 6 ; imprisoned in the Tower ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty;" tried and condemned October 12 ; executed at Charing Cross October 17.

31. ROBERT LILBURNE. Excepted but not capitally by the Commons, June 9 1660 ; surrender in accordance with Proclamation reported June 18 ; ordered to the Tower August 24 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty," but submitted at his trial on October 16 ; condemned but reprieved ; imprisoned in the Isle of St. Nicholas, near Plymouth ; died 1665.

32. SIR MICHAEL LIVESEY, BART. Fled to the Low Countries ; excepted capitally by the Commons June 9 ; lands granted to James Duke of York ; died 1663. (?)

EDMUND LUDLOW. Elected for Hindon in election for Convention Parliament, and though there was double return, he sat for a short time ; surrender

in accordance with Proclamation reported June 21 ; escaped ; excepted capitally by the Commons August 28 ; proclamation for arrest following flight issued September 1 ; travelled through France to Geneva ; in 1662 went to Lausanne and then to Vevay; returned to England on fall of James II but had to depart immediately owing to hostility of public opinion ; returned to Vevay ; died there 1693.

34. HENRY MARTEN. Excepted but not capitally by Commons June 9 1660 ; surrendered in accordance with Proclamation reported June 20 ; ordered to Tower August 24 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty ;" tried October 16 and made able defence, finally submitting ; condemned but reprieved ; imprisoned ; died in Chepstow Castle 1681.

35. SIR THOMAS MAULEVERER. (DEAD.)

36. SIMON MAYNE. Excepted but not capitally by Commons June 9 1660 ; surrendered in accordance with Proclamation reported June 13 ; ordered to the Tower August 24 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10, and pleaded "Not Guilty," but submitted at his trial on October 16 ; condemned but reprieved ; imprisoned in the Tower where he died 1661.

37. GILBERT MILLINGTON. Excepted but not capitally by the Commons, June 9 1660 ; surrendered in accordance with proclamation ; ordered to the Tower August 24 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty," but submitted at his trial on October 16 ; condemned but reprieved ; imprisoned ; died at Jersey 1666.

38. JOHN MOORE. (DEAD.)

39. SIR GREGORY NORTON. (DEAD.)

40. JOHN OKEY. Fled to Hanau ; excepted capitally by the Commons June 9 1660 ; lured to Holland by Downing and arrested at Delft March 1662 ; tried with Barkstead and Corbet, 16 April ; executed 19 April 1662.

41. PEREGRINE PELHAM. (DEAD.)

42. VINCENT POTTER. Excepted but not capitally by Commons June 9 1660 ; surrendered in accordance with Proclamation ; ordered to the Tower August 24 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty," but submitted at his trial on October 16 ; condemned but reprieved ; imprisoned until his death.

43. THOMAS PRIDE. (Dead- but his corpse treated in the same way as was

that of Bradshaw.

44. WILLIAM PUREFOY.

(DEAD.)

45. OWEN ROWE. Excepted but not capitally by Commons June 9 1660 ; surrender in accordance with Proclamation reported June 18 ; ordered to the Tower August 24 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty," but submitted at his trial on October 16 ; condemned but reprieved ; imprisoned until his death 1661.

46. WILLIAM SAY. Fled to Holland ; excepted capitally by Commons June 6 1660 ; joined Ludlow and others at Geneva 1662 ; went back to Holland 1665 ; died 1665.

47. THOMAS SCOTT. Unsuccessful candidate for Wycombe in election for Convention Parliament ; fled to Flanders April 1660 but arrested through activity of English resident and sent back to England in June ; excepted capitally by Commons June 6 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty;" tried and condemned October 12 ; executed at Charing Cross October 17.

48. ADRIAN SCROPE. Surrender in accordance with Proclamation reported June 19 1660 ; given benefit of Indemnity Act except for fine of one year's value of his land by Commons June 8 ; excepted capitally by Lords July 20 and 23, probably owing to his persistent justification of regicide ; Commons concurred with Lords August 13 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty;" tried and condemned October 12 ; executed at Charing Cross October 17.

49. HENRY SMYTH. Excepted but not capitally by Commons, June 9 1660 ; surrender in accordance with proclamation reported June 19 ; ordered to the Tower August 24 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty," but submitted at his trial on October 16 ; condemned but reprieved ; imprisoned until his death. (1668 ?)

50. ANTHONY STAPLEY.

(DEAD.)

51. JAMES TEMPLE. Excepted but not capitally by Commons June 9 1660 ; surrender in accordance with Proclamation reported June 16 ; ordered to the Tower August 24 ; said to have given evidence of value to the Royalists ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty," but submitted at his trial on October 16 ; condemned but reprieved ; impris-

-oned until his death. (1668 ?)

52. PETER TEMPLE. Excepted but not capitally by the Commons June 9 1660 ; surrender in accordance with Proclamation reported June 13 ; ordered to the Tower August 24 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty," but submitted at his trial on October 16 ; condemned but reprieved ; imprisoned until his death in 1663.

53. ROBERT TICHBORNE. Took no part against the Restoration ; excepted but not capitally by the Commons June 9 1660 ; surrender in accordance with Proclamation reported June 16 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty," but submitted at his trial on October 16 ; condemned but reprieved ; imprisoned until his death 1682.

54. JOHN VENN. (DEAD.)

55. SIR HARDRESS WALLER. Promised Council of State to appear when summoned ; (See text of thesis.) excepted but not capitally by Commons June 9 ; surrender in accordance with Proclamation reported June 20 ; withdrew with Tichborne from custody of Sergeant at Arms, but re-surrendered ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Guilty;" condemned but reprieved ; imprisoned until his death 1666.

56. VALENTINE WALTON. Excepted capitally by the Commons June 9 1660 ; fled to Hanau where he was elected a burgess ; later moved to Flanders and followed the occupation of a gardener ; died 1661.

57. THOMAS WAYTE. Excepted but not capitally by the Commons June 9 1660 ; surrender in accordance with Proclamation reported June 13 ; ordered to the Tower August 24 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty," but submitted at his trial on October 16 ; condemned but reprieved ; imprisoned until his death. (1668 ?)

58. EDWARD WHALLEY. Excepted capitally by the Commons June 9 1660 ; escaped with Goffe to America ; proclamation for his seizure (with that of Goffe) issued September 22 ; still alive in 1674 ; said to have perished miserably.

59. THOMAS WOGAN. Excepted but not capitally by the Commons June 9 1660 ; surrender in accordance with Proclamation reported June 27 ; escaped after the passage of the Bill.

II. KING'S JUDGES PRESENT AT FINAL DAY OF TRIAL BUT WHO DID NOT SIGN WARRANT.-ANT.

1. EDMUND HARVEY. Excepted but not capitally by the Commons June 9 1660 ; surrender in accordance with Proclamation reported June 19 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty," but submitted at his trial on October 16 ; condemned but reprieved ; imprisoned in Pendennis Castle where he died.

2. WILLIAM HEVENINGHAM. Excepted but not capitally by the Commons June 9 1660 ; surrender in accordance with Proclamation reported June 9 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty," but submitted at his trial on October 16 ; condemned but reprieved ; (condemnation given on October 19;) imprisoned at Windsor ; died in prison 1678.

3. CORNELIUS HOLLAND. Fled to Holland ; excepted capitally by the Commons June 6 1660 ; said to have died at Lausanne.

4. JOHN LISLE. Escaped to the Continent ; excepted capitally by the Commons June 6 1660 ; murdered at instigation of Henrietta Maria 1664, at Lausanne.

5. NICHOLAS LOVE. Fled to the Continent ; excepted capitally by the Commons June 9 1660 ; settled in Switzerland ; died at Vevay 1682.

6. ISAAC PENNINGTON. Excepted but not capitally by the Commons June 9 1660; surrender in accordance with Proclamation reported June 15 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty," but submitted at his trial on October 16 ; condemned but reprieved ; imprisoned in the Tower, where he died 1661.

7. MATTHEW THOMLINSON. Omitted from list of exceptions by the Commons May 17 and June 9 1660, and by the Lords August 1, owing to his supposed kindness to Charles I, (see text of Thesis.) or to his giving evidence against the other regicides; died in obscurity 1681.

III. KING'S JUDGES PRESENT AT ONE OR MORE SITTINGS OF THE COURT BUT WHO WERE NOT PRESENT WHEN SENTENCE WAS GIVEN AND WHO DID NOT SIGN WARRANT.

1. JAMES CHALONER. Excepted but not capitally by the Commons June 9 1660 ; he had been imprisoned by the Wallingford House party in Peel Castle, Isle of Man in 1659, and died there in 1660 before bill was passed.

II. JOHN DOVE. Case referred to a committee of the Commons June 9 1660 ; seems to have escaped punishment ; died 1665.(?)

III JAMES HARRINGTON. (Noble confuses this, the regicide, with his cousin, the writer of "Oceana," and the writer has been unable to "disentangle" the two lives. It seems certain that the Harrington who was imprisoned in the Tower and later at Plymouth, and who died in 1677 was the theorist and not the regicide.)

IV. FRANCIS LASSELS. M. P. for Northallerton in the Convention Parliament ; expelled from the House but given the benefit of the Indemnity Act, except that he was declared incapable of any public trust and was fined one year's value of his lands, (Commons' Resolution of June 9 1660.)

V. THOMAS LISTER. Excepted but not capitally by the Commons June 9 1660 ; given benefit of the Indemnity Act by the Lords August 4 ; incapacitated from holding any public trust.

VI. SIR HENRY MILD MAY. Attempted to escape when called on by resolution of the Commons of May 15 1660, to give an account of the Royal jewels ; (He had been appointed Master of the Jewel House 1620.) excepted but not capitally by the Commons June 9 ; degraded from honours and titles 1661 ; carted from Tower to Tyburn on anniversary of regicide, January 27 1662, with a rope round his neck, and then taken back to the Tower ; warrant issued for transportation to Tangier 1664 ; died at Antwerp en route, 1664.

VII. WILLIAM, LORD MONSON. Excepted but not capitally by the Commons June 9 1660 ; surrender in accordance with proclamation reported June 20 ; degraded from all honours and titles 1661 ; taken from Tower to Tyburn with Mildmay 1662 ; imprisoned in the Fleet Prison ; died 1672.

VIII. SIR GILBERT PICKERING. Excepted but not capitally by the Commons, June 9 1660 ; given benefit of the Indemnity Act by the Lords, August 6, probably owing to the influence of his brother in law, Edward Montague, Earl of Sandwich ; declared incapable of holding any public office ; died 1668.

IX. ROBERT WALLOP. M. P. for Whitchurch in Convention Parliament ; expelled from the House ; excepted but not capitally by Commons June 11 1660 ; imprisoned in the Tower ; taken from the Tower to Tyburn and back with

Mildmay in 1662 ; died 1667.

X. SIR THOMAS WROTH. Petitioned for pardon, (C.S.P.Dom.1660-1 p.9.) ; apparently this was granted ; died 1672.

IV. SUBORDINATE OFFICERS AT THE KING'S TRIAL.

1. DANIEL AXTEL. (commanded guards at the Trial.) Excepted but not capitally by the Commons June 13 1660 ; excepted capitally by the Lords August 1 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty;" tried October 15 ; condemned October 16 ; executed at Tyburn October 19.

2. ANDREW BROUGHTON. (Clerk of the Court.) Arrest ordered May 14 1660 ; excepted capitally by the Commons June 7 ; fled to the Continent ; at Lausanne by 1662 ; went to Bern with Ludlow 1663 ; died at Vevay 1687.

3. JOHN COOK. (Prosecuting counsel.) Arrest ordered May 14 1660 ; excepted capitally by the Commons June 7 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty;" tried and condemned October 13 ; executed at Charing Cross October 16.

4. EDWARD DENDY. (Sergeant at Arms.) Arrest ordered May 14 1660 ; excepted capitally by the Commons June 7 ; fled to the Continent ; narrowly escaped seizure in Holland ; at Lausanne by 1662 ; date of death unknown.

5. FRANCIS HACKER. (Commanded guards at Charles I's execution.) Excepted capitally by the Lords August 1 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty;" tried October 15 ; condemned October 16 ; executed at Tyburn October 19.

6. WILLIAM HEWLETT. (Suspected as King's executioner.) Excepted capitally by the Commons June 18 ; indicted October 12 ; arraigned October 15 and pleaded "not guilty;" tried October 15 ; condemned October 16 but reprieved ; date of death unknown.

7. GEORGE JOYCE. (ex-Cornet ; seized Charles I at Holmby House.) Fled from England ; arrest ordered May 14 1660 ; arrest again ordered June 7 ; lived in Rotterdam ; extradition demanded 1670 but Dutch authorities connived at his escape ; date of death unknown.

8. HUGH PETERS. (Oliver Cromwell's chaplain; strong advocate of regicide in 1648.) Arrest ordered June 7 ; excepted capitally by the Commons June 18 ; indicted October 9 ; arraigned October 10 and pleaded "Not Guilty;"

tried and condemned October 13 ; executed at Charing Cross October 16.

9. ROBERT PHAIRE. (Named in execution warrant with Hacker.) Arrested in Cork May 18 1660 and sent to Dublin under escort ; transferred to London and imprisoned in the Tower ; saved through the influence of Sir Thomas Herbert and others ; died 1682. (HERCULES HUNCKS, the other colonel named in the warrant, saved himself through giving evidence against the regicides, and also perhaps because of his Royalist relatives.)

10. JOHN PHELPS. (Clerk of the Court.) Excepted but not capitally by the Commons June 9 1660 ; fled to the Continent ; at Lausanne by 1662 ; travelled about trading in Holland and Germany ; died at Vevay, 1666 ?

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